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Client: Central Otago District Council

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This report represents work undertaken by students from the Master of Planning programme at the University of Otago and should in no way be seen to represent the views of the University of Otago.

Executive Summary

Globally, small town population trends are expected to see greater growth compared to cities between now and 2050 (Norman, 2013). Research into small towns experiencing growth have provided explanations such as, lower housing costs, slower pace of life as well as more opportunities for leisure and recreation (Cromartie and Nelson, 2010). Growth of small towns can have positive effects on economy; can create the need for new infrastructure and services; and can add vibrancy to the community. However, rapid population growth in small towns can have implications on the identity of the township, housing, infrastructure, services and local governments capacity, all of which will be explored in this report.

Cromwell is located in the Central Otago region of New Zealand's South Island and is currently the fastest-growing small town in New Zealand (Jennings, 2017). Neighbouring towns within the region such as Queenstown and Wanaka are both fast-growing areas with populations moving outward into Cromwell in search of affordable housing and a slower lifestyle. Cromwell is strategically located between these areas and large urban areas like Dunedin and Christchurch. This research investigates small town growth and the positive and negative implications it has on communities, infrastructure and services.

The aim of this research project is to investigate the growth of a small town and examine how they have responded to the changes from growth. Four key objectives were formed to assist in investigating this aim, they are as follows:

1. To investigate how the existing infrastructure and services are accommodating growth at present and what the township's ability to deal with growth projection is;
2. To understand the positive and negative results of the recent growth experienced in Cromwell;
3. To understand the perspectives on housing of the residents living in Cromwell regarding its current challenges and future opportunities; and
4. To identify key growth issues which local residents and planners need to consider when planning for the future of the town.

To achieve the aim and objectives set out for this research a constructivist and positivist approach was applied. The primary methods consisted of both qualitative and quantitative approaches through public surveys and key informant interviews. The secondary methods are an investigation into the relevant academic literature and an overview of relevant policy documents.

An analysis of the results provided an understanding of many key issues that Cromwell community members and key informants had in regard to growth in their town. The issues highlighted were

mostly in regard to excessive growth changing Cromwell's identity as well as increased pressure on services and infrastructure. These issues also linked to the role of developers whose developments are having the most impact on Cromwell as they do not reflect community values. Ultimately, the results highlighted a need for a heart or a central hub in Cromwell.

A synthesis of our findings compared with the literature was then conducted to develop a range of future directions. The purpose of these future directions was to provide suggestions as to how Cromwell may sustain its small-town, community identity whilst maintaining and facilitating growth. The four suggestions are as follows:

1. To expand Cromwell as a tourist destination;
2. To develop a heart or hub in Cromwell;
3. To define the industrial service centre development; and
4. To establish networks of collaboration between Council and community.

Ultimately, the findings from the research highlighted that, to enable positive growth and to improve positive impacts of growth in Cromwell, the Council and the community must have a strong, collaborative relationship and understanding of each others aspirations for the future. .

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Globally, small town population trends are expected to see greater growth compared to cities between now and 2050 (Norman, 2013), though context specific. Investigations into why small towns are experiencing growth provide explanations such as, lower housing costs, slower pace of life and more opportunities for leisure and recreation (Cromartie and Nelson, 2010). Growth of small towns can have positive effects on the local economy, as it creates the need for new infrastructure and services, while adding vibrancy to the community. However, rapid population growth in small towns can have implications on housing, infrastructure, services and jurisdictions, all of which will be explored in this report.

What constitutes a small town varies globally, what is considered a small town in one country may be comparatively large in others. New Zealand does not follow a universal definition of what constitutes a small town. However, an area is only considered urban if it has a population of 1,000 or more people (Stats NZ, n.d. (b)). On the converse, an area is considered a main urban area if it has 30,000 residents (Stats NZ, n.d. (a)). Hence, due to that lack of a standard definition, it can be assumed that in New Zealand small towns fall somewhere in between these two categories.

This research is situated in Cromwell, Central Otago, New Zealand. Cromwell is a small town that is currently experiencing a period of rapid growth. Periods of growth are not a new phenomenon for Cromwell. The first period of growth was created with the gold rush of the 1800s. A second wave of growth was a result of the construction of the Clyde Dam. Today, Cromwell is undergoing another period of growth, marketed toward desirable small town living. However, the rapid growth is causing a multitude of different problems for the township. Current growth trends and the corresponding implications of growth in Cromwell, will be explored throughout this report.

1.2 Aim and Objectives

An aim has been formulated in order to guide this research project. The research aim is to investigate the growth of a small town and examine how the town has responded to changes resulting from growth. From this aim four key objectives were created, these are as follows:

1. To investigate how the existing infrastructure and services are accommodating growth at present and what the township's ability to deal with growth projection is
2. To understand the positive and negative results of the recent growth experienced in Cromwell
3. To understand the perspectives on housing of the residents living in Cromwell, regarding its current challenges and future opportunities
4. To identify key growth issues which local residents and planners need to consider when planning for the future of the town

1.3 Research Approach

The primary research methods and approach employed for this research are a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods taking form via key informant interviews and surveys. The secondary research methods follow a review of relevant academic literature and policy. This research approach has been selected to best inform the future directions from this research for the Cromwell community, Central Otago District Council and the Department of Internal Affairs.

1.4 Report Structure

This report is divided up into eight chapters. The introductory chapter briefly introduces the research including the aim and objectives. Chapter two outlines the context of the Cromwell location, noting the problems the town is currently facing. Chapter three expands on the methods used to undertake the research. Chapter four is a literature review, situating the problem within the current academic literature available. Chapter five is the results, explaining the data that was collected during the field trip to Cromwell. Chapter six is the discussion, which combines the data

represented in the results and the key themes from the literature review, to discuss the four key objectives of this project. This report concludes with a concluding chapter, outlining a list of future directions for Cromwell, which aim to resolve some of the issues the town is currently facing.

2. Context

2.1 Introduction

Cromwell is a small New Zealand town situated in Central Otago at the confluence of the Clutha and Kawarau Rivers (Figure 1). In 1862, the discovery of gold was made below this confluence that resulted in the influx of several thousand gold miners into the region, inducing the formation of the Cromwell township (Cunningham, 2005). Following the decline of gold reserves, Cromwell evolved from a mining service centre to an agricultural one, intended to service the development of farming and stone fruit growing within the region. Today, the town has become renowned for its viticulture, motorsport and is currently experiencing rapid growth and development as result of tourism in the Central Otago and Queenstown Lakes District regions, leading to numerous issues confronting the small town.



Figure 1: Map of Cromwell, meeting of the Kawarau River (left) and Clutha River (right)

This chapter will provide context to the town of Cromwell, which will help to inform the data gathered from the literature on historic and present day Cromwell. It will outline the location and geography of Cromwell and the community's demographics before exploring the history of the town and its current context. This will provide a context to facilitate an investigation to help understand the current issues and dilemmas that Cromwell is facing today as a small town experiencing unprecedented growth.

2.2 Location, Geography and Environment

Cromwell is located in the South Island of New Zealand, between State Highway 6 (linking Wanaka, 50km north, and Queenstown, 60km west) and State Highway 8 leading to the Lindis Pass, and Alexandra 33km south. Cromwell is located in Central Otago, falling under the jurisdiction of the Central Otago District Council. In the past, the positioning of Cromwell enabled it to service a large area due to the township being strategically placed between the Lindis and Haast passes. Currently, it acts as a hub between the towns of Queenstown, Wanaka and Alexandra. Not only this, but, Cromwell has become a home for people who have been unable to find housing in these places. Due to the central location of Cromwell, approximately 60 minutes' drive away from Queenstown and Wanaka, and 30 minutes from Alexandra, it has become a new haven for many people working in these areas as well as tourists. As such, Cromwell has become the fastest-growing small town in New Zealand (Jennings, 2017).

