IDENTITY IN A GROWING CLYDE

An exploration into strategies for retaining identity and preserving heritage values in a Clyde facing growth pressures

Prepared by:

Leigh Clutterbuck Young, Dermot Frengley, Brenna Sherson, Yvonne Takau and Greg Underwood

UNIVERSITY *of* OTAGO

SAPERE AUDE

Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo

NEW ZEALAND

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PLAN435/535 2018

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Executive Summary

Clyde is beautiful small town with a wealth of well-preserved gold mining era heritage, authentic local eateries and artisan retail, boutique accommodation and desirable residential areas. Alongside is a tight community who love the town, but change could be around the corner. The proposed sewerage scheme may unlock the pressure to grow which is being experienced across the district, and the soon to be completed cycle trail connecting Central Otago to the booming Queenstown Lakes District may bring more and more tourists to Clyde doorstep. How can Clyde capitalise on this potential growth without losing the values and identity which the community love?

Aim: The aim of this research is to explore strategies for retaining identity and preserving heritage values in an area facing growth pressures. From the aim, three research questions were set:

1. What is Clyde's identity and how does this heritage relate to this identity?
2. What are the pressures associated with growth that threaten this identity?
3. What planning actions can be done to prevent or mitigate these threats?

Framework: To situate the study within wider bodies of research, a conceptual framework was used which drew on the theory of place identity and economic theory in small towns. This allowed an understanding of the actors and processes which operate to form the identity of a place and drive the economy of a small town to be developed. With this understanding, issues of heritage and tourism in small towns could be investigated. An overview of case studies which demonstrated experiences of growth pressure and the use of identity preservation strategies was also given.

Methods: Interviews with key stakeholders from Clyde were the primary research method. Comments from community questionnaires were also used, along with site observations. Secondary information gathering methods were also used to develop the document analysis and literature review also given in this study. These methods were entirely qualitative which allowed our group to gain first hand experiences of participants' perceptions and views. The use of both primary and secondary sources allowed for more data to be collected and therefore allowed triangulation and cross verification of results, which strengthens the validity of the results.

Results: The results gathered in this study indicate that Clyde perceives the towns community, gold mining heritage, unique style of tourism, businesses, family and children, and natural heritage as important aspects of the towns identity. The threats to Clyde's identity

include residential subdivision and development, development within the heritage precinct, an increased or shifting residential community, an increased or shifting market of tourists, and the identity of Clyde coalescing with Alexandra.

Discussion: Three themes emerge from the results. The authenticity of Clyde's identity is threatened by increased pressure from tourism and growth as the identity of Clyde, and particularly the heritage aspect of this identity, may develop in a way which does not respect the heritage and character of Clyde. The small-town values which make Clyde an attractive place for families and children to live is threatened by increasing residential development, and the proposed reticulated sewerage system would enable the densification of dwellings within Clyde. Finally, Clyde's independence is perceived to be threatened by a merging with Alexandra. To address these three themes, this study recommends that the Clyde Community Plan be renewed to address the following concerns.

Recommendations

We recommend that the Clyde Community Plan be renewed. This plan should:

1. Include a Clyde Development Strategy.
2. Acknowledge the mutual need for residents and local businesses to support each other, in order to retain the authentic nature of these businesses.
3. Consider requiring native vegetation to be planted in landscaping for new developments.
4. Acknowledge the social capital which gives Clyde its small-town identity.
5. Consider restricting subdivision and further residential development around Clyde.
6. Consider restricting development between Clyde and Alexandra.

Acknowledgements

The Clyde Group would like to extend their sincere gratitude to the following persons and groups for their support which has been instrumental in the completion of this project.

Firstly, thank you to Rachael Thomas from the Department of Internal Affairs (DIA) and to Paula Penno and Ann Rogers from the Central Otago District Council (CODC) who have supported this study since its preliminary stages.

To our supervisor Etienne Nel, thank you for the time and guidance that you provided throughout the course of this project. We would also like to thank the academic and administrative Master of Planning staff here at the Department of Geography for their continuous help and support.

Finally, we would like to thank the people of Clyde for welcoming us into their town and showing us the true heart of Clyde. Thank you to our key stakeholders and informants for engaging in the process through the interviews and questionnaires. The lessons that we learnt whilst in Clyde were invaluable and we hope that you find use in the contents of this report.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Research overview

Small towns facing growth pressures have the unique challenge of balancing the benefits of growth alongside maintaining the ambience that gives them their small-town character (Powe, N. and Hart, T. 2011). Clyde, a small town in the Central Otago region of New Zealand's South Island is beginning to recognise the conflict between these two opposing situations. Clyde is known for its gold mining heritage, the hydroelectric dam to the north of the town, its world class food and wine and its tight knit social community.

"People choose to live in Clyde because they love Clyde" – Key Informant.

This quote is a sentiment that is most likely shared by many people around New Zealand. Indeed, the many reasons why people love their homes are often so strong that the inquiry into what it is about a place that makes people *love* it often becomes a point of contention. This is especially the case when change beckons, as communities realise that the very reasons why they *love* their homes may be lost in the process and many struggle to reach a compromise.

This research project seeks to explore how Clyde can protect and preserve its heritage and identity while facing growth pressures. The project is based on recognising Clyde's identity and how heritage fits into that identity. The project also has a focus on identifying what pressures and challenges exist and how they are going to play a role in Clyde's future. Lastly, this project will look to offer recommendations on how to deal with these pressures and challenges in a way that protects the town's identity and heritage as it continues to grow. The research data was collected through key informant interviews, questionnaires and site observations as well as through analysing appropriate plans, policies and statistics. Literature from various sources has also been gathered and analysed in order to guide the research and inform the results.

1.2 Interpretation of the project brief

This study has been facilitated by the Central Otago District Council and Department of Internal Affairs and aims to *"explore strategies for retaining identity and preserving heritage values in an area facing growth pressures".* The subject in this case is the town of Clyde in Central Otago. It is a small town with a wealth of historic built heritage that is facing increasing growth pressures, particularly pressure for residential growth. However, a community survey undertaken in 2015 identified that the community generally wanted Clyde to remain "the safe, friendly small town it is today" (CODCXXX, 2016). It is evident that there is contention between the potential growth of the town and the conceptions, values, and reasons which make residents love Clyde. The core issue of this report is how to approach this contention.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

The aim of this research is 'to explore strategies for retaining identity and preserving heritage values in an area facing growth pressures'.

The research questions for this study are:

1. What is Clyde's identity, and how does heritage relate to this identity?
2. What are the pressures associated with growth that threaten this identity?
3. What planning actions can be done to prevent or mitigate these threats?

These research questions framed the approach that we took during our research and kept Clyde's identity and the threats to this identity at the centre of this study. There were additional issues that were identified in the project brief which will also be examined. Ad hoc development and ensuring sustainable development, especially with regard to development in the heritage precinct and surrounding residential development is one of these issues. Other issues include traffic and parking as well as the new ventures that may arise with the connection of the proposed rail trail between Clyde and Cromwell. Finally, the role of museums in the town and the options for retaining heritage and managing structurally unsound heritage buildings will also be examined in this study.

1.4 Research approach

Qualitative methods and approaches were used throughout this research project in order to gain data that would answer our research aim and questions. These types of methods and approaches

were deemed appropriate by our group as they allowed us to gain a first-hand experience of Clyde, as well as discovering the views and experiences of business owners and local residents'. The use of semi structured interviews, site observations and questionnaires were suitable for that purpose. Our group was able learn a vast amount of information about Clyde from the range of local experiences and opinions that were shared with us.

1.5 Report structure

The structure of this study is as follows:

1. Chapter One highlights the overview of the project, approach, research aims and questions, as well as the purpose for this research.

2. Chapter Two focuses on the existing literature relevant to the topic in the form of a literature review. A conceptual framework that examines how theories of place identity and economic development have been applied in small town related literature is then developed. This allows insights to be drawn from experiences of small towns in the past that have addressed issues of small town and heritage identity, along with issues that accompanies growth in small towns.

3. Chapter Three presents the history of Clyde, an overview of current affairs in the town and an analysis of planning policy. Overall, this chapter provides some explanation of the histories which accompany the built heritage in the town, a perspective on issues present while the research was undertaken and an understanding of the statutory and policy framework which is in place to guide and control development within Clyde.

4. Chapter Four contains and discusses the methodology of this report. It uses both the theory and experiences identified in the literature review along with the issues and knowledge identified in the context chapters to devise the research approach used in this study.

5. Chapter Five presents the results of our research. By displaying quotes in a direct format, we have minimised the input of the authors and focused on the primary data in order to ensure an unbiased approach to our use of the data. Therefore, this chapter has a number of direct quotes from participants and are further sorted into common themes. Readers who are interested in the direct perspectives of the Clyde community will find this chapter useful.

6. Chapter Six then discusses the results under three themes; authenticity, small-town values and independence. These themes are a reflection of the community's perceptions of Clyde's identity and addresses the relevant threats that future growth may bring. Strategies for managing these threats are also discussed in this chapter.

7. Finally, Chapter Seven concludes and summarises our recommendations that are made in the discussion.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The project brief given for this study guides the research around our three research questions; what is important to the identity of Clyde, what growth pressures threaten this identity, and what can be done to protect Clyde's identity. The literature review given in this chapter follows a conceptual framework developed to directly inform these questions using the relevant theory and existing evidence from several bodies of literature. This framework is a five-step process, in which the first step is to gather an understanding of the theory behind place and identity. The second employs an economic analysis approach to provide insight in to the way in which global economic movements have affected small towns. An examination of the pressures facing small towns which are experiencing growth is then given, using case studies. The way heritage and tourism influence small towns is then given, as these specific issues were indicated as of high relevance to Clyde through the project brief and therefore require special attention. To conclude, an overview of strategies which can be employed to preserve place identity.

2.1 Theories and Processes of Place Identity

To understand what Clyde's identity is and how it was shaped, we must first explore what the concept of 'place identity' is. The idea of 'place' can generally be perceived as being "space imbued with meaning" (Vanclay, 2008, p.3). This implies that discussions of place, unlike space, have a greater emphasis on the meanings and significance attached to a location (Vanclay, 2008). These meanings are drawn from stories, experiences, interactions and memories associated with the location, and as Vanclay (2008) puts it; "place is space that is special to someone" (p.3). Extending the idea of place to place identity requires that the concept of identity, which is traditionally associated with the idea of what is "central, real and typical to something or someone", be applied this concept of place (Hague, 2005) (p.5). Thus, place identity is a term which can be used in the following discussion to mean the idea of what is central to or typical of a place.

Place identity, or more specifically, the processes which form an understanding of place identity, are fundamentally social (Hague, 2005). Place identity develops through interactions between the individual and others in society, and as a result there can be many possible identities for a given place (Hague, 2005). Which place identities dominate and which do not are therefore subject to sets of power relations. This does not mean that the people who hold the most power in society determine the dominate meanings and emotions related to a place, but rather that within our diverse society different place meanings are often contested and opposed to reveal the dominant place identity. This notion of the power relations imposed on these processes should be acknowledged when discussing place identity (Hague, 2005).

As place identities are filtered via these social structures they are therefore relational; they are crafted in relation to other people, other places, and other identities that are present within a said place (Hague, 2005). These relations are based on both similarity and difference. Within a place we share common experiences, culture, and history, these factors make the specific place different from others, this is their basis for claiming authenticity (Rose, 1995). Rose (1995) highlighted this idea that when a group is identifying with a place, they determine what they share and also what their relation of difference is with other places and the societies that dwells within them. As we delve into place identity, we must acknowledge 'the other' aspect to that identity, and that the concept of authenticity is places at the centre of place identity (Rose, 1995).

2.1.1 Making Place Identity

It is not enough to understand that *place identity* is a dominant idea amongst many ideas of what is central to or typical of a place, because our research questions require that this study analyses what characteristics form Clyde's identity. To understand how to identify these characteristics, the processes of making *place identity* should be elaborated upon. Fortunately, there are a number of studies which have done this. Sampson and Goodrich (2009) looked at the process of place making and identity on the West Coast of New Zealand, finding that physical and phenomenological settings were central. Experiences which respondents in this study recalled, showed that processes within the physical environment (the weather for example), the community and interactions within the community, and a shared discourse within the community were important features which contributed to the identity of place on the West Coast (Sampson and Goodrich, 2009).

 Mulcock (2008) looked at the process of place making and belonging in urban Australian landscapes. Mulcock (2008) specifically investigated public attitudes and emotional response towards native flora and how these interact with concepts of belonging. Mulcock (2008) argued that Australians have struggled with the issue of a collective national identity. Her study found that respondents identified awareness and connection to Australian ecosystems as a way to form a deep, responsive, and some even stated, spiritual sense of belonging to the local native environment. Mulcock (2008) stated that in recent decades, this increased interest in, and active pursuit of knowledge on native plants in Perth has resulted in a stronger sense of 'emplacement' or 'belonging', for both adult migrants and native-born Australians alike. This sense of belonging largely contributes to the identity of place in the urban Australian landscape (Mulcock, 2008).

Box 2.1: *Making Place in an Australian Clyde?*

The town of Stanley in Tasmania, Australia has significant built heritage and an identity which makes the town vibrant, distinct, special and attractive for visitors (Miller et al., 2008). In the past the towns industry has been lost as water transport and wood milling has declined, however due to Stanley's special character and location there is a significant potential for the town to now develop as a service centre for tourism (Miller et al., 2008). Recognising this development has the potential to harm the conceptions which make the place of Stanley, the municipal council established a development plan with the Stanley community (Miller et al., 2008). This plan used a model which kept conceptualizations of place at the core of the plan, alongside empirical findings (Miller et al., 2008). To determine these conceptualizations of place, the plan making process used a project launch at a significant community event, posted surveys, interviews with local stakeholders, a forum on place and identity, and a presentation of the draft report at the Stanley Town Hall (Miller et al., 2008). Through these methods a range of recurring themes became apparent in the communities conceptions of Stanley as a place, which included distinctiveness, self-esteem and pride in Stanley, a sense of continuity and a sense of self-efficacy (Miller et al., 2008). Clyde shares the characteristics of built heritage, past decline and potential growth that Stanley has, so this place identification process used to establish the Stanley development plan is important to acknowledge.

Tudor (2008) investigated the process of place making and identity in Tasmania. Specifically looking at lookouts as places of belonging. Lookouts are built structures that provide scenic viewing of a town, they are designed as a spot to celebrate belonging, to both the residents' place and their community. Tudor (2008) found that lookout experiences provoke reflections on personal aspects of place. For a local, personal history is merged with local history through the visual scene that the lookout provides. Built spaces such as lookouts create a living space for activity, interaction and reflection, this strengthens the processes of creating a meaningful place identity (Tudor, 2008).

2.2 Economic Processes in Small Towns

This section of the literature review examines the governing economic influences that affect small towns. This analysis is undertaken because the economic state of a town is directly related to the general wellbeing of the local community (Burlacu, 2016). The economic wellbeing of a community controls household levels of disposable income, the affordability of goods and services and employment opportunities. As well as development prospects, societal perceptions of the town. The economic wellbeing of a community therefore has a strong influence on the overall liveability of that place (Burlacu, 2016). Unfortunately, there is an absence of literature looking at the economic processes occurring in small towns which are growing, and the need for this research has been stressed by Bell and Jayne (2009). Never-the-less, this section considers the literature that does exist to explain how small towns have functioned and changed in response to global economic changes throughout the 20th and 21st century. Through this discussion, the ways in which place identity may be threatened by economic changes will be explored.

Three related economic movements occurred throughout the 20th century which significantly influenced small towns, and these were neoliberalism, globalisation and urbanisation. Neoliberalism is a political-economic system that aspires to foster globalisation, marketization and entrepreneurship through austerity, deregulation, free trade and reducing government spending in order to increase the role that the private sector has on the economy and society (Larner and Craig, 2005). The economic shift caused by neoliberalism has resulted in a decline in manual production work and growing demand for professional and managerial skills in the service and finance sector (Ongley, 2014). Globalisation can generally be understood as a process of global integration which necessitates the market reforms of neoliberalism (Gregory

et al., 2009). Globalisation is inherently linked to neoliberalism as the driving force behind globalisation is free market capitalism which allows free trade and competition to create an efficient economy ruled by market forces (Gregory et al., 2009). Urbanisation, using the economic sense of the word, refers to the loss of traditional rural activities caused by an expansion of urban activities into rural space (Friedmann, 2002).

The economic policy movements of the 20th and 21st century resulted in changes to ideas of place-identity in towns affected by the movements across the world. Within New Zealand the impacts of neoliberalism were felt particularly hard by 'peripheral regions' (regions separate from the main centres) such as the West Coast and Southland (Nel and Stevenson, 2014). One example of this can be drawn from rural communities on the West Coast, whereby the state-sector restructuring which occurred in line with neoliberal economic policies in the mid-1980s, eventually resulted in the loss of the old-growth forestry industry in the communities by the early 2000's (Sampson and Goodrich, 2009). This lead to outward migration from the towns, unemployment and disinvestment in the region (Pawson and Scott, 1992). The adverse economic conditions created by the neoliberal economic policy creates a shared discourse of anti-government rhetoric which helped bind the community and form an idea of the place as having an independent and supportive community (Sampson and Goodrich, 2009). This case shows that place-identity was not necessarily adversely affected, but it was changed as a result of the wider economic policy movements to reflect the economic hardships which occurred as a result. Internationally, economic changes throughout the 20th century affected small towns also. Epp and Whitson (2006) illustrate the effects that globalisation has had on small rural towns through the Canadian context. In the late 1970s, the Canadian government embraced the course of globalization and since then has become a party to numerous multilateral free trade agreements (Epp and Whitson, 2006). Increasing trade with the outside world became a detrimental factor for rural towns that had well-functioning operations within their communities as large-scale foreign companies pushed smaller local operations out of business (Epp and Whitson, 2006; Polese and Shearmur, 2006).