The Cromwell township is eloquently nestled within a valley surrounded by treeless mountain ranges further distancing itself from any coast. A point within Cromwell's borders is 119 kilometres away from any coast, making Cromwell the furthestmost town from the sea in New Zealand (Cunningham, 2005). The town lies on the banks of the man-made Lake Dunstan. In the 1980s, the New Zealand Government commissioned the construction of dams throughout the Otago and Southland regions. The creation of the Clyde Dam resulted in the destruction of the previous Cromwell township. Previously, Cromwell was separated in three sections, upper, middle and lower Cromwell. The construction of the Clyde Dam meant that lower and most of the middle sections of Cromwell were flooded, leaving upper Cromwell the only section fully above the

water-level of the lake. New extensions to the town were built above the flood-line to accommodate relocated residents and workers on the dam (Cromwell Community, 2013)

The environment of Cromwell is unique, playing an important role in the identity of Cromwell. Its distinctive landscape, heritage aspects and access to recreational opportunities are major contributing factors to the perception of Cromwell being a unique location. Local residents value the spaciousness and the lack of development around the surrounding hills. Cromwell's environment also plays an important role in the conservation of the rare chafer beetle. There is land to the south of Cromwell designated to the conservation of these beetles (Marris, 2007).

2.3 History of Cromwell

The history of Cromwell is important for this study as it provides an overview of the cyclical nature of the growth Cromwell has experienced and the range of factors that have altered the towns identity. In July 1862, gold was discovered by Californian gold prospectors just south of Cromwell. Once word of the discovery of gold in the area reached Dunedin, the township of Cromwell boomed to approximately 2,000 miners within two weeks of the announcement. Mining continued in the area until the 1930s on a commercial basis until the mining of the mineral was no longer considered feasible financially. As a result, an exodus of people left the township of Cromwell and resulted in a major population decline for the township.

The building of the Clyde dam saw a raft of changes for Cromwell with many of the dam and associated industry workers and families moving to the area. Pre-dam, the town was declining, but quickly grew from approximately 900 people, to 4,143 in 2014 (Perkins, Mackay, and Espiner, 2015). This has led to the creation of the man-made Lake Dunstan, that has become an important part of life in Cromwell with water sports and associated activities (Cromwell Community Plan, 2013). With the subsequent filling of Lake Dunstan, the Cromwell community lost more than three hectares of its main shopping area. Many community facilities were relocated and many more developed including a new shopping area that was named 'The Mall'. Many existing facilities were upgraded such as schools, sports, pools and temporary accommodation such as motels and hotels. Some of the older buildings remained, while others were moved to create the heritage precinct, now referred to as Old Cromwell.

A significant change to the surrounding area of Cromwell is apparent. The land has diversified into grape and olive plantings, among the other stone fruit that has been growing for decades. A thriving and successful wine industry is apparent.

2.4 Community Demographics

According to the 2013 census, Cromwell had a population of 4,143 and was the third most populated town in Central Otago after Alexandra and Dunstan. The median age of people in Cromwell is 41.3 years with 17.5 percent of people in Cromwell aged over 65 years and 19.6 percent of people aged under 15 (Stats NZ, 2018).

Cromwell is a rather affluent community, where economic well-being has been achieved by many members of the community. Unemployment in Cromwell is very low at 3.6%, although this is slightly higher than the Central Otago unemployment rate of 2.6%. One of the most common occupational groups in Cromwell is the 'labourers', such as builders and other tradespeople. This is due to the demand for increased housing and therefore tradespeople are required at this time. Figure 2 shows the range of employment occupations in Cromwell and how they compare with the wider Central Otago region. The median annual income for Cromwell is \$29,300 which is slightly higher than the median income of \$28,200 for the Central Otago region (Stats NZ, 2013). 23% of people living in Cromwell have an annual income of more than \$50,000.

Occupation for employed people aged 15 years and over
 Cromwell and Central Otago District
 2013 Census

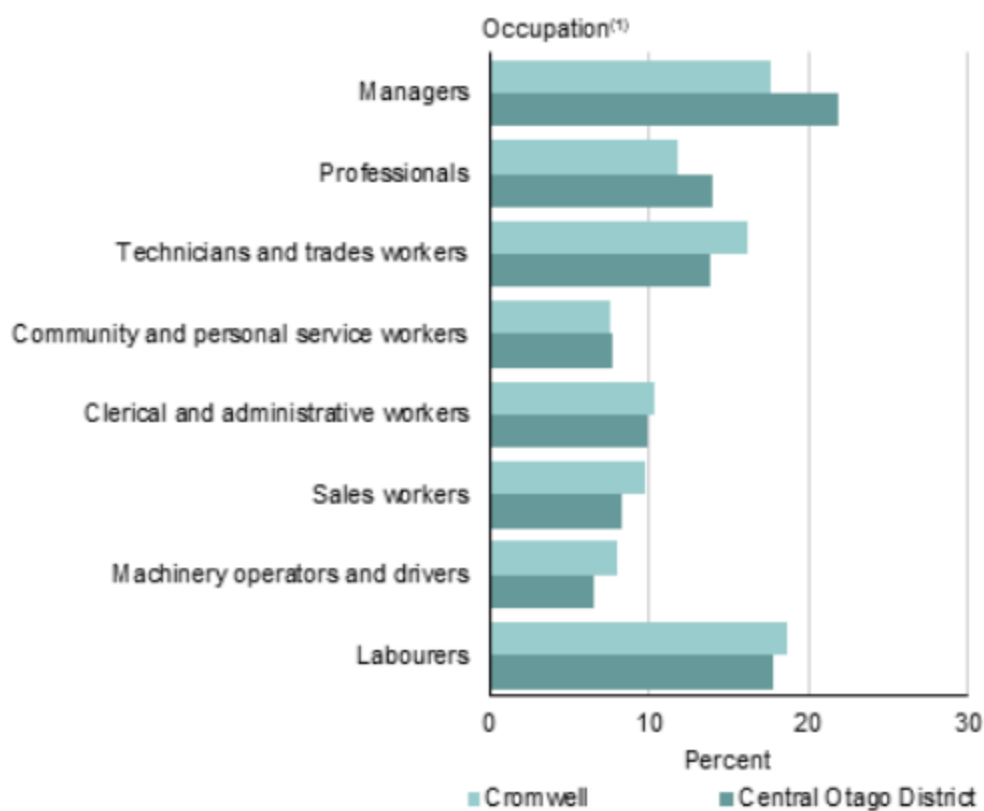


Figure 2: Occupational areas for employed people in Cromwell in comparison to Central Otago region

The demographic make-up of Cromwell and the Central Otago region differs somewhat from the majority of New Zealand. There is a much smaller percentage of people in the 18 to 30 age group and a higher percentage of those 65 years or older. A majority of young people leave the region upon completing high school, with people returning in their 30s to raise families (Central Otago District Council, 2013).

The household composition in Cromwell is predominately made up of couples without children. This makes up 52.9% of all families in Cromwell in comparison to couples with children which makes up 35% of the community. One-family households make up 72.9% of all households in

Cromwell. There are 366 one-person households making up 22.3% of all households. The average household size in Cromwell consists of 2.4 people.

Home ownership in Cromwell is relatively high. In the small town, 64.6% of households in occupied private dwellings owned the dwelling or held it in a family trust. In 2013, the households who rented dwellings in Cromwell paid a median weekly rent of \$250 (Stats NZ, 2013).