The dominant economic movements of the 20th century did not always result in total catastrophe for rural communities. In South Africa, the collapse of primary industries in small towns led to severe economic decline and workers being forced to move out of rural towns in search of employment, and this prompted a significant level of economic reform in the affected towns (Nattrass, 1995, Nel and Binns, 2002, Rogerson, 2011). Many small towns were able to

shift from busy industrial mining towns to quiet centres of heritage tourism (Ferreira, 2007). Instead of introducing a completely new philosophy, small towns have become part of a growing market for tourists searching for authenticity (Ferreira, 2007). Towns across Europe and South Africa have chosen to capitalize on their local resources and the opportunities they already had available to them such as their unique history and culture, local art, and at times simply their location and surroundings (Ferreira, 2007). By marketing themselves for what they were, they were able to expand their service industry and attract tourists from across their borders (Ferreira, 2007; Bjelland, 2010). Whether it is leaving abandoned mines or old churches as they are or focusing on selling locally made crafts and

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Box 2.2: *Alternatives to Neoliberal Paths of Development*

The Slow City or *Citta Slow* movement developed out of Italy and has gained ground across the world in recent years (Mayer and Knox, 2006; Pink and Lewis, 2014). The movement is a product of the Slow Food movement which is rooted in the ideas of local sustainability and protecting the local identity of towns through their local cuisine (Mayer and Knox, 2006). The more recent Slow City movement emerged to challenge the increasingly corporate-centred urban forms that occupy our world today (Pink and Lewis, 2014; Bjelland, 2013). It's founding principles promote inclusivity, sustainability and an alternative approach to the fast-pace technology-intensive development that has taken place since the spread of globalization (Pink and Lewis, 2014; Bjelland, 2013). The movement is governed by a set of regulations with leaders from four Italian provincial towns who collectively act as the governing body (Mayer and Knox, 2006). Towns which apply to be classified as a slow city are expected to have clear goals for the future that align with the slow city objectives of building on local traditions and preserving the peaceful and traditional ways of life in a world that is ever-changing (Mayer and Knox, 2006). Beatley (2004) states that "while the towns in Citta Slow are pursuing a variety of different goals, what unites them, what they have in common, is a desire to protect the unique and distinctive aspects of their communities" (p. 335). The lifestyle and place identity pursued by the towns within the slow city movement is a reaction to dominant economic movements which may reflect some of the characteristics of place-identity represented by the community in Clyde. For this reason, the slow city movement is an important idea to examine when considering how economic movements have influenced place identity.

A case study which demonstrates how the slow city movement is linked to place identity can be drawn from Mayer and Knox (2006), who analysed the German slow city of Hersbruck to illustrate the benefits of 'slowing down' and embracing local economic developments. The efforts in Hersbruck were focused on connecting the natural environment and the local economy (Mayer and Knox, 2006). One of the ways they did this was through the safeguarding and harvesting of heritage apple trees (Mayer and Knox, 2006). With the apples that were harvested they produced organic apple juice which they sold around the region and in local restaurants (Mayer and Knox, 2006). In addition to this initiative, local restaurants teamed up with local farmers to provide a unique and authentic experience through the local cuisine (Mayer and Knox, 2006). It was agreed that 29 farmers would supply 17 restaurants, each restaurant then had a special menu along with signage at the front door that acknowledged the several contributing farmers (Mayer and Knox, 2006). The initiative in Hersbruck to connect the local restaurants with the local farmers, and the local farmers with the heritage apple trees of the area is an excellent example of an economy and place identity connection because it demonstrates how a focus on local-produce and a local economy became a shared characteristic of identity in the town. This may be a feature of local identity that the community of Clyde of could share or could take advantage of.

traditional food made from home-grown produce; the rising interest in heritage tourism means that it is possible to have sustainable economic development through distinct cultural identity and local entrepreneurship (Bjelland, 2010). In this sense, promoting heritage tourism has benefited the economy and promoted the place-identity of the townships.

2.3 Growth Pressures and Planning Challenges

Understanding how growth in small towns can affect the values which form the place identity of those towns and understanding how planning can manage that growth to minimise those adverse effects is critical for understanding growth pressures in Clyde. Unfortunately, there is relatively little literature on small towns similar to Clyde which have dealt with growth pressures in the past. Of the few studies of this nature which the authors could find, the study by Powe and Hart (2011) is most useful as it is examines growth issues associated with new residential development and residential desirability in small towns in the UK. They highlight

two main issues, which are the demand on infrastructure, facilities and services placed by additional development, and the potential loss of small town values because of the additional development.

Market-led development typically does not adequately compensate for the public costs associated with the loss of access to green space, character and the additional pressure on infrastructure and services (Powe and Hart, 2011, Klosterman, 1985). In small towns, the level of infrastructure and services which exists usually provides for the existing demand related to their compact town centres (Powe and Hart, 2011). Population growth in a town where the service and infrastructure level meets capacity with existing demand, will lead to those services and infrastructure being overburdened (Powe and Hart, 2011). In this situation, roads, car parks, water services, healthcare, education, recreation and retailing facilities may become congested and inefficient. There is also a risk that retail and recreation facilities may develop outside of the town centre to meet demand, and this outside development has been shown to be detrimental for the existing centre (Powe and Hart, 2011, Hanna et al., 2009). A planning response to this issue can therefore be the instatement of policy which ensures that permission not be granted for residential developments unless the applications have provision to provide for services, infrastructure and facilities (Powe and Hart, 2011). It should however, be noted that if the contrary is true and existing infrastructure and services are underused then population growth within the town will spur an increase in vitality that may help ensure their long-term viability (Powe and Gunn, 2008).

Small towns often have a peaceful, close and safe character which make them desirable places to live in, but additional residential development can damage these values (Powe and Hart, 2011). A documented and tested approach to protecting these values from additional residential development in the UK is the *Building for Life* design criteria, which ask questions of new developments such as; "Does the scheme create a place with a locally inspired or otherwise distinctive character?" (Criterion 5) and "Does the development provide (or is it close to) community facilities, such as shops, schools, workplaces, parks, play areas, pubs or cafes?" (Criterion 2) (Powe and Hart, 2011, Birkbeck and Kruczkowski, 2015).

There is limited literature which examines growth issues and small towns, therefore further discussion on these issues must be informed by literature which examines planning related challenges to addressing growth in a general sense, whether this be urban growth or growth induced by nearby resource exploitation or tourism. Keough (2015) identified three key

planning challenges while looking at the rapid growth challenges experienced in Fort McMurray, Canada. The first was the collecting of demographic data, because many residents were not permanent residents or did not have a standard permanent address which could easily be surveyed (such as residents sleeping on a friends couch) (Keough, 2015). The second was providing affordable housing, and although this issue is complex, factors contributing to the problem included the masking of difficulties faced by low to moderate income earners because of the high median wage and the disparity between incomes for the service industry and oil industry. Other factors were, the slow release of state owned-land for housing and a delayed local level response to the problem, and limits of the construction industry (Keough, 2015). Lastly, balancing current growth and long-range planning was identified as an issue because of difficulties in balancing issues concerning population growth, infrastructure development, community projects and global economic and commodity dynamics (Keough, 2015). It should be noted that Fort McMurray is a very different place to Clyde, as it a city which had close to 80,000 people in 2010 and the centre for the oil industry which extracts from the nearby oil sands (Keough, 2015). The growth challenges identified for planners in the city however are issues which arose with rapid growth, so they may have some relevance to this study and are worth considering.

Issues associated with the movement of migrants into a place are planning issues because allowing (or restricting) residential development is a control on the amount of resident which can live within an area. In Cape Town, Dodson and Oelofse (2000) identified that tension arose between local residents and migrants because the two groups compete for limited jobs, housing, use of facilities and use of physical space. This tension inevitably fostered feelings of resentment, hostility and disliking towards the migrants from the local residents (Dodson and Oelofse (2000). Issues can also arise within the migrant community itself, and O'Reilly (2003) showed this by interviewing British who had immigrated to Spain to show the migrants' perspectives. Many of the respondents in this study expressed frustration about not being able to integrate with the local way of life, partly because of the language barrier, but also because their residential communities only housed other migrants (O'Reilly, 2003). Some migrants also commented that they couldn't integrate into the Spanish way of life because there were so many other British migrants that the Spanish locals had adapted to speak English in shops, workplaces and restaurants, making learning the Spanish language very difficult (O'Reilly, 2003).

Finally, planning which for growth must be done in a participatory way which engages the local community and for a growing small town this may require special consideration (Jones, 2002). Looking at North American ski towns, Gill and Williams (1994) noted the need to differentiate between stakeholders who were permanent residents in the towns, who owned holiday properties, and who were seasonal workers when engaging with the community. They propose that it is also useful to survey visitors experiences to ensure the balance between tourists and residents needs is met (Gill and Williams, 1994).

2.4 Tourism and Heritage in Small Towns

Throughout this literature review so far, tourism, heritage and heritage focused tourism have been mentioned as important influences of place-identity and economic development for small towns. Tourism and heritage were also identified as being issues relevant to Clyde in this studies project brief. This section therefore takes a deeper look into tourism and heritage to directly inform how the two issues are related to each other and to the economy and place identity of small towns.

2.4.1 Tourism

Earlier in this review tourism was shown to be able to strengthen place identity in small towns. Place identity however can also directly influence the economy of a town through tourism. Tourism is a major source of foreign and domestic income and is often a key component of regional development (Ferreira, 2007, StatsNZ, 2017). For a place to become a successful space for tourism, it must develop and be managed in a way which can attract visitors (Ferreira, 2007). The degree to which a place can market itself to visitors and investors through 'place marketing' is critical in doing this, and therefore critical for achieving tourism-based economic growth (Ferreira, 2007, Hall and Hubbard, 1996). Place marketing utilises place identity, by promoting locally rooted traditions or by weaving place myths to stress the uniqueness of a place (Hall and Hubbard, 1996). An example of this can be seen in the cultural trails of Austria, in which the region of Bregenzerwald utilised a local tradition of cheese making with a wide range of actors 'from pitchfork to dinner fork' to promote the region to tourists (Meyer-Cech, 2005). The region, which was facing economic crises, not only benefited from the benefit to the tourism industry, but also by adding value to the agricultural product which was being produced there (Meyer-Cech, 2005). In addition, the promotion of the region as a cheese region

improved the public perception of the area, fostered the self-confidence of the people of the region, and helped grow an appreciation of the cheese produced by the region (Meyer-Cech, 2005). Tourism therefore has the potential not only to strengthen place identity, as shown in the earlier evidence given above, but also utilise place-identity to strengthen the local economy.

Tourism however also has the potential to deeply harm unique place identities as it can 'commodify' or 'prostitute' once unique cultures (Kneafsey, 1998). Tourism products commodify culture when they take advantage of cultural beliefs or activities to sell something, which may be obvious when tourists pay to view a performance by locals, or indirect if tourists pay to visit an area to experience the activities or beliefs of the local people (Greenwood, 1989). Through this commodification, Greenwood (1989) argues that the local culture can no longer be believed in the way it was before, and as a result the commoditisation of culture "robs people of the very meanings by which they organise their lives" (p.137). Examples of this damage to cultural beliefs are frequent in the literature. When considering the heritage tourism industry, Kneafsey (1998) comments that an overarching criticism of tourism is the theme that heritage contributes to the 'trinketisation', commercialisation and trivialisation of Irish culture (p.113). In rural communities, communities may become dependent on tourism for reassurance and self-worth and in adapting to tourism the hosts may conform to the expectations of visitors from more politically and economically powerful cultures (Kneafsey, 1998). Here in New Zealand, Māori were to some extent marginalised from the control of their own cultural expression as the historic marketing of Māori culture represented Māori as having a homogenous and exotic 'other' culture (Amoamo, 2008). When the culture of a community is adversely affected by tourism, the identity of that community's place is inherently affected also; if a town considers gold mining as important to its origin story and place identity for example, the place identity of the town would be lost to some degree if that gold mining history became recognised only through tourist products. This notion that tourism can harm the culture and place-identity of local communities is well accepted in the literature, and this is directly relevant to Clyde as it is a town which utilises tourism in the local economy. It will therefore be useful to consider the degree to which the place-identity and culture of the Clyde community is commodified or likely to be commodified by increasing growth in the future.

2.4.2 Heritage

The project brief guiding this study identified an aim of exploring strategies to "preserve heritage values" as part of retaining identity in Clyde. It is therefore necessary that heritage is analysed through existing literature to understand the relationship between heritage, heritage values and place-identity. The concept of heritage is difficult to define, and its meaning has changed over time. In the 19th century the dominant understanding was that heritage is state property, and generally related to fine architecture and art (Vecco, 2010). Since the turn of the 20th century this view had evolved, with Bessier (1998) arguing that heritage is not only physical structures, but also inherited skills, or symbolic representation which provide a historic source of how to understand the world. In the 20th century the literature shifted its focus towards exploring the notion of intangible heritage. Intangible heritage places emphasis on heritage in regard to passed on knowledge, values, skills or symbolic meanings (Bessier, 1998; Vecco, 2010; Yahaya, 2006). Although, due to these broad and inclusive definitions of heritage, some research argues that there is confusion, lack of consistency, and pressure to slow the speed of growth in order to retain heritage value (Yahaya, 2006; Lowenthal, 1998). However, this argument has been rebutted with claims that the contemporary broader approach to heritage allows it to be understood as value which is formed through the complex process of actualising, adapting and reinterpreting aspects of the past. Thus, giving these elements passed on by previous generations a revitalised and contemporary social meaning, which in turn generates identity and unity within a community (Bessier, 1998; Harvey, 2010). This contemporary view of heritage is crucial as it illustrates the importance of heritage in terms of its relation to sense of place, culture, and place-identity. Heritage of all forms acts as an identity marker for a cultural group. Heritage as a public cultural expression facilitates regional pride, sense of place, and the strength of social capital within the community (Boniface, & Fowler, 1993). Thus, heritage acts as a catalyst for sustainable community growth.

2.4.3 Heritage Tourism

A commonly identified threat to heritage preservation in small towns is the use of heritage-tourism. Heritage-tourism has become one of the most profitable sectors of the tourism industry (Hubbard, and Lilley, 2000). Local governing bodies tend to view the commodification of a town's heritage as a strategy to gain external investment into the local sphere. These strategies are particularly common in small previously industrial towns (Hubbard, 1996; Waitt and

McGuirk, 1997). There are tenets of research that highlight that the promotion and marketing of heritage sites can have positive impacts on small heritage rich towns, these include the preservation and conservation of heritage and the potential to reinvigorate local economic growth (Herbert, 1995). Although, this manipulation and promotion of heritage in small towns has been widely critiqued by geographers, who are concerned about the selective way heritage is often presented (Urry, 1990; Hewison, 1987; Panelli et al., 2008). Research highlights that while the conversion of heritage into a modern commodity generates income, it also creates tensions between the local communities and visitors who view heritage through the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990). Also, heritage-tourism is a threat to authentic heritage, as the marketed culture of a town often over-simplifies their unique and rich identity. Massey (1991, p.29) argues, "Places do not have single, unique 'identities', they are full of internal conflicts [and…] a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations". The selective construction of place identity for marketing purposes highlights the power relations at play within a specific place. Commodification of place and the promotion of selective cultural identities is problematic because it necessitates the representation of specific desirable aspects of heritage, marginalising specific groups, events or traditions (Massey, 1991; Dunn et al., 1995; Kneafsey, 2000; Panelli et al., 2008)

2.5 Strategies for Preserving Identity

This final section of the literature draws from the above discussion to suggest two methods of preserving place identity. The first is a commonly identified strategy for preserving and strengthening a small town's identity and this is through the reproduction of an authentic sense of place. Sense of place refers to both the emotional attachment that people form in specific environments, as well as the unique character of a region that is formed from their distinct historical and environmental setting (Azaryahu & Foote, 2009). Psychological research into sense of place has identified three core tenets of the phenomenon. The first being an Affective Component, this is the emotional connection and feeling experienced in relation to a place (Brown, Perkins, and Brown, 2003). The second is the Cognitive Component, this is the personal creation of place meaning, the knowledge and beliefs we have in regard to a place that gives us the feeling of attachment (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). The third is the Behavioural Component, these are the particular actions that are carried out due to the feelings and beliefs we hold in relation to a place, these include proximity-maintaining behaviours, and ecology

protecting behaviours (Bonaituo, Carrus, and Martorella, 2002). Sense of Place and subsequent place attachment can be utilised in the design of shared spaces and community revitalisation, this is shown through the research of de la Barre (2013). De la Barre (2013) investigated sense of place in relation to the wilderness and cultural tourism guides within the region of Yukon, Canada. De la Barre specifically identified how sense of place is successfully utilised within the design and practice of heritage guiding. This study showed how guides carried out their activities based on their personal sense of place. Although, there is a limitation in this research as the relationships examined were within an extremely remote region, where community participation is very limited, thus this may have had an effect on the narrative theme of Place Identity being identified.

Sense of place is reinforced by reproducing symbolic meanings, rituals and traditions of place within the local context (Azaryahu & Foote, 2009). Growth can lead to inauthenticity, thus, threatening a small town's sense of place. Although, with growth change is inevitable, destruction of the town's character is not. Destination branding literature explores the ideas that places are strategically marketed through orchestrated branding processes of places as attractive destinations. The most successful examples of destination brands integrate sense of place into their marketing strategies (Campelo, Aitken, Thyne, and Gnoth, 2014). Literature has shown that community's appeal is a significant driver of economic prosperity (Campelo, Aitken, Thyne, and Gnoth, 2014). Not only is sense of place economically beneficial but research has also highlighted that person-place bonding facilitates sustainable development, and notably the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage (Tan, Tan, Kok, and Choon, 2018). Thus, it is essential for authentic sense of place to be protected and projected within small town communities to ensure effective and sustainable growth. When a small town's branding represents local residents sense of place within their community, these residents consequently hold positive and constructive attitudes towards engagement with tourists and commercial enterprises (Campelo, Aitken, Thyne, and Gnoth, 2014).

Another identified strategy for preserving and strengthening a small town's identity is through valuing and facilitating social capital within community growth plans. Social capital is the "norms and networks that enable people to act collectively" (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 225). Social capital allows communities to work both effectively and efficiently as a collective to offset future issues and facilitate the development of social sustainability to form a resilient town (Cuthill, 2009; Hoyman and Faricy, 2009). Social capital has specific importance to rural

small towns. Future-focused community development plans are essential for settlements of all sizes, although this is particularly crucial for small towns as they have unique sets of vulnerabilities which larger cities do not experience (Hoyman and Faricy, 2009). Research illustrates that high levels of social capital through the use of local expertise, ideas, and resources within small towns facilitates both economic development, social community development and protection of local identity (Hoyman and Faricy, 2009). The most sustainable development plans stem from local ideas, rather than external parities and forced projects (Cuthill, 2009; Hoyman and Faricy, 2009). By utilising the social and human capital within the community, it allows those who have a rich understanding of the region's culture and sense of place to form development plans that align with the community's' authentic identity. Thus, this research argues that it is of great importance for local councils to utilise the social and human capital which already resides within the community, rather than outsourcing ideas from external parties. In opposition to this idea, some research argues that high levels of social connections and social capital is not always useful when planning small towns (Carlton-Laney, Edwards, and Reid, 1999). This research highlights that social capital can lead to situations where specific individuals within a community can easily spear-head a movement of opposition against proposed development within the wider community, this is because local opinions are valued higher than expertise knowledge (Carlton-Laney, Edwards, and Reid, 1999).

The literature illustrates how heritage conservation and promotion significantly contributes to a small town's cultural identity. It also shows that threats to heritage such as heritage-tourism can be mitigated via protecting and strengthening sense of place and facilitating social capital within community growth plans. With good management, these elements could contribute to the economic and social wellbeing of small heritage towns. This is of relevance to Clyde due to the growth pressures it is experiencing surrounding the expansion of the local heritage-tourism sector, for successful growth to occur it is essential for Clyde's heritage, sense of place and cultural identity to be respected and protected.

Chapter Three

Context

3.1 Introduction

Understanding the context in which this research takes place is vital for informing the methodology, results, discussion and conclusion which follow. The context of the study is presented in this chapter, first through providing a brief history of Clyde. Understanding Clyde's history provides insight into the identity of Clyde, the importance of heritage in the town and the economic processes which have contributed to Clyde's development. An outline of contemporary issues in Clyde is then presented, which includes statistical indicators followed by an analysis of planning instruments relevant to Clyde. The analysis of statutory and non-statutory planning instruments is undertaken at some length as our research questions require that these instruments be tested against the issues and perspectives identified in our results.

3.2 History of Clyde

Clyde is an historic town that dates back to the 1860's with the town rapidly expanding and growing due to the gold rush to the area. The town was first named the Upper Dunstan and was subsequently known as Hartley's township after Horatio Hartley, one of the first two men to find gold in the area (Historic Clyde, 2018). On New Year's Eve of 1864, the town was renamed Clyde (Cunningham, 2005). The area surrounding Clyde is called The Dunstan, meaning 'a stone in the hill', which was chosen by an English surveyor (Promote Dunstan, 2018). This history section looks at the different aspects of Clyde's past that has influenced current Clyde. It is important to understand Clyde's history is inherently linked to Clyde's identity and Clyde's heritage, the investigation of which are critical to our study.

3.2.1 Geography

Clyde is located in the upper basin of the Clutha river in Central Otago (Cunningham, 2005). The surrounding terrain is mountainous, with the town distantly neighboured by various mountain ranges such as the Remarkables, the Kakanui Mountains, the Hawkduns and the Old Man range (Cunningham, 2005). There are also several lower ranges that run North and South through the basin itself; these are the Rock and Pillar, the Old Woman, the Raggedy, Pisa, Rough Ridge and the Knobby (Cunningham, 2005). The largest river in Otago, the Clutha River (Mata-Au) runs alongside Clyde, with the township sitting above the rivers east bank.

3.2.2 Māori and the First Settlers

Māori were the first people to inhabit the Central Otago area. Traditionally Māori were nomadic people who moved locations depending on where resources were available at different times of the year (Cunningham, 2005). Māori would move inland to Central Otago in the summer months and hunted moa there until it became extinct (McCraw, 2007). It was not a popular place for Māori to settle due to the harsh weather conditions and limited available diet, as foods such as kumara would not grow in the area (Cunningham, 2005). By the early 1850's, when Europeans began moving into Central Otago there was no signs of settlement in the area (Cunningham, 2005). This might have been due to moa becoming extinct or because Māori that did settle in the area were either killed or intimated by Māori from the North Island (Cunningham, 2005).

The first European settlers in the Dunstan area migrated into the area with the intent of sheep farming, and this was achieved through the leasing of large areas of land known as runs (Cunningham, 2005). People could pay a fee for runs, and were then taxed per livestock head (Cunningham, 2005). In the late 1800's the New Zealand government stepped in and decided to separate many of the runs for settlement (Moore, 1953).

3.2.3 The Gold Rush Period

The discovery of gold in Central Otago quickly led to the intensive growth of Clyde. Gold was first found in the Dunstan Gorge in the winter of 1862 by an American Horatio Hartley and an Irishman Christopher Reily (Historic_Clyde, 2017). The two men received 2000 pounds in return for taking the 87 pounds of gold to the Gold Receiver in Dunedin (Moore, 1953). From

that point onwards, thousands of people flocked to the Dunstan area, and with the huge increase in people and activity came the opportunity for different business ventures which supplied the gold miners (Historic_Clyde, 2017), (Moore, 1953). This included many Chinese migrants, who also moved into Central Otago to try their luck at finding gold from 1865 onwards, and by 1858 census data showed that the Chinese outnumbered the Europeans in Clyde, with a population of 50 compared to 44 (Moore, 1953).

The gold mining period saw the construction of a number of buildings with those which remain important for contemporary Clyde's built heritage. Some stone and timber buildings that were erected in the 1860s are still occupied, with examples including the current-day post office café, Oliver's Restaurant and Lodge and Dunstan Hotel (Cunningham, 2005). In 1865 a hospital which housed a house surgeon, matron and two wards where 24 patients could be treated was constructed and opened to the public. Hospital facilities are still operating in Clyde today (Cunningham, 2005). Early miners used basic equipment and techniques to recover the gold, such as using pans or cradles. However, once the alluvial gold had gone, people started to use different methods such as dredging and sluicing to try get deeper into the river bed (Moore, 1953). However, these techniques were not very appropriate for Clyde's surrounding environment and people either moved onto other areas or chose a different profession (Cunningham, 2005).

3.2.4 Flooding

Due to the location of Clyde alongside the Clutha River, there has historically been a risk of flooding. In 1878 the Clutha river flooded due to the melting of a large amount of snow that had fallen upon surrounding mountains, with some areas reportedly having well over 100 feet of snow (McLintock, 1966). With continuous warm rain and north westerly winds that lasted several days the snow melted, leading to the river flooding and destroying everything in its path such as bridges, buildings and livestock (McLintock, 1966). The flood had a huge impact on the Central Otago community and it resulted in damage to part of the Clyde settlement (McLintock, 1966).

3.2.5 The Otago Central Railway

In 1879 the idea to run a rail line from Dunedin through the Taieri Gorge, Maniototo plain, Ida Valley, Alexandra, Clyde and to Cromwell was agreed upon (Cunningham, 2005). The railway

line took 42 years to complete and covered a total of 236 kilometres, and was vital for the sustainability and growth of Central Otago (Cunningham, 2005). It allowed resources, produce and people to be transported in and out of the area (Moore, 1953). However, the need for the railway decreased overtime with the improvement of roads and the railway itself was closed after 69 years of operation (Cunningham, 2005).

3.2.6 Wine and Fruit industries

Clyde is known for wine growing, which originally began in the 1860's when a Frenchman called Jean Desire Feraud planted grapes on his property at Dunstan Flat in Central Otago (Cunningham, 2005). This started the trend of planting vineyards in the area and he became well known for winning first class merit awards for his wine (Cunningham, 2005). The move to orchards and growth of the fruit industry began as the gold mining in the area diminished (Cunningham, 2005). Miners began planting fruit trees and others set up commercial market gardening (Cunningham, 2005). The reason why the fruit industry took off was due to the fertility of the soil, the availability of water from neighbouring streams and rivers and the extended sunshine hours during the summer months (Cunningham, 2005). Certain areas in Central Otago were more suited for specific fruit. This rise of different industries in Clyde and surrounding Central Otago towns after the decline of gold mining was a positive change as it kept some miners in the region, gave people another source of income and brought other people into the area.

3.2.7 Clyde Dam

The Clyde Dam sits only 1.4 kilometres from the heritage precinct of Clyde and is the largest concrete gravity dam in New Zealand, with a height of 100 metres and a length of 490 metres (Ellis, 2014). The construction of the Clyde Dam took place over a 16-year period from 1977 to 1993 and was controversial amongst the public because it would flood parts of Cromwell and drown orchards within the river valley (Ellis, 2014). During the peak of construction in 1987, the Clyde Dam Project had 1,220 workers involved, however many of these people were employed for a relatively short period of time. Therefore, the Clyde Dam bought many people to live and work within the region of Clyde. Although many of these workers left the Clyde region after the completion of the dam construction, some people have stayed, and its

development certainly put the town of Clyde in the national news throughout this 16-year period.

3.2.8 The Central Otago Rail Trail and Tourism

The usage of rail networks in Central Otago which were originally constructed to connect the region to more distant markets was reduced overtime with closures leaving old lines abandoned (Graham, 2004). However, with the removal of the rails and sleepers the abandoned lines were able to be revitalised as the Otago Central rail trail. It is New Zealand's first purposely planned 'Rails to Trails' conversion, based on the overseas concept of re-using closed rail way corridors as recreational public space for activities such as biking and walking. The trail was finished and open to the public in 2000, and since then many Central Otago businesses have prospered from this unique form of tourism (Graham, 2004). The trail has 100,000 to 120,000 users partaking in some of the journey annually, and 5,000 users per year finishing the entire track (Graham, 2004). Clyde is situated at the beginning (or end depending on the direction you take) of the rail trail, at the former Clyde railhead. Cafés and eateries in Clyde have opened in historic buildings in Clyde, with many customers travelling to the area to participate in the Rail Trail tourism. This has led to cafes and eateries opening in Clyde, which is indicative of the wider wine and food-based tourism which is associated with the Rail Trail (Graham, 2004).

3.3 Statistical Indicators

The following statistical indicators have been collected to provide insight into Clyde and its residents and are given in Table 3.3. They show that Clyde has a significantly older and wealthier population when compared to the rest of the Central Otago District. House prices are higher in Clyde compared to the rest of the district, but lower than the New Zealand average. The vast majority of Clyde residents record having European ethnicity. The statistics given are mostly drawn from the 2013 New Zealand Census, so the current accuracy of these figures is limited, however the comparisons made to the Central Otago District and rest of New Zealand are likely to remain relevant.

Table 3.3: *Statistical Indicators for Clyde*

Indicator	Clyde	Central Otago	New Zealand	Source
Demographics				
Number of People	1,011	17,895	4,242,051	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
Median Age	51.2	47.0	38.0	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
Median Personal Income	$30,200	$28,200	$28,500	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
Above 65 %	24%	21%	14%	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
Under 15 %	16%	18%	20%	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
House Values				
Median House Price	$521,900	$488,488	$678,856	QV.co.nz - [April 2018]
Property Values Growth in Last Year	14%	12%	7.6%	QV.co.nz - [April 2018]
Ethnicity				
European Ethnicity %	95%	93%	74%	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
Maori Ethnicity %	6%	8%	15%	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
Other Ethnicity %	4%	8%	24%	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
Families				
Couples with children %	28%	32%	41%	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
Couples without children %	63%	59%	41%	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data
One parent with children %	9%	10%	18%	Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census Data

3.4 District Plan

In New Zealand, the key legislative framework for controlling development is the Resource Management Act 1991, which is implemented through a hierarchical series of planning instruments. The National and Regional level instruments of this framework do not have a great deal of relevance to this study, due to the localised nature of Clyde's identity and growth challenges; however, the district level does as it controls development at this scale through a series of objectives, policies and rules. Because this instrument, otherwise known as the District Plan, is the only instrument which controls development at the local scale, it is critical that the provisions within it work to provide the outcomes sought by Council and community. Therefore, an in-depth examination of the District Plan as it currently stands is provided in this section, to later inform recommendations regarding how the District Plan may be amended to retain and enhance Clyde's identity with growth.

As Clyde is located within the Central Otago District, the Central Otago District Council is the responsible agency for the District Plan which controls Clyde's development. As it is formally known, the Council's 2008 operative Central Otago District Plan *(hereby District Plan)* uses zones, precincts and a series of other techniques to do this. In Clyde, these zones are shown in Figure 3.4, which indicates that the township is mostly zoned as Residential Resource Areas (RRA) or Business Resource Areas (BRA). Additionally, there is a heritage precinct established within Clyde, which is shown by the dotted yellow border in Figure 3.4. The provisions for these areas are explained below.
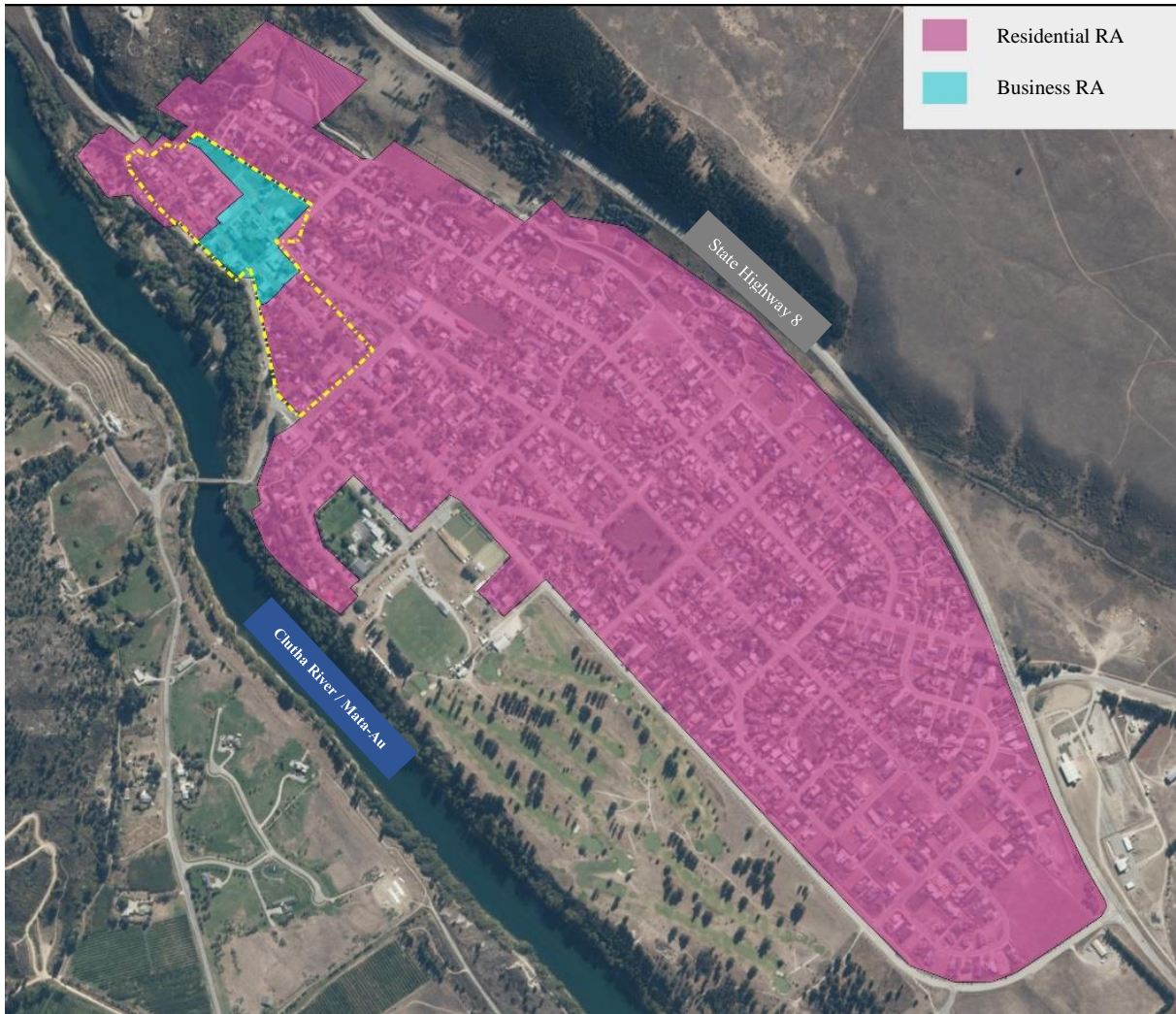
3.4.1 Residential Resource Area

The objectives within the RRA chapter of the district plan are the guiding statements that, in principle, direct the reasoning and intention of the policies and rules which follow. In the RRA chapter, the objectives aim to achieve the maintenance and enhancement of the built character and amenity values of the residential area (Obj. 7.11, 7.12). Policies within the district plan are more specific than their guiding objectives, and there are several policies within the RRA chapter which are of relevance to this study. They seek to:

- Minimise the adverse effects of structures at street frontages which do not complement the character of the neighbourhood (Pol. 7.2.1).
- Ensure privacy and access to sunlight is protected (Pol. 7.2.2).
- Ensure new development provides for the community's recreational needs (Pol. 7.2.4).

The rules are the most prescribed form of instruction in the District Plan and they directly control development in Clyde. These rules ensure that subdivision is controlled and decisions regarding subdivision must consider the ability for a site to dispose of waste (Rule 7.3.2). Rule 7.3.3 restricts subdivision to 800 square meters where a reticulated sewerage system is not available but allows subdivision down to 250 square metres if there is such a system available. This is important to note because there is currently a proposed sewerage system for Clyde, and if this is installed existing properties around 800 square metres could be subdivided, potentially trebling the number of dwellings on these properties.

Under rule 7.3.1 residential activity is a permitted activity, but this activity is subject to standards listed under sections 11 to 15 as well as Rule 7.3.6 of the District Plan. Section 11, which provides for heritage precincts, is explained separately below. Sections 13 and 15 are related to infrastructure and services and do not require further explanation. The other sections can be summarised as controlling the relevant issues given in Table 3.4.1.