2.5 Central Otago Economy at Present

Between 1999 and 2008, Central Otago experienced a period of significant growth (Central Otago District Council, 2013). This growth was not the result of a singular driver such as gold or hydro that had occurred in the past, but the result of significant population growth that affected all sectors of the economy. The Central Otago region is asset rich and has a diverse economy. The primary production sector (which includes pastoral farming, horticulture, fruit growing, viticulture and wine-making) is the largest contributor to the Central Otago economy. The sector accounts for 31% of GDP for the region (Stats NZ, 2013). It is dominated by stone and pip fruit growing, specifically by cherry and apricot production. The Central Otago wine industry is a major source of export earnings for both the regional and national economy and is a driver of tourism within the district and wider Otago region. Central Otago pinot noir has won numerous awards and accolades in key overseas markets.

The Central Otago region is unusual in comparison to the rest of New Zealand in that the area has virtually no unemployment (Stats NZ, 2013). However, the availability of labour, particularly skilled labour constrains the development of Central Otago in all its sectors. Labour in the region is seasonal. The seasonal nature of many key economic activities is one factor behind the district's restricted labour market and is a major challenge for business and the community. Farming, horticulture, viticulture, wine making, and tourism are all highly seasonal activities in Central Otago. This seasonality significantly impacts the way the region functions and its financial viability of businesses and seasonal workers facing challenges such as meeting bank lending requirements to service mortgages (Cromwell Community Plan, 2013).

Cromwell has a diverse economy that has emerged and grown as the fruit variety has changed and as tourism around this has grown. The creation of the Clyde Dam and Lake Dunstan has also played a large role in the local economy. This diversity is inextricably linked to external factors such as the value of the New Zealand dollar and demand for produce. The district is less reliant on international tourist dollars than some of the other destinations, as a high proportion of its tourists are domestic, however tourist spill-over from Queenstown is quite high (Perkins, Mackay and Espiner, 2015).

During the 2000s, there was a boom in construction associated with the residential, commercial and industrial expansion of the Cromwell area. The Cromwell basin is increasingly becoming a distribution hub for the lower South Island due to its central location. The Central Otago region has become an important tourism destination in general, due to its proximity to the Queenstown Lakes District (Perkins, Mackay and Espiner, 2015). This economic growth brought with it a corresponding expansion in the population and residential areas.

2.6 Lifestyle

Cromwell is inhabited by people who have a strong sense of connection with both the community and the surrounding area. The people of Cromwell take pride in their small community, the relaxed lifestyle and the rural ambience on offer. The establishment of the Clyde Dam attracted a significant number of people to Cromwell who remained in the area following the conclusion of the dam building project. As part of Cromwell's redevelopments after the construction of the Clyde Dam, the township established a brand new hockey turf. This state of the art facility is the pride and joy of Cromwell and is used by schools, sports teams, individuals and private institutions. Not to mention, the hockey turf also hosted the tri-nations international women's hockey tournament in 2018 (McKenzie-Mclean, 2018).

The connection between Cromwell residents and the environment is also shown through the implementation of greenways. Cromwell is well known for being one of the earliest communities to implement greenways. The greenways have been successfully used to connect the community with their surroundings. For example, the Bruce Street greenway allows residents to access Printers Bar, the Kawarau Arm and Old Cromwell (CODC, 2017).

Recently, Cromwell has become a popular place to live as it is close to Wanaka and Queenstown but at a more affordable price. New residents continue to move to the area due to the many development opportunities.

2.7 Policy Framework

In terms of development and growth, Cromwell is governed by a number of statutory and non-statutory documents, which set out a framework for how Cromwell should be managed. While the statutory plans outline the legalities of what kind of development can occur, non-statutory community initiated plans, showcase the community view. Together, these documents create a framework for the Central Otago District and Cromwell heading into the future.

2.7.1 Central Government

The Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) is the main environmental legislation for New Zealand. The purpose of the RMA is the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, while avoiding, remedying or mitigating adverse environmental effects and providing for the well-being of communities. Any document prepared under the RMA must give effect to what is outlined in the higher order document. Therefore, any Regional, District or City Plan prepared under the provisions of the RMA must give effect to the RMA, and prioritise the same principles.

2.7.2 Central Otago District Council

The Central Otago District Council (CODC) is the Territorial Authority which governs the Cromwell township, as well as its neighbouring towns such as Alexandra and Clyde. The CODC has three plans that are of particular relevance to Cromwell. The Long Term Plan 2015-2025 sets out strategic direction for the council to follow for the 10 year period. This includes the services provided, projects that will be undertaken, and how this work will be completed and paid for.

The District Plan, which is under review in 2018, was made operative in April 2008. Every 10 years, council is required to review the plan. The purpose of the District Plan is that it provides the framework for managing the effects of development in the spaces and places of Central Otago. It is a legal document, however it is not static, meaning Council is able to initiative plan changes, and receive private plan changes from members of the public. The operative District Plan can be seen as being quite permissive, which has allowed for development to occur, however, this is now under review. Recently, a number of subdivision consent applications have been submitted in Cromwell, using both the resource consent route, and the private plan change route. It is up to the Council, or Council appointed independent commissioners to make the decisions on these applications.

The Cromwell Sports Parks: Reserve Management Plan 2015 is prepared by the CODC, however the Cromwell Community Board has been delegated to managed these recreation spaces. This Reserve Management Plan provides for and ensures that the park or recreation is well managed and the long term use is enhanced, without compromising their existing use. The purpose of the Cromwell plan is to provide the CODC with an effective guide to manage any issues consistently.

2.7.3 Otago Regional Council

Otago Regional Council (ORC) is the Regional Council that looks after the entire Central Otago Regional, as well as the neighbouring Queenstown Lakes District Council, and South Otago, among others in the Otago Region. The Regional Council have a Regional Policy Statement (RPS), which the purpose of it is to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, by providing an overview of the resource management issues facing Otago, and setting policies and methods to manage the physical and natural resources in Otago. The RPS is currently under review. The RPS establishes the framework for Otago's regional and district plans, rather than providing the rules.

The Otago Regional Council also have a Regional Plan. This is relevant to Cromwell, especially the 'Water for Otago' plan, as this outlines the policies, methods and rules to address issues of use, development and protection of Otago's freshwater resources. Relevant to Cromwell, this plan

addresses issues of use, development and protection of Otago's freshwater resources, this includes lakes and rivers, clearly prevalent in Cromwell.

2.7.4 Cromwell Community Board

The Cromwell community established a Community Plan, which obtained individual views and opinions of local residents, and put forward a list of attributes that were important to the Cromwell community. While the plan does not have legal status, it does provide insight into the direction the community wishes to take in the future. The Cromwell Community Board have recently agreed to the development of a masterplan for Cromwell. They hope that this will take a year to develop and be implemented in the Central Otago District Council's 2019 annual plan.

2.8 Cromwell Moving Forward

Currently, members of the Cromwell community are working to manage the increasing growth their town is facing. One of the struggles the community has come to face is the continual allowance of developments within Cromwell while there has been no Master Plan. This has resulted in the closure and/or adaptation of many significant features of Cromwell, such as orchards and the Top 10 Holiday Park, to make way for housing to accommodate Cromwell's rapid population growth. To combat this and to further assist the growth they're facing, a Cromwell Master Plan is going to be implemented and the District Plan is being updated so regulations will be made for the next 10 years.