Figure 3.4a Satellite Image of Clyde with overlays of Residential Resource Areas and Business Resource Areas from Central Otago District Plan. Dashed yellow line indicates historical precinct. [Satellite Image from Linz Data service 2018]

Table 3.4.1: *Controls on residential or other permitted activities.*

Rule 7.3.6 controls:

a. Traffic Generation
b. Attraction of the public to a site
c. Retailing of goods and services
d. Land use: should generally only be for residential purposes.
e. Yard rules.
f. Height rules: Generally, a maximum of 4.2 metres.
g. Site coverage: 40% building coverage maximum to protect open space.
h. Carparking minimums
i. Access
j. Signs
k. Keeping of animals
l. Excavation
m. Relocatable Dwellings

Section 12 controls:

a. Access
b. Parking
c. Noise
d. Signs
e. Glare

f. Light spill
g. Odour and dust
h. External appearance of land and buildings
i. Derelict sites, buildings and works
j. Temporary activities

Section 14 controls:

a. Protection and enhancement of heritage buildings.
b. Conservation of historic sites.
c. Protection of notable trees.
d. Protection of archaeological and waahi tapu sites.

e. Waiving of resource consent fees for heritage buildings, historic sites and notable trees works.
f. Consultation and assessment matters for heritage buildings or items

3.4.2 Business Resource Area

The centre of the Clyde township is generally zoned as a business resource area (BRA), shown in Figure 3.4 as the blue zone. Objectives in the District Plan for the BRA aim to maintain the area as a focal point for the community which is safe, convenient to access and conduct business within and pleasant to visit and work within (Objs. 8.1.1-8.1.3). Policy 8.2.2 for the BRA aims to ensure visual amenity values are maintained and enhanced by retaining continuity in building heights, ensuring signage is not visually obtrusive, encouraging continuity and a common design theme of building façades, and requiring landscaping. Other policies for the BRAs aim to ensure the areas provide for a variety of activities (Pol. 8.2.1), ensure adverse effects of the areas upon RRAs are minimised (Pol. 8.2.4), manage the high generation of vehicle movements (Pol. 8.2.6), and maintain the areas as safe and convenient zones (Pol. 8.2.3). Similar to the RRAs, business activities in the BRA are subject to a series of standards. These standards, given under Rule 8.3.6 concern the following:

a. Minimum floor area: *600 square metres*
b. Maximum height: *10 metres*
c. Verandas
d. Signs
e. Parking
f. Noise
g. Outdoor Storage Areas
h. Landscaping

Further rules also exist to control the design of building facades and subdivisions (Rule 8.3.2) and control the matters listed in the policies given above for activities that do not comply with the Rule 8.3.6 standards (Rule 8.3.3)

3.4.3 Clyde Heritage Precinct

One of the clearest ways in which the District Plan deals with heritage identity of Clyde is through the Clyde heritage precinct (CHP) which surrounds the central area of the town, as shown in Figure 3.4. Within the CHP, additional policies and rules apply under the District Plan. The policies for the CHP ensure that the erection of alteration of structures within the CHP must complement the existing character of the precinct (Pol. 11.3.1) and restrict the demolition of buildings which contribute to the heritage character of the CHP (Pol. 11.3.2). Rules for the CHP place controls for these policies, with Rule 11.4.1 controlling addition, alteration and erection of existing or new structures, and Rule 11.4.2 restricting demolition of structures within the CHP. These provisions are relevant to this study as it is critical that they are able to provide the outcomes regarding the preservation of identity and heritage value sought by the Clyde community.

3.5 Non-Statutory Plans and Policy

There are a number of plans which do not have a legal standing in the same way that the District Plan does, but instead provide higher level policy which envisions how a community may grow. If the wider planning system is working well, these plans will both reflect the aspirations of a community and operate through the district plan to achieve the outcomes it describes. Non-statutory plans may also use other methods, such as guiding Council funding, encouraging private investment, and encouraging community action to meet these outcomes. To achieve the research aims of this project our later discussion will test whether the desired outcomes of the community identified in the results match the outcomes given within current policy documents. The outcomes envisioned by the relevant non-statutory plans are therefore summarised in this section.

3.5.1 Clyde Community Plan 2010 (CCP2010).

The CCP2010 provides the following vision statement, which is a useful summary of what aspects of the Clyde identity are represented in the CCP2010:

We value the special character of our area our landscape and climate with its:
- Scenic landscape and mountains
- Continental climate
- Clutha River and Lake Dunstan

Our History and Heritage with its:
- Goldfield relics
- Stories from the past

Our Community with its:
- Small size of the town
- Strong inclusive community spirit
- Peace and quiet where a relaxed lifestyle can be enjoyed
- Safe family oriented focus
- Recreational opportunities

CCP2010: p.5

The CCP2010 describes a community profile which reflects the idea of Clyde as an attractive heritage town with a small, "close-knit" community (CCP, 2010: p.7). It also notes that many families in the town have a "strong sense of connection to the place", although it is also estimated that as many as 40% of homes in the town are holiday homes (CCP, 2010: p.7). As a tourist destination, the CCP2010 estimates that the population of Clyde swells to over 3,000 people in the summer (2010: p.7). Finally, the community profile in the CCP2010 notes that young people have a tendency to leave for places with greater employment and educational opportunities (2010, p.8).

The core part of the CCP2010 moves on from the community profile to outline general issues and objectives for the community. These are summarised below in Appendix Chapter C, with the objective statement in italics. Omitted from this summary are recommendations for action, which provide instruction on how to achieve these objectives. Objective statements that are of relevance to this study include: *New development to be keeping with the character and collective lifestyle values of the Clyde community; maintain, develop and celebrate Clyde's heritage; Clyde remains a safe place in which to live, work and play; Attract a manageable number of visitors so that a healthy balance between the needs of tourists and the values of*

residents can be maintained. These specific objectives in the CCP2010 are all relevant to maintaining the unique identity of Clyde.

Finally, the CCP2010 provides an assessment of what specific issues are important to the community and how important these issues are. The highly ranked issues have a timeframe of two years, which suggests that the issues should now be dealt with. Issues are identified through field research in this project should be compared to the CCP2010 issues assessment, in order to understand whether the plan is still relevant, or whether the plan has been effective in resolving the community's issues.

3.5.2 2015-2025 Long Term Plan

The 2015-2025 Long Term Plan (LTP2015) sets out what the CODC intends to do over the following ten years and outlines how the work could be achieved and financed. Currently, the CODC is consulting on its next long-term plan, as the plans must be reviewed every three years. The most notable feature of the LTP2015 for Clyde is its stated aim for the CODC to spend $13 million dollars on wastewater treatment and $23 million dollars on wastewater reticulation between 2023 and 2027 for Clyde. The LTP2015 also identifies growth projections and anticipates that the population of the district will increase to 19,800 by 2025, from 18,200 in 2015 (LTP2015).

3.5.3 2018-2028 Draft Long Term Plan

The LTP2015 is currently under review, with public consultation having been carried out earlier this year. Within the 10 year-plan consultation document a notable feature for Clyde and this study is the proposed Clyde Heritage precinct Upgrade. The preferred option described in the document includes creating a 'heart' of Clyde, by upgrading Lodge Lane to a shared public space, with parking removed, and roads and sidewalks levelled. Within this option, the Heritage precinct will be connected to the river via a walkway with increased car parking provided by the river. A further notable feature of the draft is the reticulated wastewater system proposal. Within this proposal are two options which the Council has identified, the first which would see the system be implemented in three stages between 2018 and 2042, with a cost of $28.3 million. The second option would see the system implemented in a single stage, being completed 12 years earlier. As mentioned earlier, this proposal has the potential to allow for

the densification of residential dwellings in Clyde, so the proposal will directly affect the ability for Clyde to grow over the following decades.

3.5.4 Central Otago Economic and Business Development Strategy 2013-2016

The Central Otago Economic and Business Development Strategy is the most recent economic and business development focused strategy in the district. Although it relates to the entire district, a number of issues have some relevance to Clyde. It identifies the need to develop accommodation, telecommunication infrastructure and education options, while taking advantage of tourism, heritage and outside investment opportunities. Interestingly, objective one of the strategy's action plan is to grow the Central Otago population, while objective two is to develop housing resources. For the latter objective, this particularly aims to support the development of a well-resourced retirement village in Central Otago and lower income housing options.

3.6 Resident Surveys

Resident surveys undertaken by the Central Otago District Council are useful as they directly represent views of the community. Where these surveys are relevant to Clyde's identity or growth, they have been summarised below. It will be useful to compare the results of our field research to these surveys, as a comparison may indicate changing or remaining views.

3.6.1 Clyde Community Survey 2015

The Clyde community survey of 2015 asked residents about a number of issues. In summary, it identified the three most popular responses to the question, "What is your vision for Clyde?" were that Clyde; should remain the same as it is now – a safe, friendly, small town; have controlled/thoughtful growth; and have good infrastructure appropriate for the size of the community. It also found the following:

- The majority of respondents (54%) indicated that they did not want Clyde to grow beyond its current boundaries, compared to 39% who did.
- 74% of respondents did not want smaller sections sizes within Clyde, compared to 19% that did.

- Young people in Clyde indicated many activities that they like to do and suggested a variety of different things they would like to see in the future for Clyde. There was no dominant view.

3.6.2 CODC Residents Survey 2017

The CODC Residents Survey 2017 was a district wide survey that mostly asked residents about their views on Council performance. The most important information provided by this survey is the residents' view of what issues the Council should give top priority to for the Earnscleugh/Manuherikia ward, which Clyde is located in. These were water supply, a sewerage system and public toilets.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the information specific to Clyde which is necessary for both developing suitable research methods and for drawing conclusions from the results of the study. The history of Clyde describes the economic changes which have influenced Clyde and provides context to the stories of history which are engrained in Clyde through its built heritage. These economic processes and stories of history may form the basis for perceptions of identity, and which elements of Clyde's history are important to the towns identity may become clear through the results. The planning background which is also given in this chapter is the operative element which is best suited to control development, represent community views, and guide community and council action. Through the results of this study, the planning background given in this chapter can be tested to identify where changes should be recommended to meet outcomes sought by the community.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the selection of methods used in our research and details why a mixed method, qualitative approach was chosen. The research design will be discussed which covers how our team planned our research, contacted participants, which methods we used and how we analysed our results. Following on from this there will be a section covering which documents and plans our team analysed and the reasons behind the chosen documents, the same will be done for the section on our literature review. Overviewing of the primary data collection methods makes up a large proportion of this chapter as this covers the interviews, questionnaires and site observations we used in our research. This chapter also covers ethics and positionality, as well as the limitations of our methods and what our team did to compensate for these limitations. Overall this chapter will highlight the methodology of our research and how these methods will help answer our research aim and objectives.

4.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this methodology is built on the concepts of interpretivist theory and humanist principles which have guided and informed primary data collection in the form of key stakeholder interviews, questionnaires and its analysis and site observations. Primary data collection ensures data collected is context specific and directly relevant to what the research seeks to achieve (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Secondary data was also used to help establish the context of the research in line with the history of Clyde and the influences on small towns within a global setting.

Interpretivist theory emphasises the role of human action over the function of social hierarchies and arrangements (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017). The reason for using this particular academic framework to guide and inform the research, was to provide a thorough

understanding as well as a framework that can be used to directly interpret the meanings and values behind human interactions on a spatial level relevant to our study. Interpretivist theory has a focus on interpreting data for the purpose of understanding the ongoing experiences behind the research, as opposed to simply making predictions based on immediate results. Interpretivist theory emphasises human action over the function of social arrangements. The purpose behind using interpretivist theory was due to its principles that are concerned with how groups and individuals create meaning in their lived experiences which is directly relevant to the focus of this study (Andrade, 2009).

Humanism is based on human agency that acts outside of structural constraints (Gregory et al., 2009). The reasons behind choosing this approach were to provide a focus on individual experiences within the Clyde context, as opposed to the overarching social structures that influence social behaviour and society in general. Both humanism and interpretivist theories are based around using qualitative processes to inform the research. As qualitative research in the form of key stakeholder interviews was the main research method that was utilised within this study, it was essential to have a theoretical framework that would inform the research. Combining the essential focus elements from interpretivist and humanist theory allowed the research to use a mixed enquiry approach while keeping the focus of the research on individual's experiences and viewpoints.

4.3 Research Design

Our team was given the project topic of 'Growth-retaining identity and heritage in Clyde', and the aim "to explore strategies for retaining identity and preserving heritage values in an area facing growth pressures". Through discussions about the project brief and with guidance from the CODC and DIA clients, this aim was developed into our research questions, provided in Table 4.3.

Aim: *To explore strategies for retaining identity and preserving heritage values in an area facing growth pressures.*

Table 4.3: *Research Questions*

Research question 1	What is Clyde's identity, and how does heritage relate to it?
Research question 2	What are the pressures associated with growth that threaten this identity?
Research question 3	What planning actions can be done to prevent or mitigate these threats?

The method design was then developed whilst completing reviews of existing literature and context related information. A qualitative constructivist approach with a mixture of methods was chosen to allow for cross verification of results (Cresswell, 2013). Cross verification of results can facilitate validation of data through methods such as triangulation from two or more sources (Cresswell, 2013; Triad 3, 2016). We had initially hoped to use a mixed qualitative/quantitative methods approach which would have strengthened this cross verification, but unfortunately, the surveys which we intended to undertake could not be completed because we had not anticipated the time which the respondents were willing to spend talking to the team members. In effect, the surveys became interviews and we were not able to complete enough surveys to warrant using quantitative analysis on the data. Our data collection instead used only qualitative research methods, which are methods that focus on understanding people's views and how contexts affect their lives (Hennick et al., 2011). Although these methods were entirely qualitative, both primary and secondary methods were used. The secondary methods were a document analysis and a literature review, while the primary methods were key stakeholder interviews, community questionnaires (later abandoned) and site observations. The primary methods were employed throughout the 7th-11th May 2018, during which the research team was in Clyde.

4.3.1 Document Analysis

A document analysis which looked at the District Plan, Long Term Plans and Community Plans developed by the CODC was undertaken. Other documents analysed included the Central Otago Heritage Plan 2018/Central Otago Heritage Strategy 2018 and the Central Otago Economic and Business Development Strategy 2013-2016, although these did not have any useful information which required being included in this study. The findings of the document analysis have already been presented and can be found earlier in Chapter 3. Document analysis

is the main secondary data collection method our team used and has been vital for our research as it has given context to what is occurring in Clyde and what the future of Clyde could potentially look like (Triad 3, 2016).

4.3.2 Literature Review

Before our field trip to Central Otago to collect data, a literature review was completed. The literature review was an important part of research as they allowed our team members to gain a wider understanding and knowledge on small town development, growth and how small towns can protect their identity and heritage. It was valuable reading a wide selection and analysing several pieces of literature from both national and international context (Cresswell, 2013). Through wide reading key themes were highlighted, and we were able to discuss these ideas and themes and then compare them to our results at the end of our project. Key arguments and discussions from authors was also influential on our research as it helped guide our research aims and objectives as well as our methods and informed our results and their interpretation.

4.3.3 Key Stakeholder Interviews

Interviews are a valuable method used for collecting data for research purposes and they involve the interviewer asking a sequence of questions to a participant in order to gain opinions, experiences and perceptions (Barriball & While, 1994). The key stakeholder interviews were the principal method used to gather data relating to the perspectives of the Clyde community. A semi-structured interview approach was used which meant that a set of questions was set prior to the interviews, but the questions could be altered during the interview to use slightly different words, ask follow-up questions and probe for more information or clarification of what participants were meaning (Barriball & While, 1994). The set questions used in these interviews are included in the Appendix.

To ensure this data represented the multiplicity of views within the community, we intentionally chose a variety of groups and individuals within the community. These were primarily business representatives, community group representatives and general residents. Business representatives generally had a greater involvement in the development of Clyde's historic and tourism industries. Community groups and general residents tended to have a greater involvement in the resident community. Efforts were made to ensure interviews were undertaken with both stakeholders who generally supported growth and stakeholders which

generally did not. Beyond these primary groups, stakeholders were also intentionally targeted to represent views of different demographic groups, including non-residents, long-term residents, recent migrants to Clyde and a variety of age groups. While a diverse range of stakeholders were interviewed, these stakeholders are only referred to as key stakeholders (without further classification) in this study. This is partly to ensure anonymity given the small community within Clyde, and partly because business and community representatives often had overlapping interests.

Due to the ethics approval limitations of the study, stakeholders younger than 18 years old could not take part in the study so their perspective was gathered through secondary means from older stakeholders. The exact age of the key stakeholders was not asked during the interviews, but it is apparent that the participants were over the age of 18 years old. Overall, we interviewed 13 people, varying in age and gender. Recruitment of participants was mostly performed via email or phone calls prior to the research team arriving in Clyde. Assistance with getting contact information and identifying useful stakeholders in Clyde was given by the CODC and DIA clients, which greatly helped the recruitment process. Further interviewees were also recruited during the week the research team was in Clyde, through suggestions provided by interview participants. Participants in stakeholder interviews are referred to as key stakeholders in later sections of this report and given the codes K1-K14 to preserve anonymity (K10 is absent because of a recording failure).

4.3.4 Community Questionnaires

In order to ascertain wider residents' perceptions and opinions of Clyde's identity, heritage and growth our team created a questionnaire. Questionnaires can be a useful research method as they are able to gather a variety of information from participants and are often used to gather large amounts of data (Hoggart et al., 2002). For instance, population and resident surveys are able to show trends and highlight people's opinions (Hoggart et al., 2002). The questionnaire our team created used both open qualitative questions and close ended quantitative questions. The questionnaire is given in the Appendix.

Participants for this questionnaire were recruited by 'door knocking' at a variety of houses within Clyde and by dropping the questionnaires into a few businesses around town. This method of sampling was meant to be spatially stratified, with the researchers visiting different areas of Clyde in a uniformed pattern. However, this method of research was abandoned

prematurely as residents repeatedly invited members of the research team into their homes to answer the survey. This was not the intention of the questionnaire as it was anticipated that residents would answer the survey at the door. While the invitation into residents' homes was appreciated, the time taken to complete each interview was too long and it was realised that it was not going to be possible to get a suitable number of surveys required to warrant using quantitative data. On one occasion, an invitation into a respondent's home led to members of the research team feeling uncomfortable and resident surveys were abandoned thereafter. In total only nine questionnaires were completed from the 30 questionnaires which were intended, however the detailed qualitative responses given by the respondents meant that the completed surveys could be treated as interviews, with the quantitative questions being omitted from the study. Respondents to the community surveys are referred to as community respondents, or with codes C1-C9 in later sections of this report.

4.3.5 Site Observations

Site observations were the last primary data collection method our team used. This method involved our research team walking around Clyde and noting down key observations, which included the uses, make of buildings and facilities in the town and overall quality of services, infrastructure, signage and amenities. Site observations were also taken in Arrowtown because, as indicated in Chapter 5, the two towns were compared to each other multiple times by key stakeholders. The observations of both towns took approximately one hour each to complete. The site observations provided a wider understanding and experience of the towns, provided information to discuss with participants in interviews, showed how local places are managed and showed how heritage is used to promote towns (Cresswell, 2013). They also provided a check which could be used evaluate information gathered in interviews from a different perspective. The main limitation for this method we had to consider was not to be intrusive and to make sure we were using the same type of observation methods in both sites; Clyde and Arrowtown (Cresswell, 2013).

4.3.6 Analysis.

Data from the key stakeholder interviews and community questionnaire responses was analysed by coding transcriptions and comments for themes which related to the research questions. Data from the site observations were also sorted into themes.

4.4 Ethics and Positionality

When conducting research involving human participants ethical considerations are of utmost importance. These ethical considerations and the potential issues can occur at any stage of the research process, therefore, considerations and acting consciously need to be upheld throughout the entirety of the research project (Cresswell, 2013). Ethical research is conducted in a two-fold manner, firstly procedural ethics must be carried out and then in practice it must be followed within the data collection stages (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). To ensure that we carried out procedural ethics we completed a University of Otago ethics B application form. This document outlined a description of the methodology, specific research questions we were investigating and any potential issues which we might encounter due to the methodology style that we had selected. Moreover, we provided each participant with an information sheet that outlined our research and specific aims. This ensured that participants could provide informed consent regarding their participation in the research, consent to record the interview, and determine whether they wished to be named or remain anonymous. We collected signed consent forms from all participants involved and made them aware of their right to decline specific questions or withdraw from the research at any time. We carried out ethics in practice by adhering to the University of Otago Code of Conduct, as well as the New Zealand Planning Institute Code of Ethics throughout all stages of the research process. We took into account our positionality by acknowledging that we might be different to the people who we are collecting data from, in terms of factors such as age, gender, and level of education. We recognised these differences by ensuring that we paid the participants high levels of respect and did not portray superior knowledge. We considered that there may be issues of power and to address this we took care to not ask leading questions, to not act in an overwhelming manner and to ensure that the participants felt comfortable throughout the data collection process.

4.5 Limitations

Two significant limitations were met during the data collection process. The first, which has been mentioned earlier, was the difficulty in collecting community questionnaires as the time taken to collect each questionnaire was too long, meaning that we were unlikely to collect enough questionnaires to warrant using quantitative data. To mitigate this issue, a different method of surveying could have been used, such as dropping the questionnaires off and returning to collect later. We addressed this limitation by completing more key stakeholder

interviews than anticipated in order to expand on the data we had already collected. The second limitation was out of the research teams control, as TRENZ, an annual business travel and trade tourism conference, was held in Dunedin during the week we were in Clyde. This affected our research as many local business owners were unavailable because they were attending this event. However, in some instances our team was able to speak to managers and other staff members instead if the owners were unavailable.

4.6 Conclusion

By building on interpretivist theory and humanist principles the research methods discussed above were able to be developed in a way which would provide a sufficient range and quality of data for this study. The mixed method approach of using both primary and secondary qualitative methods ensured our team would have cross verified, quality results. Ethics and positionality was kept professional during the research process and we adhered to ethics procedures of the University of Otago and the New Zealand Planning Institute, as well as noting our own personal bias before the starting data collection. In cases where there were limitations with our chosen methods, our team mitigated these limitations as best as possible. These methods helped provide the comprehensive results that are discussed in the following chapters of this report.

Chapter Five

Results

The results of this study are grouped corresponding to the research questions which the research methods were built around. Firstly, the results show what various stakeholders and members of the community perceive as important to the identity of Clyde. These perceptions can be further broken down into themes related to the community, gold mining heritage, Clyde's unique style of tourism, businesses, family and children, and natural heritage. A recurring point mentioned by key informants and respondents is how Clyde's identity is different to that of Arrowtown, another heritage town located in the Queenstown Lakes District of Otago. This is explained further in the Clyde identity segment of the results. Secondly, the perceptions identified by respondents in regards to perceived threats to Clyde's identity are in the next section. The themes evident within threats to Clyde's identity section include issues around residential subdivision and development, development within the heritage precinct, changing residential demographics, increased or shifting market of tourists, and identity coalescing with Alexandra. Finally, the results which show opinions on what actions can be taken to protect Clyde from growth pressures are given, and these are anchored around themes of statutory planning regulation, non-statutory planning action, Council development, and community action.

The results given in this Chapter are presented in such a way which minimises the influence of the authors opinions, asides from the necessary categorising and filtering of results into themes. The purpose in doing this is to provide clear and honest perceptions of the Clyde community without attempting to form the arguments made in the next chapter. This decision was made after guidance on this study indicated that clients from the Central Otago District Council and Department of Internal Affairs would find the results most useful if they were presented in this manner.

5.1 Clyde's Identity

5.1.1 Community

The study revealed that an important aspect to Clyde's identity is the small-town tight-knit community (K4; K5; K7; K8; K12). This is reflected through the thriving social capital which is utilised amongst members of the community. K5 provided insight into the community gathering places such as 'the hotel', specifically highlighting that it is within these casual spaces that connections are made between residents to allow social capital to be utilised. K4 also revealed that social capital is highly valuable within the community, and specifically that the primary school is used as a way to keep residents involved and active within the community. K7 outlined that this social capital which is available due to the small-town nature of Clyde is a highly desirable feature to Clyde's identity, in particular for providing aid to those residents in need within the community. Key stakeholders 5 and 8 suggest that the small-town nature of Clyde allows residents to feel safe. C1 also reinforces what key stakeholders 5 and 8 are saying about the local people in Clyde being their favourite aspect of the town as 'everyone knows everyone'. Quotes from respondents indicating the strength of social capital in the community of Clyde are displayed below in Table 5.1.1.

Figure 5.1.1: *Lived in Heritage Building in Clyde, taken from personal collection*

Table 5.1.1: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding social capital within the Clyde community.

K5	"You get people there [the hotel] from 18-80, and it doesn't matter if you're a lawyer, or a retired person, a builder, everyone is the same. It's a great place that people meet. You can walk in at any time day-or-night and people will welcome you. If there's somebody sitting on their own, there is always someone who will ask: "Do you want to join us?" "It is in these social places [the hotel] where people will get to know you, and approach you to help out within the community, like the museum or whatever".
K5	"It's the feeling [that makes Clyde special], you feel safe in Clyde. We have been down to Dunedin for a week, and we just left our house unlocked. But you know it is safe in this little town. We don't live in each other's pockets, but you're aware of each other, you look out for each other. Including the holiday-home owners".
K5	"Remaining small is good for the community, it's especially good for the elderly. You've got supermarkets that will deliver straight to your door. Tony the butcher will deliver your meat, these are the perks of being in a small town".
K8	"The people, the climate, the size of the town and pace of life, those would be factors that I think identifies Clyde".
K8	"It probably makes it (Clyde) quite an inclusive community, the size of it very much makes it what it is…. Physically and demographically".
K4	"Lovely primary school, involved in the community, and the community is involved in the primary school. It's a two-way thing".
K4	"If people need something, they just need to ask around, and you will always know somebody who knows somebody that will put you on the right track – that's the connectivity that's important to the identity, it's good."
K4	"People can all give people tips about how to deal with council or whatever, "have you tried this, or that, or this is the way you approach it". They tell you about the processes, you're not really alone, you utilise each other's skills".
K7	"There's quite a sense of community, 800-100 people here I guess and its growing and there's that sort of feeling of being connected and when a family suffers some sort of adversity there's plenty of groups around who would rally and look after. So connectiveness I suppose".
C1	[What are your favourite aspects about livening in Clyde?] "The people- knowing everyone, small, friendly and safe".

5.1.2 Gold Mining Heritage.

Respondents indicated that a central tenet to Clyde's identity is the gold mining era history of Clyde (K3; K6; K8; K9; K12). K3 outlined the humbling effect that the visible history of Clyde has on both tourists and residents. K9 made it evident that the gold-mining heritage remains an integral part of Clyde's identity and the character of Clyde's building are still today made to reflect this heritage. K8 highlighted that it is this visible and accessible historic background that makes Clyde's identity unique. Both K12 and K6 revealed that the residents of Clyde feel

that the rich history of Clyde must be retained and safeguarded in order to protect the unique identity of Clyde. Quotes which support these results are displayed below in Table 5.1.2.

Table 5.1.2: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding gold mining heritage and Clyde's identity.

K3	"When you walk around Clyde you get a sense of how our ancestors lived"
K8	"The identifying factor of Clyde is its uniqueness and within this uniqueness is probably its historic background and its special character of the town which relates to its history, which clearly goes back to gold mining".
K9	"It's definitely grown and developed but the heritage has stayed which has been really cool. We don't have any four story square buildings going up anywhere and it's never going to happen because of the constraints."
K12	"We are very concerned to maintain the heritage aspect of Clyde…there is what's called the heritage precinct… and some several years ago a new house was built in a very modern style in that area… that caused considerable distress around the town…"
K6	"Its history goes back to the days of gold, that's an important fact that needs to be maintained. The way in which early people constructed buildings schist stone and all those types of things."

5.1.3 Tourism

Respondents showed that Clyde's unique style of tourism is important to the town's identity (K1; K4; K6; K8; K9; K11). K9 expressed the operation of tourism in Clyde is very relaxed relative to the more strict and linear way of conducting tourism in larger towns or cities. K4 outlined that Clyde's small size is an asset to its unique tourism. Together, they both suggested that the tourists that Clyde attracts enjoy the slow-paced lifestyle that Clyde has to offer, and this needs to be protected (K4; K8). K8 also noted that the rail trail brings in a diverse range of tourists. K1 noted the rail trail, the high-quality restaurants, and the wine and food festivals as valuable tourist-attractions, suggesting that Clyde is almost becoming a destination in its own right. K11 attributed the growth that is occurring in Clyde to a network of tourism-based-business elements all working in conjunction with each other that draw people to Clyde, indicating that it was not one single outfit that draws tourists. Finally, K9 outlined that the tourists are not viewed as simply numbers, but rather that the people of Clyde value them on a personal level. Quotes which indicate Clyde's unique style of tourism in relation to the towns identity are given below in Table 5.1.3.

Table 5.1.3: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding tourism and Clyde's identity.

K8	"The rail trail people are usually friendly, they are all hyped up because they are all just heading out for their adventure. They're quite a mix of people from around the world. It's just the dynamic".
K9	"We're keeping it as non-corporate as possible. It's to keep it that relaxed town willing to help. The heritage is here. The buildings are all nicely done so they look like they've been here forever and stuff like that tends to help."
K9	"Everything's organised but it's low key…you know you don't walk in the door and you're just another number on the wall and we go here, read this, see you later, cool. Pay me."
K9	"Round about Christmas we go to 3 and a half because half the homes here are holiday homes and the camping ground and everything else. And then things get a little bit busy."
K4	"They [the tourists] like the slow pace, they like that it's quiet, they like it that there is not too many people around".
K4	"The tourists we get are often families, or old people, we provide a gold card discount. We are not luxury accommodation. We get down to earth regulars who go well with the feel of Clyde".
K1	"Clyde is becoming just about a destination, but I don't think quite a destination just yet".
K11	"Clyde has given it [Becoming a destination] a go once or twice before but the operations stall because people come in for a meal once or twice but there was nothing else for people to come back to (Clyde)"
K6	"Clyde has now earned the reputation of being a place to come and eat. It's got good quality dining. Paulinas, Olivers, the post office, orchard garden and those sorts of things".

5.1.4 Businesses

The style of businesses that is dominant within the small-town is an important aspect of Clyde's identity (K4; K5; K9; K11; K12). K9 felt that a bulk of the clients for businesses in Clyde are tourists, but during the off-season they are able to get business from the local residents of Clyde. This means that businesses can operate throughout the year and are able to provide for a well-balanced client base of both tourists and local residents. K5 highlighted that a vital component of the identity of Clyde is that the local businesses cater for the locals, as it is their home first. K11 described a *"gravitational pull to the town"* as near-by residents and visitors were intrigued to see what was going on when the restaurant Oliver's was redeveloped. This has a marked feel on the businesses in Clyde and how they interact with each other; the critical mass (in terms of tourists coming to Clyde) is shared amongst the businesses, the businesses in

Clyde don't look at other businesses as competitors but they help each other to draw people to Clyde (through that critical mass effect). K11 suggested this nature of the businesses aligns well with other aspects of Clyde's identity, such as the close-knit community feel of the town. K12 highlighted that a large amount of the businesses based within Clyde are run out of people's homes, and that these small businesses contribute towards the small-town, humbling feel of Clyde's identity. K11 also revealed in their interview that economic activity is viewed as good for Clyde's community as it increases viability. Stakeholder 6 highlighted that one of their favourite aspects of living in Clyde is that the business owners operate their businesses in a tasteful way that intentionally preserves both the history and identity of Clyde. Quotes from respondents regarding businesses in respect to Clyde's identity are displayed below in Table 5.1.4.

Figure 5.1.4: *Local Businesses in Clyde, taken from personal collection*

Table 5.1.4: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding businesses in Clyde and Clyde's identity.

K9	"The biggest thing with Clyde is that it's a tight-knit community. Everyone works well together even though there's lots of different businesses and we essentially can be seen as competitors but we all work really nicely together."
K9	"All the locals start going out for dinner more [during winter] because we haven't got as many people coming through and that keeps everyone up and running as well. So it's a good business that way."
K4	"The business people in Clyde all have a sense of pride in what they do, and they support each other and work together. There is great connectivity, and no competition between each other".
K12	"…there's a lot of businesses in Clyde, I think we gathered one count there were almost 100 businesses in Clyde. But they're little backyard ones, I run a software business here…and that sort of thing is happening right through Clyde. There's lots of little businesses, which makes it a nice community."
K7	"(Oliver's) put a lot of money in and this developed momentum to Paulina's and other businesses in the town. This has been quite significant since I've been here. That downstream employment has employed mainly people who have already been here but also for secondary income a lot of people are working in hospitality".
K5	"It's important for the restaurants and the shops in Clyde to continue to cater for the locals. We're the ones who are going to turn up time and time again. It's our town, and it should feel like it".
I6	"The business owners are predominately preserving Clyde and its heritage, in. tasteful way".

5.1.5 Family and Children.

A key stakeholder indicated the small-town nature of Clyde provides for a safe place for families and young children (K7). This is reflected through the thriving primary school, and the range of activities on offer there that provides opportunities for child independence. K7 described that town as a safe place for families, and that specifically that child-friendly facilities are becoming more frequent with the development of Clyde, such as the underpass for the rail-trail link to Alexandra. Quotes from K7 regarding the family and children aspect of Clyde's identity are displayed below in Table 5.1.5.

Table 5.1.5: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding family, children and Clyde's identity.

K7	"There's a parkway down the middle of town with the old railway line use to go and with a fair bit of community lobbying we got that underpass so that links with the rail trail to go to Alexandra so kids can independently move around either walking or cycling, probably more so than they can in most New Zealand suburbs".

K7	"There's lots of opportunities for kids to be independent and to be physically active in a less structured way than perhaps rigorous sports events and so on. So, I guess that's probably one thing that I think people would see as a strength".
K7	"It's regarded as safe in terms of roading and the ability for kids to be independent with bikes".

5.1.6 Natural Heritage.

K14, who is involved in natural heritage in the Central Otago district suggested that acknowledgment and protection of natural heritage within Clyde, and the Central Otago region is fairly absent (natural heritage being indigenous flora and fauna). Further, K14 felt that the people within the Clyde community do not recognise the natural heritage as part of Clyde's history and identity. To address this issue, K14 proposed that new development in Clyde needs to include native planting to promote the natural heritage of the region, which should be part of Clyde's identity. Quotes from K14 regarding natural heritage in relation to the identity of Clyde are given in Table 5.1.6.

Table 5.1.6: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding natural heritage and Clyde's identity.

K14	"The communities awareness, appreciation of and recognition of natural heritage is really lacking, because there's nothing left. There's no points of reference."
K14	"What we've got is only poplars and willows. Which is fine, but for heaven's sake move over and make some room for natives too, because they are very much part of the heritage".

5.1.7 Arrowtown.

A theme which emerged as results were being collected was the opinions respondents had of Arrowtown, a nearby town in the Queenstown Lakes District that was often compared to Clyde as it also has a gold mining history and intact heritage sites (K4, K5; K8; K9; K11; K12). K5 revealed that although Arrowtown and Clyde are both 'historic towns' reflecting a history of gold mining, they have two very separate identities. K9 expressed that they believe that Arrowtown is a great town in its own right, but the path in which they have taken has resulted in a shift in the towns identity, where Arrowtown has become a town that caters more to international tourists than to the locals. K9 highlighted that this is not a model that Clyde would benefit from replicating or a direction that would reflect Clyde's community values. They support the idea that Arrowtown's primary focus is their tourist market, whereas Clyde needs to remain a place that is suitable and easily accessible for its local residents as well (K9). K12

expressed similar beliefs regarding Arrowtown, specifically noting that for Clyde to retain its authentic identity it cannot conform to the growth pressures that have moulded Arrowtown into what it is today. K1 had a different perspective compared to the other stakeholders, expressing that Clyde is what Arrowtown was 40 years ago and that Arrowtown is well-maintained by the council and is still authentic. K4 highlighted that Clyde gets specific tourists who are avoiding both Arrowtown and Queenstown and suggested that Arrowtown does not have the ability to give genuine personal service as Clyde does due to the high turn-over of visitors to Arrowtown (K4). K11 explained that they feel that Arrowtown is a successful town, however, Clyde needs to follow them but to a lesser extent to retain its unique identity. Quotes which comment on Arrowtown as comparison made about the identity of Clyde are given in Table 5.1.7.