2.9 Conclusion

To conclude, it can be seen that Cromwell's context is very particular. Cromwell's history highlights the durability of its community and their desire to improve. Ultimately, Cromwell is struggling to manage the growth they are facing due to the overflowing growth of Queenstown and Wanaka. The effects of this growth are shown through the ongoing developments within Cromwell. This further addresses the need to adapt current policy documents to allow for future

growth to occur while also maintaining and strengthening the values of the Cromwell community. The following chapter will present an analysis of literature that assess key themes surrounding small towns and small-town growth.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This section outlines the methods used to achieve the aims and objectives of this research project. First, the research design is defined, explaining the main methods of data collection and why they were selected. Following this, an outline of the secondary methods is provided. These give background to the questions and the ways in which primary research methods were developed. This also includes a brief look at the policy framework. Primary methods follow this, looking at what was done to gather data. Ethical considerations and limitations follow this.

3.2 Research Design

This section will explain the methodological phases of our research, detailing the purpose of each point in the research process. Data collection will primarily draw on the generation of primary data, produced by the group in the field. Primary data collection ensures data collected is context specific and directly relevant to our research aims (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). However, secondary data is also generated through our background research of small town growth and development on a global scale, which is considered in the literature review. All attempts have been made to ensure that data is triangulated, in both primary and secondary data.

The research will primarily adopt a constructivist approach, focusing on qualitative methods for data extraction. Constructivism, as the primary approach adopted, involves an active approach to research where knowledge is constructed - often through interaction and experiences, rather than acquired (Mills et al., 2006). This approach allows us to directly interact with individuals, groups and agencies in Cromwell, to gain a balanced perspective of differing contentions. A part positivist approach will also be adopted, which focuses on a quantitative approach to research. Here, positivism obeys a realism approach, following an unbiased attitude to data collection often using scientific method (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The benefit of exercising a mixed-method approach to research, allows for a holistic understanding of both objective and subjective perspectives in the community.

The methodology will take the form via key informant interviews and survey questionnaires. Key Informants will be selected using purposive sampling, whereby participants are directly targeted based on their position in the community. Here, we gain specific expert information from differing institutions in Cromwell. Systematic random sampling will be used to select our questionnaire survey participants. A process such as systemic pedestrian selection will be adopted to gain a diverse sampling pool and an unbiased range of perspectives, providing a representation of the local community. Informal site observations and document analysis will be completed independently within the group and do not require direct interaction with members of the community.

The research objectives that were developed were loosely based on the project brief that was provided. The methodology for this research project was then developed in order to investigate these objectives further. Table 1 below summarises the research objectives that were developed. From here, the research aim was decided upon, and following this, research questions were developed.

Table 1: Summary of the research objectives of the project

Objective 1	To engage with local stakeholders and community leaders to understand the current challenges experienced in Cromwell
Objective 2	To ascertain views and aspirations of young residents in Cromwell for the town
Objective 3	To understand the perspectives on housing of the residents living in Cromwell regarding its current challenges and future opportunities
Objective 4	To investigate how the existing infrastructure and services are accommodating growth at present and what the township’s ability to deal with growth projections is

Objective 5	To understand the positive and negative results of the recent growth experienced in Cromwell
Objective 6	To identify key growth issues which local residents and planners need to consider when planning for the future of the town

3.3 Secondary Methods

Secondary methods are an important part of any research project, as they allow an investigation into the existing research and key debates and theories within the desired field. This stage of the research is typically referred to as secondary data collection (Heaton, 1998). The existing research and documents are existing literature, government reports, local government documents, newspaper articles and any other relevant documents associated with small town change and the Central Otago region. This stage in the research process has received some criticism in international literature and identifies some of the key limitations this approach to the research has. Szabo and Strang (1997) note that criticism exists around the collection and use of secondary data as it is seldom considered to create ‘real’ knowledge’. They note that secondary data is not generally perceived as data that is contributing anything to the existing understanding of significant values. In regard to this research project, the critique by Szabo and Strang (1997) states that this is not the case as the documents that are sourced help to contextualize the research problem and provide valuable data and are worthy of analysis. For this project, secondary research was carried out through a review of current academic literature, grey literature and a document analysis/review of the legislative and planning frameworks.

3.3.1 Literature Review

The collection of literature involved identifying the different types of research that had been carried out and identifying which pieces of literature were worthy of consideration before conducting an analysis in order to contextualize this particular research topic. This introduces the researcher to key debates and trends in the literature, helps to formulate the objectives for the research process

and helps the researcher to understand how the study will be credible and relevant in the context of the existing knowledge on the topic (Davidson and Tolich, 2003). Key themes relating to the overarching themes of the theoretical framework were systematically explored, providing rationale and positioning for this study within the wider body of literature for the topic.

The literature review was undertaken before the collection of primary data. This enabled the research group to define the scope of the project, develop a theoretical framework and to ground the research in theory (Holliday, 2007; Davies, 2007). Additionally, the literature review allowed the researcher to place the study within the current body of knowledge (Merriam, 2009). A theoretical framework is developed to help guide the researcher in the direction of their study, from placing their questions within the current body of knowledge, through to how they answer these questions and relate them back to what is in the literature, through to the results and discussion. The theoretical framework for this project was developed for this study from the following four main themes examined in the literature:

1. Small town changes internationally
2. Causes of changes in small town development
3. Responses to changes in small towns
4. Changing opportunities in small town development

3.3.2 Review of Planning Frameworks

Planning for growth and development in Cromwell sits within a number of planning and legislative frameworks. This includes national, regional and local, statutory and non-statutory documents. These documents outline the requirements that the district has set and the rules used to maintain them. Combined, these different plans create an overall governance framework for the district to be managed. This include the issues of the Cromwell township, and what happens there. The non-statutory documents, such as the Cromwell Community Plan, play an important role in allowing Council to understand what is important to the community. The relevant documents are set out in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Plans and Policy Frameworks

Central Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Resource Management Act 1991
Central Otago District Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Long Term Plan 2015-2025 ● Central Otago District Plan ● Cromwell Sports Parks: Reserve Management Plan 2015
Otago Regional Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Regional Policy Statement ● The Regional Plan: Water for Otago
Cromwell Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cromwell Community Plan

3.4 Primary Research

The main purpose of conducting primary research is to understand the current situation and the context around the growth issues that the township of Cromwell is experiencing. The limited amount of existing research on the positive growth of small towns, specifically those in the Central Otago, New Zealand context, necessitates the collection of undocumented information. Thus, the collection of this primary data is vital in order to achieve the aim of this research.

3.4.1 Key Informant Interviews

Research participants for this project were sought via a variety of methods. They were targeted for their relevance and experience with the research topic, as opposed to aiming for quantity, to ensure

that a high standard and relevant data was collected (Lindsay and Hubley, 2006). This included contact through e-mail, phone calls, and messaging through social media websites like Facebook. If those contacted were interested in participating in this research, a time and venue was arranged to conduct an interview and each participant was informed of the aims and objectives of this project. Research participants were interviewed on their experiences with growth issues facing Cromwell relating specifically to both current and future concerns. The data obtained from key informant interviews helps to reveal more data than what quantitative data can do alone (DeLyser, 2014). The interviews that were conducted were carried out in a semi-structured format and utilized language that would ensure the participant felt comfortable communicating in.

For the key informant interviews, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling is also referred to as judgement sampling, as it is “the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities the participant possesses” (Etikan et al., 2016, p2). This method of sampling was chosen as the most appropriate method for gathering participants, as those who were selected were selected based on their position in the community or the knowledge that they possess through their many years in a particular role or as a community member. In purposive sampling, a researcher has in mind the purpose of their study and can try to include participants that most suit this purpose (Etikan et al., 2016). From here, the snowball sampling method was able to be used, as in many cases, key informants know of other individuals who are suitable for the research. In a small town like Cromwell, it was clear that the snowball effect was taking place, as with small towns, ‘everyone knows everyone’. Purposive sampling is typically used in qualitative studies, as the data that is gathered needs to contribute to a better understanding of a theoretical framework (Etikan et al., 2016). However, researchers need to be careful to ensure that there is no bias.