Table 5.1.7: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding Arrowtown and Clyde's identity.

K5	"Clyde will never be like Arrowtown, you cannot compare them. We may get people that visit Arrowtown and then come here for the rail trail, but we are very different, and have different types of visitors".
K9	"Everyone in Clyde is all about Clyde and all about keeping the history of the town. I guess the biggest thing for us is that we don't want it to become Arrowtown."
K9	"It's done really well, but its turned more into a tourist market, whereas everything here is still any local can walk into any of these shops and it's affordable and it's practical…We want to keep it real life I guess."
K4	""You're treated differently [in Arrowtown], nothing wrong, you are served and treated politely, but it wasn't coming from the heart".
K4	"Arrowtown is marketed more luxury, targeting high numbers of guests or tourists. We get guests that come to us and say: we are not going to stay in Arrowtown or Queenstown, we don't like how busy it is."
K4	"We often hear that [in Arrowtown] you're treated as a tourist, like a number, you're not treated like a normal person"
K12	"we don't want to become another Arrowtown…where we're just flooded with hundreds of visitors every day."
K1	"Clyde is seen as a nice boutique place… a bit like Arrowtown – it's different, it's quirky, it's quaint, it's got lots of old buildings, just like Arrowtown."
K1	""Clyde has that holiday feel, it's got the camping ground close in… and that's what Arrowtown used to be like, but Arrowtown has grown."
K11	"I like Arrowtown, I think it's been pretty well done, its highly successful and I'd love to have 20% of their foot traffic but that would be about all, that's the biggest problem with the place is that its overcooked…it has a theme park feel to it but that is just as much due to the type of visitor they get. "
K11	"It [Arrowtown] has a beautiful feel…it's not just the built environment but the trees and the living environment as well…"

K11	"I don't think that anyone here wants it to become like Arrowtown in terms of the amount of activity and the type of activity. Busloads of international tourists is not what we are aiming for…that would start impacting the liveability of residents."
K8	"I hear from lots of people, they do not want to see this town develop the way poor old Arrowtown developed".
K11	"Clyde has a long way to go before becoming Arrowtown; Arrowtown has huge money in it. That part of the market isn't here yet and I don't know if we want it (in Clyde) because that drives people away."

5.2 Threats to Clyde's identity

5.2.1 Residential Subdivision and Development.

The potential for future subdivision and housing developments within and around Clyde was reported to be a threat to the small-town aspects of Clyde's identity (K4; K11; K12; K14). Both K12 and K6 highlighted the threat of subdivision, explaining that more houses and more people within Clyde will mean the town will not be able to retain its quiet and small-town identity. K12 stated that for Clyde to protect its small-town identity it will need to be resilient moving forward as there is high demand for the town to expand. K6 discussed that they feel that when the reticulated sewage system is installed and subdivision allowed, the number of properties will increase quickly due to the high demand in the region, and this rapid growth will have the potential to change the identity of Clyde considerably. K4 stressed that it is important that future subdivision and residential expansion does not only provide holiday homes, as an important aspect of Clyde's identity is the family-orientated community. K4 also noted that permanent residents are needed in order to retain vibrancy throughout the winter off-season months. Quotes from respondents discussing the threats posed by subdivision and residential development are given in Table 5.2.1.

Table 5.2.1: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding residential subdivision and development as threat to Clyde's identity.

K14	"It's a positive and a negative. On the one hand, there will be a loss of suitable habitat through alternative land uses like subdivision. But on the other side, that can in turn provide opportunities for amenity planting of native vegetation, which can become a means to increase the awareness of the value of native plants amongst the population – by getting them involved and actually living with natives around them."
K14	"We're trying to get the Council to be more proactive in planting natives on amenity areas, particularly in new subdivisions and other parks and reserves in town."

K4	"I think it definitely needs a few more permanent families, because it does have quite an aged population. You definitely want two thirds of the people as permanent residents, you don't want too many empty holidays homes, it needs the vibrancy in the winter".
K12	"We'd like it to stay quiet. The council have limited where you can sell land in Clyde…there's an area and any land that's sold for houses has to be within that area, they're not approving housing development outside that restricted area. I don't know how long that lack of approval can go on…there's a huge demand, the prices of houses in Clyde have rocketed…and so there's a huge demand for Clyde to expand."
K6	"When the sewage system goes in the section size can go down to a minimum to 200 square metres instead of 800. Theoretically if you bowled all the houses you could up the number of houses by 4. That would change Clyde considerably".

5.2.2 Development within Heritage Precinct.

Development within the heritage precinct was discussed by some respondents as a potential threat to Clyde. The style of the buildings that could potentially be developed within the Heritage Precinct was one of these threats. Both K3 and K11 felt that you should be able to easily identify which buildings within the precinct are historic, and which are new. K3 explained that replicating the heritage buildings does not tastefully acknowledge the town's history and identity, rather it blurs the history, therefore making it less accessible. K11 likewise noted that to protect the heritage identity of Clyde, future development in the precinct should be sympathetic to the history, but not replicate it. K3 expressed that they had personal experience attempting development of a building within the Heritage Precinct, and although they were happy that there were design principles in place, they also felt that they were encouraged to use a design that 'blends-in' and looks old. They pointed out that good design principles suggest that new buildings should never be built in the same materials as old ones and should embrace the old instead (K3). With this being said, K3 also pointed out that people will generally build in Clyde because they love Clyde, and therefore they wanted to enhance Clyde, not degrade it. This love for Clyde which is shared by residents wanting to develop is itself a protection against the possibility of poor development in the heritage precinct. K9 acknowledged threats to the identity of Clyde are the external market forces that will apply pressure with development, and that this may change the current small-town identity and feel of the town. Yet, they also highlighted that these market forces may be necessary to keep the town alive and functioning (K9). Similarly, C10 felt that it is important for Clyde to keep growing, but it cannot forget or neglect the heritage buildings. A further threat of development within the heritage precinct is the inability of current accommodation and parking facilities to support commercial expansion. Both K2 and K9 indicated that this had occurred to some

degree with the recent growth in Clyde. Quotes regarding threats and change in the heritage precinct in Clyde are given in Table 5.2.2.

Table 5.2.2: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding development within the Heritage Precinct as a threat to Clyde's identity.

K3	"People that buy here and build here do so because they love Clyde."
K11	"People should always be able to tell the difference between old buildings and new builds cause it gets a wee bit Disneyesque if people replicate"
K9	"It's a hard one because you don't want it to change, but you don't want it to die off."
K9	"You've got your warehouses and things and in a bigger town it's fine, but we don't want that sort of stuff here. We're quite happy with it staying quiet and quaint."
K12	"You'll notice in Holloway Street all the new shops there have got a sort of a vintage look to them, except the big new art gallery which has caused angst amongst some people…it's likely we think when sewerage goes in which is coming in the next few years that the sections on Sunderland Street which back on to Holloway street…will probably be subdivided off and used possibly for commercial, more shops and what not and we would want those to have some heritage aspect to them."
I10	"[Clyde in the future] should keep growing, but not forget about the historic buildings".

5.2.3 Increased or Shifting Community of Residents.

Respondents suggested that an increased or shifting community of residents is a threat to Clyde's identity (K1; K6; K7; K8, K9; K14). K1 noted the pressure for more workers and affordable accommodation currently being felt across the wider Central Otago district. If this pressure is realised, an increased population of workers may change the small-town identity that Clyde has. K8 indicated that many owners of holiday homes which purchased their houses at reasonably high prices cannot afford to keep them vacant for majority of the year and therefore these houses become rental properties. K7 and K8 both expressed that that there has been an increase in the number of rental properties in Clyde due to the rent prices being more affordable compared to the prices in larger Central Otago towns (K7; K8). This leads to people living in Clyde and commuting into other towns for work (K8). An increasing number of rental properties could be a threat to Clyde's current identity if more residential homes become used for tourist and commuter accommodation as Clyde will be at risk of becoming a dormitory town, and this could threaten the friendly-tight-knit identity of Clyde (K7; K8). K7 revealed that they believe a significant threat to Clyde's Identity is the fact that there are no tertiary education options in Clyde or surrounding centres. Therefore, most high school graduates must relocate to other regions to obtain a tertiary education (K7). This "decapitates the community", as residents between the ages of 18 to 25 are not often found in Clyde (K7). Both K6 and K9

suggested that a threat to Clyde's identity would be an increase in population significantly above that of the current population of Clyde, as this increase will surely change the small-town feel of Clyde (K6; K9). K2 opposed this view and pointed out that Clyde has seen growth and decline before and therefore has experienced shifts in its community of residents. K2 therefore felt that the current growth is not a significant threat to the identity of Clyde. Quotes regarding threats to Clyde's identity in relation to the increased or shifting community of residents are displayed below in Table 5.2.3.

Table 5.2.3: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding the threats to Clyde's identity in relation to an increased or shifting community of residents in Clyde.

K1	"You've got tremendous growth areas in horticulture, viticulture… take the Waikerikeri Valley – they're going to change the landscape there and that's going to be quite dramatic, and that's only five minutes away from Clyde. So they're going to need a lot of workers."
K8	"A lot of people who brought these holiday homes for very good money have discovered they can't afford to keep them as holiday homes, so they become rentals".
K8	"Huge increase in the number of rentals in this town, they come in two groups- those who park their car and use it as a place to sleep and those who can't afford to live in Queenstown, Wanaka and Cromwell".
K8	"The 42% holiday homes, you notice it when you are out and about in the summer the friendliness of the town disappears slightly….changes the dynamics just slightly".
K14	"With a growing district, growing population, you're getting a lot of new people coming in, and that's really exemplified in the Wanaka situation. People coming from other parts of New Zealand. Bringing their values with them. Their appreciation of landscape, native vegetation, the environment – everything that makes a place nice to live in. And that's starting to happen a bit in Alexandra as well, and in Clyde".
K7	"Probably the big issue is that there is no tertiary, there's Cromwell polytechnic but most kids tend to have to go to Dunedin or further afield to go onto tertiary. That kind of decapitates the community a bit, there's 18-mid 20 cohort of kids that disappear and go somewhere else".
K7	"Cromwell is growing as a hub and we are only 15 minutes away from Cromwell. We have some families operating businesses in Cromwell and commute there. The general pattern is growing".
K9	"…we don't want too many people moving in…1000 people is our normal population. It's just good."
K6	"In recent years the permanent population of Clyde is about 1000 or just above it. There's been a very sudden increase. That has come at some price because there's pressure on supply land for housing for instance".
K6	"Permanent population has grown by three times and there's immense pressure upon it to go up more. How could this not change our town?".

5.2.4 Increased or Shifting Market of Tourists.

Similar to the residential community, an increasing or shifting market of tourists was considered a threat to Clyde's identity also, as the specific small-town niche-tourism that Clyde has to offer is regarded as a central tenet of Clyde's identity (K4; K9; K12). K4 felt that if Clyde was to draw an increased number of tourists the small-town would lose its authenticity and that more tourists would over-populate the historic precinct to the point where there would not be space to enjoy the area. K4 noted that with an increased market of tourists there will be market pressure to become more high-end in order to maximise profit within the businesses in Clyde. They stated that this would make these experiences unavailable to the locals and would therefore threaten the identity that Clyde has which caters for both visitors and residents (K4). K9 suggested that for Clyde to remain a sustainable small-town for its businesses, it requires its tourism to allow the town to financially prosper. However, there currently isn't the level of infrastructure required to allow quality service to be provided to extra visitors without threatening Clyde's identity (K9) Quotes from respondents regarding the threats to Clyde's identity in relation to the increased or shifting market of tourists are displayed below in Table 5.2.4.

Table 5.2.4: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding the threats to Clyde's identity in relation to increased or shifting market of tourists in Clyde.

K4	"As soon as there's tour buses coming in, and you've got, 30 people wandering the street following the person with the little sign, it loses authenticity".
K4	"It's small so if you had five tour buses there, you couldn't move".
K4	"It just has to make sure it doesn't become too high-end".
K9	"There's that fine line between hey yeah it's cool getting everyone here but...we don't have the infrastructure for 7000 people to be coming here a day just to be mooching around town."
K12	"…now with the new shops with the heritage aspects…the museums, the rail trail what not, way more people come off the main road and come into Clyde."

5.2.5 Identity Coalesces with Alexandra.

If residential or other urban character development was to occur between Alexandra and Clyde, then this may be a significant threat to the identity of Clyde as it may effectively be merged into the larger identity of Alexandra (K1; K12). K1 highlighted that the lack of land available in Clyde is currently restricting housing development, but with increased demand, it cannot be ignored that there is vacant land between Clyde and Alexandra that could be developed. K12 added to this stating that they felt that it is inevitable that Clyde will expand into Mutton Town

(towards Alexandra). There is already an existing belief that Clyde has lost its independence or ability to ensure its own identity through a community board (K2). C2 also commented that they believe Alexandra and Clyde will become a lot closer and made the point that they do not want Clyde to lose its identity. Quotes regarding the threat to Clyde's identity posed by coalescing with Alexandra are given in Table 5.2.5

Table 5.2.5: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding the threat to Clyde's identity from a coalescing with Alexandra

K1	"It wouldn't surprise me that if I came back in fifty years' time, that that [area] would be all built up between the two [Alexandra and Clyde] – there could be residential on both sides, it's just a natural progression".
K12	"I think Clyde is going to expand out towards Mutton Town, that's…in towards Alex. That's inevitable…people are just going to demand it."
I2	"Into the future while Clyde and Alexandra will become a lot 'closer'. I wouldn't want Clyde to lose its identity".

5.3 Protecting Clyde's Identity

5.3.1 Statutory Planning Regulation

The present study identified multiple strategies suggested by various Key Stakeholders regarding ways to protect the identity of Clyde using statutory planning regulations. K3 revealed that it is common opinion that Clyde will not be able to avoid future growth, however it can place design restrictions in place in order to protect its identity. K4, as well as, K8 explained that the council could put rules in place to ensure that when the reticulated sewage system is installed, you will still not be able to subdivide sections within the Historic Precinct, in order to keep it a low density development. K4 also suggested that one way to control the number of tourists visiting Clyde at a given time, they could have minimal bus parking provided within the new car parking development. K11 highlighted that there should be regulations in place to ensure future development aligns with the heritage-complementary design style. K12 also thought that building consents should not be given within the Historic Precinct unless there is some consideration to the heritage of Clyde. K11 noted that development in Clyde is likely, and to protect the regions natural heritage with this future expansion it is important that public planting includes a variety of local native plants. Findings

from the present study regarding what could be done to protect Clyde's identity in relation to statutory planning regulations are displayed below in Table 5.3.1.

Table 5.3.1: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding what could be statutory or planning regulation action could be taken to protect Clyde's identity.

K8	"To maintain the image, Clyde's uniqueness has got to be maintained. They have to be careful as sewage comes on it means people can subdivide their sections and they have to be very careful as to what they are going to consider as a minimum size…..in the historic precinct it should be a no no, what it is now is what it will be. You don't really want to see property down there suddenly sprouting two houses on one"
K4	"I think that why can't the council put in a covenant on the historic precinct at least, that you can't [subdivide your section]. And if you buy here you will be aware of this, and for people who are already here you couldn't subdivide anyway so I couldn't see a danger actually within this old town area, I think that it could be preserved".
K4	"I know that they [the council] are looking at putting a carpark down at Miners Lane, it will be for three buses I think. It is what it is – you just don't want more than that, that's all, they need to make sure no more".
K12	"The main one is not giving building consents unless there is some nod to heritage aspects so that new buildings…well in the heritage precinct have a heritage feel to them, that's the main thing they can do I think."
K3	"Development does have to happen, but it has to happen rationally."
K11	"Sticking to historic design form, a certain palette of colours, a certain palette of materials….there are a couple of houses that are completely out of character… It's not what's there but it's a missed opportunity to have done something interesting with it."

5.3.2 Non-statutory Planning

The present study identified multiple strategies suggested by various Key Stakeholders regarding ways to protect the identity of Clyde via council investment or development. K3 suggested that simply better signage regarding what is in Clyde could better encourage visitors, especially on the Highway, and this could in turn help protect the business and tourism aspect of Clyde's identity. K5 felt that the council should encourage and provide investment into the historic buildings within Clyde. K8 also highlighted that to maintain growth that will not negatively interfere with the local lifestyle of Clyde, there needs to be sufficient facilities to cope with the higher influxes of people. K9 also felt that increased parking should be developed in order to support the businesses within the Historic Precinct. K9 similarly identified that they felt that the only negative aspect of Clyde is the lack of parking in the historic precinct, council investment into parking needs to occur to fix this. K5 felt that it is vital in order to retain Clyde's identity future development should not be primarily aimed at tourists, but also specifically young families. They think that it is important to encourage young families to live in Clyde to

ensure that it does not become a generic tourist-town (K5). K5 expressed that in order to protect the identity of Clyde there should be more investment into recreational facilities for young families, they believe that this will allow Clyde to grow sustainably. K3 has similar thoughts as K5 and believes there needs to be more growth and facilities for young people in the area as well as opportunities for young people. In line with these views, K8 also highlighted the need for having more infrastructure within the community to cater for children and young families. K12 expressed that they think that the council need to also provide more investment in resident-orientated development. Such as, investment in a rest home for the many older citizens of Clyde, to enable them to stay in the town as the locals are a significant tenet in Clyde's identity. K6 felt that it is vital that the installation of the reticulated sewage system and historic precinct upgrade remain high priority to add to the physical quality of Clyde. Findings from the present study regarding what could be done to protect Clyde's identity in relation to non-statutory planning regulations, specifically council investment are displayed below in table 13.

Table 5.3.2: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding what Council investment could be spent to protect Clyde's identity.

K9	"I think that they could market us better… There is a Historic Clyde sign, but there's nothing saying what's here. I guess that's the one thing that I think Arrowtown's got. It's things just like knowing that there's restaurants and that there's shops and there's a microbrewery and there's something that people go oh there is actually something here."
K9	"I think the idea of having the parking down Miners Lane is a good idea like it's not far to walk. I think the worse thing is people get to a small town and if they can't park within a block of where they're meant to go it's like too far so that would be really nice."
K12	"Ideally it would have a rest home…when the Sunderland Estate was developed…there was an area set aside for a rest home but it never happened so people are leaving Clyde to go to rest homes as they get older, which is a real shame."
K5	"There used to be a swimming pool down at the camping ground, and that was a real hub for families. Now there is no swimming pool in Clyde, and there's a big difference between a group of young kids walking down to the pool, versus having to commute into Alex…Family orientated development would help Clyde grow sustainably".
K5	"We had a historic building, we spent thousands and thousands, and we ended up selling it…This is not how it should be, we should be helped more, it should be encouraged to preserve historic Clyde, they shouldn't be pushing these things back".
K6	"Historic precinct and reticulated sewage are going to be huge things for Clyde… they're going to add to the quality of Clyde".
I3	"To see some growth and more facilities for young people and opportunities".
I8	"To maintain steady growth in a way that doesn't interfere with current locals lifestyles, having enough facilitates to cope with the growth".
I8	"Having more for the children in the community. Catering for the many new families in the area".

I9	"[the negative aspects of living in Clyde are] the lack of parking in downtown Clyde".

5.3.3 Community Action.

The present study identified multiple strategies suggested by various Key Stakeholders regarding ways to protect the identity of Clyde via community action. K4 revealed that they feel that Clyde is such a valuable asset that it has to be shared and promoted, however, in doing so it has potential to threaten the authentic identity of the small-town. Therefore to safeguard against this, the businesses within Clyde should remain select and boutique style, and the locals should support them also, to allow it to be viable for them to not sell-out (K4). K4 highlighted that it is important to promote local products within the Historic Precinct, and again noting that it is crucial for the residents of Clyde to support these local products. K9 expressed that the businesses within the community need to actively support and promote each other to allow Clyde to retain the friendly-small-town feel that is so central to its identity, while also allowing Clyde to be economically prosperous. K8 recognised that the people within the Clyde community have actively protected and enhanced the heritage value in Clyde, and that it is through this community involvement that Clyde's identity as a whole can be retained. Findings from the present study regarding what could be done to protect Clyde's identity in relation to non-statutory planning regulations, specifically community action are displayed below in table 14.

Table 5.3.3: Quotes from key stakeholders regarding community action which could be taken to protect Clyde's identity.

K8	"Clyde recognised early on its importance of its history and it got on and various people have saved it and they enhanced it".
K4	"It's so small, it's beautiful, and you do want to market it. But you don't want it to become, yeah, less authentic. It lends itself to smaller buses, boutiquey tours, you could have different levels. It doesn't have to be high end".
K4	"I think it is important to primarily promote local products within the precinct. If it's eco or historic, include it in there as well. If you promote what Clyde already is and has had in its history, it think it will work".
K9	"It's fantastic we want to get more people here, we try and get people here with our bike trips to come; we pick them up in Queenstown 3 times a day, we try to get them to stay in Clyde the night before they start riding so they get to experience the town and it also supports businesses which then keeps everything else up and running."

5.4 Site Observations

Site observations were taken of Clyde and Arrowtown to highlight the experiences, aspects, and amenities observed by the research team in each town. The observations also provided an opportunity to verify information given from Clyde residents and stakeholders, especially with respect to Arrowtown given the inherent bias in stakeholders from Clyde. Points of interest which indicate the difference in character, design and amenities of the towns are noted below. Raw observations are included in the Appendix.

The site observations of Clyde noted the town as quiet, still, laidback, safe and having a quiet presence over the town from the nearby dam. "*Quiet*" in particular was a description mentioned by the whole team to describe Clyde. In comparison the site observations of Arrowtown noted that it was "busy, noisy" or "slow but busy". The research team noted that they could not tell who was a local and who was a tourist in Arrowtown. This contrasts against the point made in Clyde which expressed the locals were social, and for this reason the research team could tell who the locals were. In one instance for example the team observed a local bridge club in action with many people attending in their clubrooms.

Design of the town was another category our team focused on while observing both Clyde and Arrowtown. Clyde was noted to have a good design on Holloway Street where the buildings there reflected the towns heritage but not replicate it. On the residential streets, most properties had open front yards which provided a feeling of safety. Arrowtown had a large proportion of buildings in the main streets being of a replica style, while in comparison in Clyde heritage buildings tended to feel more authentic. The character of landscaping within the Clyde township often reflected the surrounding landscape. In Arrowtown the site observation notes highlighted that the design of the town was historically themed and there was often an 'English garden' style of landscaping around the town with trimmed hedges and roses. Arrowtown also had good front and back connection of streets, particularly in the centre of town, and lots of green space which was heavily used.

Clyde was observed to have restricted signage in the historic precinct and the team noted there were sensible amenities around town, although there was no publicly available disability accessible toilet observed. Arrowtown was noted to have well signed public toilets and a public library which was well used at the time. Carparking in Clyde was observed as being fairly minimal with on-street parks outside the shops and a small car park by the public toilets in

town. In Arrowtown there was a large car park down by the Arrow River and further parks around town also. Public transport via bus was observed in Arrowtown while this was absent in Clyde. Finally, Clyde had a good variety in the town centre, catering for both locals and tourists. The town centre in Arrowtown on the other hand was clearly orientated towards a tourist market as shops there were selling goods such as paua shells and All Black's t shirts, which have no real relevance to the township of Arrowtown but are good desired particularly by foreign tourists.

Chapter Six

Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The results informed this study of the aspects which form Clyde's identity, the threats to this identity and the potential strategies for managing these threats. Within these three parts to the study however there are three distinct themes that emerge. These are the idea of Clyde having an authentic identity, having a small-town identity and small-town values, and having an independent identity. Through each of these themes the theory and knowledge of existing literature can be applied with the understanding of planning documents given in Chapter 3. This provides for the following discussion, which explores how the three themes have emerged as part of Clyde's identity, what threatens those aspects, and what can be done to manage those threats.

6.2 Authentic Clyde

The following section is based on Clyde's authenticity specifically regarding heritage, this was identified by key stakeholders as an important aspect of Clyde's identity. The growth pressures identified as threatening this authentic place identity were development within the historic precinct, and the increasing market of tourists. Actions and strategies to enhance and protect the authentic place identity of Clyde suggested by informants and literature will also be further explored.

6.2.1 Authenticity and Clyde's identity

One of the central themes observed in our interviews was that authenticity is an important aspect of Clyde's identity, specifically regarding the protection and promotion of Clyde's Heritage. Several studies indicate something becomes a dominant and central component of a town's place identity when it is inherently typical, important, and mutually valued by most

people within the specific place (Rose, 1995; Hague, 2005; Vanclay, 2008;). The stakeholder and informant views observed in this study suggest authenticity, specifically regarding Clyde's heritage, is a dominant aspect to the place identity of Clyde. This was a commonly expressed value by many respondents (K3; K4; K6; K8; K9; K11; K12) implying it is a typically held view. Both Rose (1995) and Hague (2005) define place identity to be a relational process, crafted in relation to other people, places, and their respective identities (Rose, 1995; Hague, 2005). These relations are based on both similarity and difference. Important to this argument, it is this aspect of difference (in other words, the unique nature of a place) that helps a place claim its authenticity. Rose (1995) emphasises the importance of considering this 'the other' aspect of a town's place identity. In relation to this idea, key stakeholders commonly described Clyde's heritage authenticity through comparing the way Clyde protects and promotes its built heritage to the processes previously carried out in Arrowtown. K8 stated, "I hear from lots of people, they do not want to see this town develop the way poor old Arrowtown developed". K11 believed Clyde does not want to risk its heritage identity in exchange for the business opportunities available in Arrowtown. K 11 stated, "I like Arrowtown, I think it's been pretty well done, its highly successful and I'd love to have 20% of their foot traffic but that would be about all, that's the biggest problem with the place is that its overcooked…it has a theme park feel to it but that is just as much due to the type of visitor they get". These ideas support the notion that a town's place identity is built up of the inherently important values of the town, not just what is simply economically beneficial (Rose, 1995; Hague, 2005; Vanclay, 2008).

6.2.2 Growth and threats to authenticity

The gold mining heritage preservation and promotion has become an important aspect to the business industry within Clyde in the form of heritage-tourism over the last two decades (Graham, 2004). This heritage-tourism focus has emerged partially as a reaction to the declining economic opportunities within the region (Graham, 2004). There was a large period of economic decline experienced in the area following the end of the gold rush within the Central Otago Region. Another period of economic decline occurred within Clyde with the end of construction of the Clyde Dam in 1993, as the Dam had provided work for over 1000 people in the area (Ellis, 2014). Following this economic decline, Clyde began to invest in preservation and promotion of the heritage in the region; this occurred through projects such as the conversion of the abandoned Otago Central Railway to the Central Otago Rail Trail (Graham,

2004). The surge of tourists obtained via the Rail Trail attraction has led to many businesses in Clyde financially benefitting from the increase in visitors, notably food tourism and retail occurring alongside the restoration of heritage buildings in the Clyde Historic Precinct (Graham, 2004).

One of the key themes derived from the results was that this development within the historic precinct, as well the potential increasing or shifting market of tourists may be a threat to the authentic aspect to the place identity of Clyde. K4 believed an influx of tourists within Clyde could compromise the genuine authentic heritage identity. K4 stated, "*As soon as there's tour buses coming in and you've got 30 people wandering the street following the person with the little sign, it loses authenticity*". The key stakeholders highlighted this increased market of tourists will lead to increased market pressure to become more high-end in order to receive maximum profit for the businesses in Clyde.

Multiple key stakeholders felt it was important for the historic buildings located within the heritage precinct to be easily identifiable. It was strongly emphasised that Clyde does not want to have replicas of the historic buildings occurring with future development of the Historic Precinct. K11 highlighted this by stating, *"People should always be able to tell the difference between old buildings and new builds 'cause it gets a wee bit Disneyesque if people replicate."* Key stakeholders believed this style of heritage building replication, rather than building with a style that acknowledges heritage aspects to the town's identity, simply blurs the authenticity and makes the original heritage artefacts less accessible. Key stakeholders revealed the external market forces that co-exist with increased development, may threaten the authentic nature of Clyde, by applying pressure to conform to the 'replica- model' that has been proven economically successful in other small heritage-towns. These results from the present study can be discussed in relation to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

Kneafsey (1998) suggests tourism can both strengthen or harm a small-town's authentic place identity (Kneafsey, 1998). Criticisms of the tourism industry often include that is contributes to 'trinketisation' and commercialisation (Kneafsey, 1998; Amoamo, 2008). This occurs as place-marketing often commodifies once unique aspects of a place identity, by taking advantage of specific parts of culture and heritage in order to sell something (Kneafsey, 1998). The selective way heritage is often presented within the tourism industry is widely critiqued within the literature (Urry, 1990; Hewison, 1987; Panelli et al., 2008). When the culture of a community is adversely affected by tourism and this nature of commodification, the

community as well as their place identity is inherently affected (Amoamo, 2008). This well accepted notion within the literature suggests the place identity of Clyde could be lost to some degree if the gold-mining history began to only be recognised via tourist-based products and experiences. Several authors suggest this is likely to occur to some extent as commodification of a town's heritage is often used as a strategy to gain external investment within the local sphere, this is particularly true within previously industrial towns (Hubbard, 1996; Waitt and McGuirk, 1997). This literature is directly relevant to Clyde as it is a town that utilises tourism in the local economy as a reaction to the loss of its primary industries.

6.2.3 Managing threats to authenticity

The earlier reviewed literature explored ideas of how other small-towns have used strategies to create authentic place identity. For example, Stanley a small-town in Tasmania has a significant amount of built heritage and identity which makes the town vibrant, distinct, special and attractive for visitors (Miller et al. 2008). This small heritage-town has experienced previous industry decline, this special characteristic lends well to a tourism-centre. Recognising this potential for tourism development, and thus the likelihood of harm inflicted upon the conceptions which make up the place of Stanley, the municipal council established a development plan with the Stanley community. This plan aims to hold the community's conceptualization of place at the core. These conceptualizations came from plan-making processed through community events, posted surveys, interviews with key stakeholders, a forum on place identity, and finally a draft report presentation for the community. Through the use of these methods, a range of reoccurring themes become apparent in the community conceptions of Stanley as a place. Clyde can be easily compared to Stanley, due to the emphasis on the built heritage, the history of economic decline, and the potential for growth. Therefore, Miller et al., (2008) suggests it would be appropriate to consider establishing a Clyde development plan centred around the conceptualization of its place identity to mitigate the potential threat that heritage-tourism may place on Clyde's authentic heritage identity. To ensure such a development plan was useful, a review of the mechanisms within the District Plan which protect heritage in Clyde (particularly Section 11) should be made against the development plan objectives.

Many key stakeholder interviews explored community action as a set of tools to enhance and protect the authentic place identity of Clyde. K4 described Clyde as a valuable asset to be

shared and promoted via the tourism industry. However, they suggested in doing this it has the potential to threaten the authentic heritage identity of Clyde. To safe guard against this, K4 proposed that businesses with the Historic Precinct should remain select, boutique-styled and relevant to Clyde's identity, as seen within the businesses currently in Clyde. Key stakeholder 4 stated, *"I think it is important to primarily promote local products within the precinct. If it's eco or historic, include it in there as well. If you promote what Clyde already is and has had in its history, I think it will work"*. This key stakeholder stressed that local residents should support the small-local businesses, to allow them to not be forced to sell-out and become commercialised in order to become economically viable. K8 recognised that people within the Clyde community have actively protected and enhanced the heritage value in Clyde, and it is through this community involvement that Clyde's identity as a whole can be retained in the future.

6.2.4 Natural heritage in Clyde

Several key stakeholders highlighted the high demand for development in the Central Otago region suggests further expansion in Clyde is inevitable. These stakeholders felt this is likely to lead to further development of Clyde's Historic Precinct. Massey (1991) illustrated that heritage tourism is a significant threat to authentic heritage identity, as the marketed culture of a town often over simplifies their unique and multi-faceted identity. The selective construction of place identity for marketing purposes highlights the power relations at play within a specific place. Commodification of place and the promotion of selective cultural identities is problematic because it necessitates the representation of specific desirable aspects of heritage, while simultaneously marginalising other heritage values present (Massey, 1991; Dunn et al., 1995; Keneatsey, 2000; Panelli et al., 2008). This idea of selective marketing of heritage can be related to the findings from the key stakeholder interviews regarding natural heritage within Clyde. The interviews revealed that with the surge of heritage protection and promotion occurring in Clyde over the last two decades natural heritage has not been acknowledged and protected. K14 argued natural heritage is marginalised within Clyde because it is not used for marketing or within the commodification and revitalisation of the Heritage Precinct; people thus do not have access to this aspect of Clyde's heritage. K14 stated, *"The community's awareness, appreciation of and recognition of natural heritage is really lacking, because there's nothing left. There's no points of reference"*. Several authors suggest that the

marginalisation of aspects of heritage (in this case natural heritage) is a product of the selective nature of place-marketing strategies that specifically chose which aspects of a places identity to protect and promote in order to receive economic gain (Massey, 1991; Dunn et al., 1995; Keneatsey, 2000; Panelli et al., 2008). This absence of natural heritage within the projected identity of Clyde, is therefore a threat to Clyde's authentic heritage place identity.

At present, there appears to be no requirements under the District Plan to require native planting as part of the landscaping for new developments. K14 suggested that this change to ensure that native planting is included within new development in both the Historic Precinct and future residential development. This will allow Clyde's natural heritage to be preserved and strengthened within its authentic identity. This suggestion aligns well with the findings of the Literature Review. Mulcock (2008) found that awareness and connection to native flora and ecosystems facilitates a deeper sense of belonging to the local natural environment. Mulcock (2008) explained that their respondents expressed this strong sense of belonging largely contributes to their meaningful place identity. This research strengthens the proposal elicited by K14, that increased native planting could be used as a strategy to strengthen Clyde's authentic heritage identity and to mitigate the threat of unauthentic development within the Historic Precinct.

6.3 Small-town Clyde

The following section is based on Clyde's "small-town close-knit community" which was identified by key stakeholders as an important aspect of its identity. The values specific to small-towns that were identified by key stakeholders included the availability of social capital, the sense of community as a result of being part of a small community, the non-competitive nature of businesses, as well as small-towns such as Clyde being an ideal place for families to live and raise children.

6.3.1 Small-town Values

Three values emerged as inherent to the small-town identity Clyde has. The first of these is social capital, as it was pointed out by several key stakeholders that because Clyde was a small-town, social capital was readily available and that this was an aspect of Clyde they particularly appreciated. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) defined social capital as the "norms and networks that enable people to act collectively" (p. 225). In Clyde, these networks were often fostered

through gathering places in the community such as the local pub or the museum, as well as the community involvement in the primary school. K5 discussed how these casual places facilitated social capital; *"You get people there ['the hotel'] from 18 – 80 and it doesn't matter if you're a lawyer, or a retired person, a builder, everyone is the same"* and that *"It is in these social places ['the hotel'] where people will get to know you, and approach you to help out within the community, like the museum or whatever"*. Key stakeholders noted that a certain connectiveness existed in Clyde wherein most people knew each other and that even if they did not, they were always willing to help one another if the need ever arose. This heightened effectiveness of social capital is a feature that is specific to small-towns and would not otherwise be possible in bigger cities. K7 noted that this was one of the features of Clyde that made it such an appealing place to set down roots. K7 was further quoted as saying *"There's quite a sense of community, 800-1000 people… and there's that sort of feeling of being connected and when a family suffers some sort of adversity there's plenty of groups who would rally and look after."* K4 then stated that *"If people need something, they just need to ask around and you will always know somebody who knows somebody that will put you on the right track – that's the connectivity that's important to the identity, it's good."* In addition to these responses, K8 stated that *"it probably makes it (Clyde) quite an inclusive community, the size of it very much makes it what it is… physically and demographically."* Within the key stakeholders' discussion of social capital, two themes begin to emerge; connectivity and inclusivity, both of which are products of being a small-town. Hoyman and Faricy (2009) wrote that in contrast with larger settlements, small-towns can really utilise their available social capital to their economic and social advantage while also protecting their place identities. This is reflected through research which shows that the most successful and sustainable development plans were the plans that were heavily based around the local community's input (Cuthill, 2009; Hoyman and Faricy, 2009). Thus, the argument emerges that rather than councils relying on external involvement, they should instead realise the value of the local knowledge and social capital in small-towns.