A semi-structured interview approach was implemented in conducting the interviews. These are interviews where the researcher poses questions to the participants in order to promote conversation in a manner that does not seem controlling of the knowledge that participants may want to share (Rae, 2013). This offers a degree of flexibility in terms of the questions proposed and could be easily adapted depending on the knowledge that is being conveyed to allow participants to communicate more in depth and offer further detail (Packer, 2010). The questions that are posed during the interviews were open-ended questions that would further allow the participants to determine what information they shared, while ensuring that the information was

appropriate to addressing the aim and objectives of this research project. These questions have been attached in Appendix 2. However, the key limitation of this approach is that it may impact on the objectivity of the interviewer that may result in some bias in the information that is provided during the interviews. By understanding this, a conscious attempt was made by the interviewer to avoid bias where possible from interfering with the data collection.

Table 3: List of Key Informants

Key Informant Number	Position
Key Informant 1	Winery Owner
Key Informant 2	CEO at an Orchard
Key Informant 3	Real Estate Agent
Key Informant 4	Council Staff (Planning)
Key Informant 5	Council Staff (Community Development)
Key Informant 6	Council Staff (Deputy Mayor)
Key Informant 7	Central Lakes Trust
Key Informant 8	Cromwell District 2050
Key Informant 9	Cromwell Interagency Group

The interviews were conducted between the 7th May - 11th May. Nine interviews and a focus group session were conducted with a total of 9 research participants in interviews, and approximately 12 in the focus group (Appendix 2). Prior to the interview, participants were given an Information Sheet and Consent Form. Interviews commenced once permission was granted by

the participant to record their correspondence via a dictaphone. Interviews were then transcribed and returned to the research participants for their approval or amendment. Once approval was given, the transcripts were then analysed.

Transcripts were then coded into thematic categories in order to analyse the data supplied during the interviews. The codes were derived from key themes that the researchers collectively felt captured the key ideas expressed throughout the interviews conducted. Themes were also derived from similar themes noted in the literature review, to ensure that there is cohesion in the results.

3.4.2 Focus Groups

Similarly to interviews, but conducted in a different format, focus groups form another method to elicit information from a group of people about their experiences with a particular topic. They capitalise on the ability for in depth discussion to happen between the different individuals, through the interaction of ideas (Kitzinger, 1995). For this project, one focus group took place between thirteen people who were either from Cromwell, or had interests in Cromwell through the work that they did. The purpose of this focus group was to understand what the perspectives were of these individuals who understood what was happening in Cromwell at the community level. These people were not selected individually to participate, but rather invited the researchers along to their meeting as a way of facilitating their own discussions. All participants were involved in the focus group at their discretion.

The focus group took the form of a semi-structured discussion. Interviewers began by asking a question, which led to in-depth discussions about the topic, and about related topics. Topics that were talked about were similar to the interview questions (See Appendix 2). Conversation flowed naturally between participants and interviewers, with several new questions coming out of the discussion. From here, notes and journal type entries were written up by the interviewers, discussing the experience they had and what they had learnt from the group. Focus groups succeed when participants are comfortable and willing to share their thoughts with one-another (Stewart and Shamdasani, 2014). For this focus group, most of the participants were familiar with each other which meant that they were able to feel comfortable with each other and discuss openly.

3.4.3 Surveys/Questionnaires

In order to assess the community's attitudes and perspectives towards the growth issues that the small town of Cromwell is currently facing, a survey was prepared that would enable an analysis of this issue. The main intention of conducting the survey was to complement the information drawn from other sources. The survey was intentionally designed to be simple and have minimal time interference with the participants.

Surveys are important in gathering the varying perspectives, opinions and social experiences of individuals or groups as they can provide unique insights into the relevant issues, processes and values that are specific to a particular context (McGuirk and O'Neill, 2010). As this research project on the growth issues facing small towns like Cromwell is not considered "sensitive information", a questionnaire survey was considered to be an appropriate method to utilize for this research (Preston, 2009). The questionnaire was designed to obtain information that could be used to answer three of the key research questions:

1. What are the various perspectives on the growth community members are facing in Cromwell?
2. What is the community perspective on both the availability and affordability of housing in the Cromwell area?
3. What are the perspectives held by the community, on the pressure that growth in Cromwell has placed on critical infrastructures and services?

This questionnaire survey was presented to various members of the Cromwell public. The Mall in Cromwell was selected as the best place to conduct surveys as that would allow exposure to a wide range of residents of the community. Surveys were also taken into small businesses such as a local physio and cafe, and also delivered into letterboxes of some acquaintances of the researchers. The surveys were conducted from the 7th May - 11th May 2018 in these locations. These were carried out predominantly from late morning until early afternoon as this is the time frame the retail and cafe businesses opened to target community members. Hoinville et al. (1977) argued that a minimum of at least 50 survey responses are required in order for the data to be collected to be representative. A total of 27 questionnaires were collected in total. Due to a number of limitations, this number was not higher, however this will be talked about further later in this report. All

participants were consented to participate in the questionnaire before they took part and were offered an information sheet on the research project being carried out. The questionnaire survey data was transferred into the programme GraphPad Prism 6. The results from the surveys were then analysed to gauge the varying perspectives on the growth issues facing the Cromwell community. Basic descriptive statistics were used to identify trends in the data obtained from these surveys.

McGuirk and O'Neill (2010) suggest that the questionnaire survey should be filled out by participants who have the knowledge of the particular topic that the questionnaire is asking them to provide data on. As the questions in the survey were about services and infrastructure, as well as the growth in Cromwell, it was decided that it was important to get the perspectives of local community members, hence how the locations for the surveys to be undertaken were chosen. The sampling method used here was more non-probability, including random sampling as well as being more convenient, as the group to select from was relatively small due to the times of the day. Non-probability sampling is a technique where samples are gathered in a way that means that not all the potential participants or units in the population have an equal chance of being included. However, "convenience sampling is a type of non-probability or non-random sampling where members of the target population that meet certain practical criteria, such as easy accessibility, geographical proximity, availability at a given time, or the willingness to participate are included for the purpose of the study" (Etikan et al., 2016, p.2). For the purposes of this study, and the time limitations, convenience sampling best describes the sampling method. While nonprobability methods can be more subjective and have limitations, they are useful in particular cases, this being one of them.

3.4.4 Site Analysis/ Site Observations of Cromwell

The purpose of undertaking a site analysis and observation is to assess what the physical aspects of a particular site are. In regard to Cromwell, there were a number of different things that the researchers wanted to look at, to gauge whether the town was well looked after and thriving, or whether it was lacking in key facilities and was d. Data for this was collected in different ways, including a drive around the town with a local community member, who helped to point out a number of aspects about the town. Other things were also looked at, including: condition of street

signs, whether the grass was cut, condition of greenways and parks, where the shopping centres are, whether there is public transport, access to services, whether there are enough rubbish bins and also where public toilets are located. These different factors gave another aspect to the research, and the data gathered here could be used to triangulate data gathered from the other research methods.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

The use of willing participants in the study raises potential issues, due to the way that studies can take advantage and also disadvantage people. Ethics in research is twofold; there is procedural ethics which is the process of seeking approval for the human involvement in research, which was gained before any research took place. There is then ‘ethics in practice’ which include the everyday ethical problems that may arise when conducting research (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). These procedures were considered at the beginning of the project and the proposal was submitted to and furthermore approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Otago. This included an outline of the research problem and questions which would be asked, the proposed methods, and how any conflicts or potential harm would be minimised. Throughout the study, measures were taken to reduce the risk and potential harm the research may cause to both participants and researchers.