In addition to the availability of social capital, another positive value associated with being a small-town that was identified by key stakeholders was the non-competitiveness amongst business owners in Clyde. Key stakeholders explained that the outlook of Clyde's business owners was quite different from other places and was something that you could not get in a bigger city. K11 explained that rather than each business owner vying for customers, business

owners in Clyde saw efforts to attract tourists as a collective task that would benefit the whole business community and did not view it as a competition. This is supported by Bosworth and Wilett (2011) who noted that it is often the case in small-towns that the economic situation is closely interwoven with the social situation of the town. This effectively is what the key stakeholders described when they made note of the unique nature of commercial activity in Clyde. Due to the small population count and often very close-knit communities, the economic decisions in small-towns are not driven solely by financial gain, rather there is also an existing innate desire to support the wider community (Bosworth and Wilett, 2011; Bell and Jayne, 2009). K9 who was a local business owner stated that "*The biggest thing with Clyde is that it's a close-knit community. Everyone works well together even though there's lots of different businesses and we essentially can be seen as competitors but we all work really nicely together.*" K4 also stated that "*The business people in Clyde all have a sense of pride in what they do, and they support each other and work together. There is great connectivity, and no competition between each other*". It is clear through the responses garnered that the non-competitive nature of businesses in Clyde is very much a by-product of its close-knit community and high social capital as a result of being a small-town.

The last value associated with Clyde's small-town identity was its suitability for families and children. It is generally accepted that small-towns are preferred over larger settlements due to factors such as safety from crime, peace and quiet as well as an expectation that people would be friendlier in a small-town (Powe and Hart, 2011). These factors are also considered as ideal conditions to raise children in and are identified by key stakeholders as a valued attribute of Clyde as a small-town. K7 noted that "*There's lots of opportunities for kids to be independent and to be physically active in a less structured way than perhaps rigorous sports events and so on. So, I guess that's probably one thing that I think people would see as a strength*" and that "*it's [Clyde is] regarded as safe in terms of roading and the ability for kids to be independent with bikes*". K7 further explained that recently in Clyde there had been a push for children-friendly development which further strengthened its appeal as a safe place for families with young children to live. K7 discussed the recent underpass which links the rail-trail to Alexandra as an example: "*there's a parkway down the middle of town with the old railway line use to go and with a fair bit of community lobbying we got that underpass so that links with the rail trail to go to Alexandra so kids can independently move around either walking or cycling, probably more so than they can in most New Zealand suburbs*". K5 stated that "*It's the feeling [that*

makes Clyde special], you feel safe in Clyde. We have been down to Dunedin for a week, and we just left our house unlocked. But you know it is safe in this little town. We don't live in each other's pockets, but you're aware of each other, you look out for each other. Including the holiday-home owners." It is fair to infer that safety, friendliness, and peacefulness are key points that families consider when selecting where to live and raise their children. It is also fair to deduce from the literature and key stakeholders that it is rare to find larger places that also possess the same combination of safety, friendliness, and peace which small-towns like Clyde have.

The three small-town values that were identified in this section have nurtured a strong sense of community amongst Clyde's residents. Many of the key stakeholders stated that residents of Clyde owe this strong sense of community to its small size. The values unique to small-towns which were discussed in this section do not exist in isolation, a sense of community is fostered through a collection of attributes and not just one deciding factor. This notion that a strong sense of community is an important part of Clyde's identity is supported by Sampson and Goodrich (2009). Sampson and Goodrich (2009) stated that shared values amongst a community as well as a community that was interactive with each other were key features that contributed to the identity of a place. This was reflected in the responses from key stakeholders with K8 stating that *"The people… the size of the town and pace of life, those would be factors that I think identifies Clyde".* K5 was also quoted as saying *"Remaining small is good for the community, it's especially good for the elderly. You've got supermarkets that will deliver straight to your door. Tony the butcher will deliver your meat, these are the perks of being in a small-town".* In saying this, K5 depicts the connectedness throughout the Clyde community and how these values are shared across residents of all ages.

6.3.2 Threats to small-town values

The values that were identified in this section tend to be specific to small-towns. Therefore, if there was considerable residential growth it would place significant pressure on the very values that residents perceive to be inherent to the identity of Clyde. K4, K11, K12 and K14 all raised concern over potential plans of subdivision and house developments within Clyde. They believed that any future subdivision would threaten the towns close-knit community as this inevitably meant that there would be more people and with such an influx of people, it would be difficult for the town to maintain its small-town identity. This is supported by Powe and

Hart (2011) who state that additional residential development could threaten the peaceful and safe nature that make small-towns desirable places to live in. It was particularly evident from the responses from key stakeholders and informants that sewerage was a matter of trepidation for the residents of Clyde. Denser residential development is currently limited in Clyde by the lack of a reticulated sewerage system because Rule 7.3.3 of the District Plan restricts subdivision below 800 square metres without a reticulated sewerage system. However, key stakeholders believed that because there is such a demand for property in Clyde, after the installation of the reticulated sewerage system, there would be a considerable amount of subdivision across Clyde and the number of properties would rise significantly. K12 and K6 were particularly concerned that this would significantly change the identity of Clyde that they are so fond of. In voicing concern over the subdivision prospects K12 stated *"We'd like it to stay quiet. The council have limited where you can sell land in Clyde…there's an area and any land that's sold for houses has to be within that area, they're not approving housing development outside that restricted area. I don't know how long that lack of approval can go on…there's a huge demand, the prices of houses in Clyde have rocketed…and so there's a huge demand for Clyde to expand."* On the topic of sewerage, K6 also showed concern: *"When the sewerage system goes in the section size can go down to a minimum to 200[1] square metres instead of 800. Theoretically if you bowled all the houses you could up the number of houses by 4. That would change Clyde considerably".* The general consensus amongst key stakeholders was that once sewerage was installed, growth and change would be inevitable, and this was particularly worrying for them.

Similar to the issue of future subdivision and residential development, key stakeholders stated that Clyde has already begun to experience threats to its small-town identity and values through the rise in the number of residents as well as the shift in the types of residents in Clyde. K6 and K8 indicated that, while it is known that quite a significant proportion of properties in Clyde are holiday homes, some holiday home-owners cannot afford to keep them for most of the year and therefore rent the properties out. Compared to other areas in the region these properties are priced affordably and as a result, a number of people tend to now rent and live in Clyde and then commute every day into other towns for work and leisure. Since it is common that these

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[1] Correct value is 250 square metres as per Rule 7.3.3)i)b) of the District Plan.

residents would not completely integrate themselves in the Clyde community enough to develop an attachment or connection to the town like it's permanent residents, K6 and K8 expressed concern that this could potentially threaten the friendly close-knit community of Clyde and that it could be at risk of becoming a 'dormitory town'. K8 stated that there is a *"huge increase in the number of rentals in this town, they come in two groups- those who park their car and use it as a place to sleep and those who can't afford to live in Queenstown, Wanaka and Cromwell"* and *"The 42% holiday homes, you notice it when you are out and about in the summer the friendliness of the town disappears slightly…. changes the dynamics just slightly".* K6 then stated that Clyde's *"permanent population has grown by three times and there's immense pressure upon it to go up more. How could this not change our town?"* It is clear from the key stakeholders' responses that the residents of Clyde are aware that Clyde's population is increasing already without sewerage and subdivision and that they have also noticed a shift in the types of residents that live in their town. Moreover, they are also conscious of the fact that a rising population, as well as a certain type of population, could potentially threaten their small-town identity and values.

6.3.3 Managing threats to small-town values

It has been established that Clyde is a thriving hub of social capital with a strong sense of community amongst its residents. The existing social capital in Clyde supports the individual small-town values which effectively gives Clyde its unique identity. Therefore, there is not a lot that needs to be done in this area other than the acknowledgement of the existing high level of social capital in Clyde and the opportunities for these networks to affect positive change throughout and for Clyde. One possible action Which could be taken is the acknowledgement of this social capital through the District Plan. Objectives and policies within the District Plan for the residential and business resource areas recognise amenity, recreational and safety needs and the need to provide for a variety of activities (7.1.1, 7.1.2, 7.2.1, 7.2.4, 8.1.1-1.3, 8.2.1, 8.2.2). However, these objectives and policies could be amended or reviewed to ensure acknowledgement of the importance of social capital towards the sense of community. In practice, this would help potentially unwelcome development applications to be tested against their impact to social capital in Clyde.

With the lingering threat of sewerage, subdivision and population growth, Clyde's residents are anxious about what their futures entail and how they can safeguard against these threats.

Nevertheless, the tone seems to be one of acceptance. A majority of key stakeholders have acknowledged that growth is unavoidable and an incident that is not easily controlled. They have then started to consider what needs to be done to maintain growth in a sustainable manner. In terms of assistance from the council in the way of investment and development, I8 noted that further development should ensure *"To maintain steady growth in a way that doesn't interfere with current locals' lifestyles, having enough facilitates to cope with the growth".* This suggestion is also supported by Powe and Hart (2011) who warned of the possibility for facilities and infrastructure to become overburdened in the event of population growth. With regard to the issue of sewerage and subdivision, K4 and K8 suggested that in order to maintain Clyde's low-density development with the sewerage system installation nearing, the Council could create and enforce rules which restricted further residential subdivision; K8 noted that *"they [Council] have to be careful as sewerage comes on, it means people can subdivide their sections and they have to be very careful as to what they are going to consider as a minimum size."* Given that Rule 7.3.3 (i) of the District Plan currently controls subdivision in the residential areas of Clyde, a review of this rule may be useful to prevent subdivision the community finds undesirable. It would also be worthwhile to further investigate the types of dwellings that are emerging throughout Clyde in terms of the short-term rental properties that respondents raised concern over. Perhaps there may be a need to explore measures that can restrict the short-term rental arrangements which a number of key stakeholders perceive to have caused a shift in the types of residents in Clyde, a change that could potentially threaten its small-town identity.

6.4 Independent Clyde

The idea of Clyde being an independent town, particularly with respect to Alexandra, was the third theme which emerged through the results. Although this theme was not as dominant as the two explained above. Three informants made comments about the two towns and the possibility of the two expanding out towards each other. K1 said "it wouldn't surprise me if I came back in 50 years' time, and that area would be all built up between the two'. K12 said something similar; "I think Clyde is going to expand out towards Mutton Town and towards Alexandra, that's inevitable" and the last informant C2 said "into the future, Clyde and Alexandra will become a lot 'closer'. I wouldn't want Clyde to lose its identity". On a larger scale, K2 felt Clyde had lost its independence to some degree through the loss of the community

board representing Clyde, indicating a tension between the 'districtization' of representation and local democracy. The comments made by key informants represent a concern regarding the merging of Alexandra and Clyde through two mechanisms; a physical merging where development occurs in the area between the towns, and a democratic merging where an independent voice for Clyde is lost.

Evaluating the concern over Clyde's independence requires a look back to the theory of place identity. Place identity is described by Vanclay (2008) as the ideas of significance and meanings attached to a particular place. The residents of Clyde have meanings and ideas of significance and meaning attached to Clyde which provide the authentic and small-town identity described above. The residents of Alexandra will not share these ideas and meanings, and if the two towns were to merge then these competing conceptions of place would be subject to power relations (Hague, 2005). The residents of Alexandra, being the larger town, would likely dominate within this new set of conceptions and thus the identity of Clyde would be diminished.

There are number of ways which the concern over Clyde's independence could be addressed. The tension over the past loss of Clyde's community board and concern towards a loss of an independent Clyde voice could be addressed through the updating of the 2010 Clyde Community Plan. This would be particularly effective if the community plan was to address concerns over Clyde's authenticity, small-town values and independence in a way which could then be used in the upcoming District Plan review. The idea of promoting the town as being independent from Alexandra was suggested by K9, who said "I think that they [the Council] could market us better…there is a historic sign, but there's nothing saying what's here ". A further possible solution to this threat is for District Plan to be amended to ensure strict rules are in place to restrict urban form development in the area between the two towns. Whether such a hard solution is suitable would require consultation with the Clyde community to determine if this is truly desired, and a good opportunity to do this could be through the consultation for a revised community plan.

6.5 Conclusion

The themes of Clyde's authenticity, small-town values and independence have been explored as parts of Clyde's identity which are threatened by the growth pressures in this chapter. Through existing literature and reference to existing planning documents, strategies for

managing these threats have also been explored. To conclude in the final chapter of this report, these strategies will be consolidated to form clear recommendations.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7.1 Recommendations

Drawing from the discussion made in the previous chapter, **we recommend that the Clyde Community Plan be renewed**. The renewal of this plan and the adoption of a Clyde development strategy within that plan would ensure that Clyde can grow in the way that retains the authenticity, small-town values and independence of Clyde. This document could serve as representation of the Clyde community's perspectives, which would provide a document to build the District Plan from in its upcoming review. Consulting with the Clyde community on the best ways to manage the threats to identity identified in the preceding chapters will be required to do this. Through the consultation for a renewed Clyde community plan, the threat to Clyde's independence would directly be addressed by reinforcing Clyde as a distinct community. These are the issues which we recommend be starting points for consultation on in a revised community plan.

1. **Inclusion of a Clyde Development Strategy.**

   Explanation: A strategy within the community plan which acknowledges conceptions of identity in Clyde would be a useful document to test the objectives of the District Plan against in its upcoming review. Looking specifically into the way heritage and tourism influence the character and identity of Clyde, a series of objective statements within this strategy could be promoted by the community as guidelines for businesses, tourist operators and heritage building owners. This may include guidelines for how the community wishes to see the character of buildings in the historic precinct kept, or guidelines for how the community wishes to see tourism activities operate within Clyde. The strategy may also acknowledge the importance of heritage buildings and local businesses to the community in Clyde. We recommended such a strategy because a pioneering collection of statements at the beginning of the plan would enable key issues associated with growth in tourist and resident populations to be addressed.

2. **Acknowledge the mutual need for residents and local businesses to support each other, in order to retain the authentic nature of these businesses.**

Explanation: Many key stakeholder interviews explored community action as a set of tools to enhance and protect the authentic place identity of Clyde. Respondents stressed that local residents should support the small-local businesses, to allow them to not be forced to sell-out and become commercialised in order to become economically viable. People within the Clyde community have already been active in protecting and enhancing the heritage value in Clyde, and it is through this community involvement that Clyde's identity as a whole can be retained in the future.

3. **Consider requiring native vegetation to be planted in landscaping for new developments.**

Explanation: Natural heritage in Clyde has not been acknowledged and protected. This is because much of the natural heritage around Clyde has been lost, and the dominance of built gold-mining era heritage in the town fails to acknowledge the legitimacy of natural heritage. Requiring native vegetation through landscaping would help restore natural heritage and Clyde, and this would strengthen the authenticity of Clyde's identity.

4. **Acknowledge the social capital which gives Clyde its small-town identity.**

Explanation: The strong social capital in Clyde was identified as being critical to its small-town identity. This includes aspects like the close and supportive community, and is promoted by places where social interactions occur, such as club rooms, the local pub and the primary school. Acknowledging the importance of social capital in the Clyde community plan would be useful as this could then advocate for policies or objectives addressing the importance of social capital in Clyde to be included in the District Plan.

5. **Consider restricting subdivision and further residential development around Clyde**.

Explanation: With the introduction of a reticulated sewerage system, the minimum size of residential sections allowed in Clyde will decrease. This change could result in infill housing and increase residential density. Key informants expressed concern over the potential of housing expansion, and further consultation is required to determine whether infill housing and residential development is something that reflects the small-town values of Clyde. Consulting on this matter for a revised community plan could then show the need for a revised rule in the District Plan.

6. **Consider restricting development between Clyde and Alexandra.**

Key stakeholders expressed concern over the independence of Clyde. Many stakeholders had a strong sense that Clyde has its own unique sense of place and identity. The merging of Clyde and Alexandra, either through development of land or

through representative means is an issue that could challenge this sense of local identity, especially as the larger town of Alexandra may dominate perceptions of place identity. There is only six kilometres between Clyde and Alexandra and this area could experience private development as the demand for land grows in the Central Otago district. It is recommended that a revised community plan consider this issue in order to determine whether the community would anticipate a loss of Clyde's independent identity with growth between Alexandra and Clyde. If concern is apparent, then this community plan could justify the need to enact a rule in the District Plan restricting growth in this area.

7.2 Conclusion

This report has met the aim of this research, which was to *"explore strategies for retaining identity and preserving heritage values in an area facing growth pressures"*. Through the conceptual framework employed by this study a qualitative research design was built. The results collected through these methods explored Clyde's identity and identified three aspects which are threatened by growth; the authenticity of Clyde, the small-town values of Clyde, and independence of Clyde.

A key issue in this study has been finding the right balance between incoming growth pressures and maintaining Clyde's unique identity. Clyde has challenges that it will have to face in the near future but the people of Clyde and the CODC have an opportunity to find the balance that will allow for Clyde to benefit economically and socially from growth and retain its heritage character and social capital. Clyde has a unique social character and a heritage legacy that deserves to be preserved. We have developed the recommendations given above in hope that they will be used a draft community plan to begin consultation from. If this is done, we believe the threats to identity identified in this study will be managed successfully.

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