Ethical consideration and safety is important for both the research and those being researched (Rose, 1997). The practices were maintained throughout the research period, with participants being given a hard copy of the research outline and ethics form, and being asked to sign a consent form before taking part. This ensured that participants had the information in front of them to make a clear choice about whether to participate or not. It was also made clear that they would remain anonymous and that it would be to no disadvantage to them to refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the research at any time. With regard to ethical practice, all researchers upheld both the University of Otago Code of Conduct and the New Zealand Planning Institute Code of Ethics, at all times throughout the field week and the entirety of the research process.

3.6 Academic Honesty

There is an obligation, as with any piece of academic work, for academic honesty. This means providing a fair and honest representation of all contributors, and credit being given to whoever provided the information used (Vogt, 2012). This helps to ensure that all contributors are given a fair representation and are held to a high standard through the study. This also means not representing any particular views in either an extremely positive or extremely negative view, rather remaining unbiased throughout the study.

3.7 Conclusion

This project has used a mixed methods approach involving a range of different research techniques to gather information about the current growth happening in Cromwell. Both primary and secondary research methods have been used to address the aims and objectives of the project, ensuring the research questions can be answered in full. The following chapter will present the results obtained through the use of these methods.

4. Literature Review

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the key concepts relating to changes that occur within small towns, including the problems that can be caused by growth. The initial project brief outlined questions about the growth issues Cromwell is experiencing. This chapter will establish growth within the wider literature available, and also direct the approach of the research. Later, this chapter will be used to inform the discussion. The first part of this theoretical review is contextual, setting the scene of what small towns are and how they came to be formed. Next, the identity of both the town and those who live within it is reviewed. This is followed by an overview of what the causes of change can be for small towns. Response to change follows, looking at how different sectors respond to the changes in growth. A discussion of the changing opportunities for small towns follows, this includes identifying the opportunities tourism may bring small towns. The chapter ends with a summary of the different themes drawn from the literature, and how different theories on small towns help direct the research, results, and discussion in the coming chapters.

4.2 Context

4.2.1 *Defining a Small Town:*

Guidelines for defining small towns differ around the world. What is considered a small centre in one country can comparatively be large in others. Dampier et al. (2014, p.1) state "rural and small towns can be defined as having an urban core of less than 10,000 people." The Faculty of Natural Resources Management at Lakehead University further state that rural and small towns can be characterised by the distance from a commuting town with a population of 10,000 or more. Whereas in Australia, small towns, or small cities as they are referred to, are defined as being under 50,000 people (Dampier et al., 2014). Other research in Australia defines small regional towns as those between 4,000 and 9,999 people (Collits, 2003). In a Chinese census, small towns are noted as being half a million inhabitants or less, a considerably larger definition of a small town to the

aforementioned definitions (Dampier et al., 2014). This shows that there are clearly international variabilities in regard to defining small-towns.

4.2.2 Defining an Urban Area

Statistics New Zealand defines a main urban area as having a minimum population of 30,000 residents (Stats NZ, n.d. a). The New Zealand Official Yearbook 2002 recorded New Zealand as one of the most urbanised countries in the world (Stats NZ, n.d. b). Urbanisation comparisons globally are problematic due to the lack of an international standard definition of what constitutes an urban area or town (Stats NZ, n.d. b). In the United States, a settlement with 2,500 people or more is considered urban (Stats NZ, n.d. b). Alternatively, in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, an area is considered urban if it has a population of 1,000 or more people (Stats NZ, n.d. b).

4.2.3 Origins of Small Towns:

In first world countries, development trends saw towns originate from a primary production or service output (Reckien and Martinez-Fernandez, 2011), allowing workers to inhabit spaces in close proximity to their daily work and services. In other instances, many small towns were established as traditional market towns, or small manufacturing towns during the early industrial era (Knox and Mayer, 2009). Small town emergence can also be put down to the decentralisation of metropolitan centres. Further dissolution of economic activity in cities allowed for extended expansion and growth of peripheral towns (Fuguitt et al., 1989).

4.2.4 New Zealand Small Towns:

In the New Zealand context, small towns have historically had an important role (Husband, 2017). Many small towns, especially around the lower and central South Island emerged during the gold mining period of the 1860s and 1870s. These small towns provided miners with general stores where they could purchase things, and also places to bank the gold they had mined. These towns acted as stopping points for the miners, who often travelled for days to reach the larger urban

settlements. They also allowed for the miners to invest their gold and money into establishing their own businesses (Cunningham, 2005). As time went on, and the gold mining era came to an end, small towns changed. The economy that developed was based on the industry that settled around them. Many of these towns stayed located on what would become the main transport routes, or were located around the coast or near ports, some simply stayed as small service towns. Roads and railway lines were being laid, primarily on the back of the gold rush, showing that the economy and industry around the country was changing (Alessio, 2010). In Central Otago, many goldminers remained to set up farms, forestry plantations, open businesses and plant orchards (Cunningham, 2005). Like Cromwell, other small towns in New Zealand have gone through different phases of growth and decline over many years; commonly main urban areas growing at the expense of small urban communities (Stats NZ, n.d. b).

4.2.5 Categorising New Zealand Small Towns:

Small towns in New Zealand have different functionalities that are pivotal to their regional economy. Pownall (1953) separates small towns in New Zealand historically, into manufacturing centres, individual manufacturing towns, primary industrial towns, and distribution and financial towns. Manufacturing centres refers to all forms of processing and manufacturing industries. Individual manufacturing towns are those centres that have a single predominant factory. Primary industrial towns are those that have roots in agriculture, forestry, mining, quarrying and so on. The final category, distribution and financial towns, are towns that include wholesale and retail trade, insurance companies, stock exchanges and other agencies such as real estate and advertising (Pownall, 1953). Since the time that Pownall defined these towns, towns in New Zealand have changed drastically. Typically, small towns have since experienced decline due to the loss of profitability, globalisation and out migration has occurred. Some small towns have managed to render themselves and experience periods of growth, these are typically tourist towns that are capitalising on their heritage or niche markets and gained tourist revenue (Semmens and Freeman, 2012). This shows today there is a mixture of small town categories in New Zealand that are declining and growing.

4.2.6 *Market Town*

Many small towns were established as market towns, characterised by the activity taking place within the town boundaries. Market towns are defined as being a focal point for trades and services within the larger hinterland (Powe, 2008). In England, these towns generally had a population anywhere from 2,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, however this differed between countries. Initially, these towns were simply towns where markets were held, and depending on the location of the town, the services that are provided can differ. For those that are more rural, and further from large urban centres, they acted as a service town, providing banking facilities, doctors surgeries, solicitors, ladies shops and supermarkets (Powe, 2008). Without these facilities, it is difficult to describe these towns as service hubs, or fulfilling the rural service centre role (Powe, 2008). For those that are closer to larger urban centres, the focal point of the town is different.

A market town today can be seen as being picturesque and peaceful, rather than the dull and restrictive towns they once may have been viewed as (Knox and Mayer, 2009). The in-migration happening to market towns is one of the biggest issues facing market towns, as they are seen as desirable places to live (Powe, Hart and Shaw, 2007). City folk seek the quieter but providing nature that small towns and market towns provide. Another key issue facing market towns is mobility, as individuals may have to travel further afield to reach services they require. The general function of a market town today has also changed. While it may still provide rural service centre functions, roles have developed and changed as technology has improved (Powe et al., 2007). Now these towns may provide a base for commuters, who get most of their services elsewhere; they provide residential space for those who work elsewhere; they can be tourist hubs. Market towns are known for their 'five functional roles' as service centres, visitor attractions, employment centres, housing commuters and housing the retired (Powe et al., 2007).

4.2.7 *Satellite Urban Community:*

Satellite urban communities are small towns and settlements with strong ties to larger urban centres (Stats NZ, n.d. a), either lying within city jurisdictions or within a 100km commuting distance (Yan, 1994). Living close to an urban centre or city can impact on small town and rural communities (Stats NZ, n.d. b). The strong ties to a larger urban centre is often due to employment location and commuter distance (Stats NZ, n.d. a). Statistics New Zealand (n.d. a) define a centre

as a satellite urban community if 20 percent or more of the population are usually employed in the nearby main urban area. In New Zealand, by the late 20th century, subdividing rural land near urban centres into ‘lifestyle’ blocks began to occur (Stats NZ, n.d. b). These subdivisions placed pressure on small towns close to larger centres (Stats NZ, n.d. b). Living close to an urban centre or city can impact on small town and rural communities (Stats NZ, n.d. b). Stats NZ (n.d. b) highlights how this phenomenon blurred urban/rural boundaries and altered the character of small towns that were influenced by this. Yan (1994) argues that decentralisation of urban activity to satellite towns can contribute toward solving urban issues such as overpopulation and lack of land, whilst providing opportunity for development and progression of the satellite town. However, the beneficial relations do not often reflect practice in instances where populations and industries do not meaningfully contribute to local development, whilst absorbing large areas of land (Yan, 1994).

4.2.8 Commuter Towns

In relation to the above paragraph, Dampier et al. (2014) refers to satellite communities as ‘commuter towns’. Commuting is a significant component of smaller urban areas (Fuguitt et al., 1989). The distance of a small town to a larger centre to which a daily commute is feasible can add to the success of a small town. This is particularly important if job opportunities in small towns disappear as a result of the closure of an industry for example (Dampier et al., 2014). Nel and Stevenson (2014) note that the fastest growing small towns in New Zealand were in proximity to cities with larger populations. They note that the growth in these places is primarily due to them being within the commuting belt of a core city, again, being a part of ‘commuter towns’. This is an additional effect of being close to a large city or urban hub. However, the opposite can occur, when residents of the larger towns commute to the satellite towns, as new employment opportunities and developments arise.

4.2.9 Small Town Decline and Growth

Decline of small towns is not a new phenomenon; however, small town decline has exacerbated in recent decades (Collits, 2003). International literature centring on American small town

development, suggests small town decline outside of metropolitan regions is attributed to their geographical isolation. This isolation is in relation to the lack of accessibility to trade routes and industry. These small towns tended to serve as employment centres, their purpose to provide goods and services to wider areas. However, towns segregated from urban centres and existing outside of trade networks, see a lack in business exchange prospects. Initial stages of decline induce the tendency for populations to go elsewhere in their consumer habits, in seek of greater diversity and often lower prices of goods and services (Fuguitt et al., 1989). In the modern globalising world, it can be assumed that connectivity to commercial centres is essential in sustaining the growth of small towns due to opportunities of trade and industry accommodating to the variety of wants and needs of diverse populations. The global cities theory suggests that towns existing outside metropolitan umbrellas are destined to eventually decline, as they are unable to engage in the global economy (Norman, 2013).

Despite historic recounts of small town decline, Norman (2013) predicts that small town populations trends are expected to see greater growth compared to cities, between now and 2050 (Norman, 2013). Furthermore, an American study, depicts that small cities are growing faster than their larger cohorts (Brennan et al., 2005). Commentary relating to this study highlights the challenges associated with rapid small city growth; these challenges are related to governance and financial challenges (Brennan et al., 2005). Cromartie and Nelson (2010) offer a justification for such growth, their findings suggesting that as Americans age towards retirement, they tend to move to the countryside and smaller urban locations. The lower housing costs, slower pace of life and more opportunities for leisure and recreation are some of the reasons older Americans choose to migrate to smaller urban centres (Cromartie and Nelson, 2010). The retirement population provide an example - although they are among diverse population groups electing to locate in small towns for various reasons, which contributes to small town growth.

It is important to recognise that in periods of population growth local authorities face demands for local goods and services (Cromartie and Nelson, 2010). While new residents to a small town may have positive impacts on income and employment; they may also create the need for new infrastructure and require health care and other services that are not currently provided (Cromartie and Nelson, 2010). Where small towns experience both unpredicted and predicted levels of population growth, there is a declining capability to meet the needs and expectations of local

residents (Powe and Hart, 2011). Within the cohort of small towns, there are some that will grow rapidly, while others will shrink. Factors such as location, accessibility, position on transportation routes and service and infrastructure on offer, play a defining role in which direction a town will go in.

4.3 Identity

4.3.1 Perceptions of Small Town Identities

Tauxe (1998) explains that American small towns are often romanticized and their identities misinterpreted. While Dampier et al. (2014) explains that small towns are often associated with creating trusting networks of interpersonal relationships, and it is often assumed that small communities share a collective identity, due to shared locations or history (Anderson, 1991; Phillips and Pittman, 2014). Massey (1991) goes beyond these points stating that “places do not have single, unique ‘identities’, they are full of internal conflicts [and...] a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations” (p.29). Additionally, “one of the problems here has been a persistent identification of place with ‘community’... communities can exist without being in the same place...” (Massey, 1994, p.53). Panelli et al. (2008, p.14) draws on similar thinking to Massey, explaining that “while generic elements such as landscapes, key sites/names, and practices” may be fixed, they will all be experienced differently for various groups - thus the identity of a place cannot be fully determined.

4.3.2 Residential Desirability

Studies of small towns indicate that populations choose such a location for residency based on family and friend relations, familiarity and quality of life (Everitt and Gill, 1993). Small towns offer a certain lifestyle desired by populations in seeking lower density housing and open space, shared with aspects of peace and safety that urban cities may lack (Powe and Hart, 2011). Often, these small towns are acting as suburbs of nearby larger urban centres. Because of this position, small towns become desirable due to their residential function, and the potential for cheaper residential property in comparison to the larger urban centres (Czapiewski, Banski and Gorczyńska, 2016). Daniels (1999) highlights the challenge in accommodating the pressures of

population growth and the development that ensues, whilst retaining that small town feel which influenced people into the area initially (Daniels, 1999).

There are some small towns that are desirable based on their location, especially for those who enjoy partaking in relevant activities surrounding the town, such as adventuring or skiing (Phillips and Pittman, 2014). For others, the desirability of a small town is based on their socio-economic position. Some low-income earners believe it is about the idea of hopefully finding a cheap house and making their money go further (Phillips and Pittman, 2014). This can go on to have a multitude of different effects on the way that communities continue to grow.

4.3.3 Romanticising Small Towns:

Bell (1997), Tauxe (1998) and Panelli et al. (2008) explain that the perceived identity of small towns is often romanticised. New Zealand small towns have been romanticised as “the happy rural family working together in the natural environment” (Bell, 1997, p.146). Romanticising small towns and actively perpetuating these romantic ideas can benefit those living in small towns (Bell, 1997). Additionally, Panelli et al. (2008) highlighted how local governments, entrepreneurs and developers promote their particular places using the idealised and homogenised constructions of nostalgic, attractive small towns. Sometimes, this view is referred to as being a ‘disneyesque portrayal’ of what small town life is (Sayers et al., 2007).

4.3.4 Social Capital

Putman (1993 in Sampson et al., 2011) acknowledges that the term ‘social capital’ is an attempt to understand how “those features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (p.97). Those living in small towns can reinterpret their identity to secure their version of an ideal community (Tauxe, 1998). The identity community members create for themselves creates social capital (Dampier et al., 2014).

4.3.5 Placemaking

The identity of a place is created both informally and formally through strategic processes of place-making (Panelli et al., 2008). 'Place-making' refers to a "multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public places for improving urban environments and residents' quality of life" (Sofield et al., 2017, p.1). The term place-making originated in the 1960's and 1970's in the United States to describe the process of a multi-faceted approach to the design, planning and management of public places in a way that could improve the urban environment and positively enhance the quality of life of those who use these places (Sofield et al., 2017). Place-making has now been formally embraced into urban jurisdictions (Sofield et al., 2017). Furthermore, urban jurisdictions use place-making to improve urban places through creating formal bureaucratic structures and annual budgetary commitments that include the provision of place-making. Sofield et al. (2017) explains that place-making is a process rather than an end result.

Place-making projects often focus on community 'liveability' benefits and in some cases the economic benefits that are born out of tourism (Sofield et al., 2017). Sofield et al. (2017) states "place-making in its most striking forms creates an identity, an image, a difference from other places" (p.2). Tourism is a common flow on benefit from place-making. In place-making, tourism is created through marketing the town or city as an attractive destination to visit, this is done through creating an identity, experience and image of the town or city through place-making that appeals to tourists (Sofield et al., 2017).

4.3.6 Purposeful Construction of Place-Identity:

In addition to the literature on place-making, there is also a large body of literature on 'place identity'. Place identity refers to the "purposeful construction and marketing" (Panelli et al., 2008, p.43) of a place to promote a selected identity. Similarly, to place-making, purposely creating an identity of a place to portray externally is often driven by the need to combat decline or to create new economic development (Panelli et al., 2008). There is a negative side to place identity as noted by Panelli et al. (2008), who highlighted that the promotion of selected aspects of place identity and the commodification of place can minimise groups and silence other aspects such as histories and events. Everitt and Gill (1993) argue that in some cases, established small towns have embedded systems of community leadership and involvement. Newcomers tend to find it difficult

to join these networks of collaboration, hindering their ability to create a genuine sense of place (Everitt and Gill, 1993).

Another facet to 'places' is the concept of third places (Knox and Mayer, 2009). First places are the home, second places are the workplace and third places are the informal gathering places, that make up the core setting on informal public life. These places are neutral grounds, where it is easy to access and all are welcome. Often retail environments of the local main street are seen as being an integral third place. However, as mentioned above, there is a negative side to this. The view is often mythologised to some extent, as in small towns, there are patterns of exclusion and inclusion, which is a key issue faced in small towns (Sayers et al., 2007).

4.3.7 Identity through Totems:

The idea that a town can be identified by 'something' that is large and visible is well known around the world (King and Cazessus, 2012). These large scale items are normally visible and form an attempt to build town identity and culture and try to ensure the town will not be forgotten about as generations grow old and move from the town. Tuan (1974 in Panelli et al., 2008) suggest that monuments and public symbols create significance for a place. Additionally noting that these monuments and public symbols often take shape in the form of large scale 'totems' (King and Cazessus, 2012). The totems attempt to fill this fear that their way of life will not carry on, acting as a symbolic gesture that intend to validate the experiences and identities of those within the community, and also what the community is known for (King and Cazessus, 2012). The incorporation of past endowments and future prospects in totems must become requirement for sustainable development, otherwise as "such towns depopulate and vanish from the maps, history is penalized and the future cultural diversity restricted" (De Noronha and Vaz, 2015: p.147). However, they also help to draw tourist into the town who have the potential to add economic revenue to the town (King and Cazessus, 2012). Furthermore, totems, landscapes and landmarks assist in the formation of place identity for small towns (Panelli et al., 2008). Examples of these include oversized corn stalks in small American towns known for the corn production, the large fruit in Cromwell representing the bountiful fruit growing, and a large brown trout in Gore.

4.3.8 Identity through food:

Place-identity can be created through food, Panelli et al. (2008) explain that “the particularity of food types and food cultures has long been a signifier of place specificity” (p.49). Food-place identification processes may be employed to secure economic specificity and legal rights. In other instances, food-place identity provides a resource for developing new tourism based initiatives and reconstructing heritage (Panelli et al., 2008).

4.4 Causes of Change

4.4.1 Decline of Industry - a catalyst for change

Changes in small towns can be both positive and negative. Dampier et al. (2014) uncovered that the most successful and resilient small towns are those that have at least one strong base industry. This strong base industry is often linked to a primary resource sector such as mining or agriculture (Dampier et al., 2014). However, relying on one industry can make a small town economy vulnerable to market variation and shocks. The decline of this particular industry is often the catalyst for change (Dampier et al., 2014). The cumulative effects of industry closure can pose many negative consequences for those within the community, however, with the decline of certain industries, a gap is left open for other industries to come into the town and for the town to grow again, albeit in a different light.

4.4.2 General Trends of Small Town Decline:

Husband (2017) notes that there has been a trend of decline in small town ability to contribute to local, national and international markets globally. Small town decline can occur as a result of the loss of primary production output, globalisation and rural to urban migration. As the ability to contribute to the economy declines so does the ability for a small town to provide employment opportunities and this leads to population decline as people leave the town in search of employment. Population decline in small towns causes shrinkage of other aspects of the town and can impact the quality of life of the remaining residents (Husband, 2017).

4.4.3 Causes of Decline:

As previously stated, agriculture or mining are often drivers of small town economies (Husband, 2017, Dampier et al., 2014 and Tauxe, 1998). These sectors can create a strong economy for a small town although, they typically rely on interaction with the wider economy (Tauxe, 1998). Furthermore, in more recent times, large agricultural and resource extractive corporates have had more involvement with small town economies which can have negative implications on the local economy and people (Tauxe, 1998).

Economic and global trends have an influence on the economic sustainability of small towns, however it is important to recognise this does not necessarily lead to a town's overall decline. A decline in business pursuits tends to have visible effect on the 'physical fabric' (Fuguitt et al., 1989, p.65) of a town. In spite of this, residential patterns of growth may not reflect the functionality of business in a town. Small town population growth occurs in situations despite commerce trends, where there is an influx of a retired population or where populations are inclined to live in one place whilst working and shopping in another (Fuguitt et al., 1989).

4.4.4 Global Trends

Globalisation and industrialisation are global trends that were highlighted in the literature as phenomena that greatly impact on small towns. Tauxe (1998) detailed that in the last decades of the twentieth century, large amounts of capital was able to move faster in response to shifting markets/profits within the global arena, this refers to the phenomenon of globalisation. However, globalisation can undermine the distinctiveness of smaller urban places, and can threaten their vitality and culture (Knox and Mayer, 2009). Deindustrialisation has occurred as a result of globalisation in many parts of the world (Husband, 2017). The need for industry has reduced in direct competition with areas of the world that can produce larger quantities of commodities with a cheaper source of labour (Husband, 2017). Deindustrialisation can critically effect a town's economy (Husband, 2017).

4.4.5 Change in Service:

Changes in the services provided in small towns can have an impact on the local economy, both positive and negative. Knox and Mayer (2009) note that town centres that were once full of independent butchers, newsagents, milk bars, family owned general stores and other small, independently owned stores, are fast being taken over by large supermarket chains, fast-food restaurants and chain fashion stores, among other global retailers.

4.4.6 Loss of industry:

Small towns that rely heavily on a primary resource industry can be vulnerable to industry change such as variability in commodity prices and trade surpluses (Dampier et al., 2016). It is common for small towns to be limited to singular industries, such as mining, forestry and mills (Husband, 2017). The lack of industrial diversity results in small towns becoming more vulnerable to economic change in comparison to urban centres. Small towns do not have the financial and personnel resources of a city, increasing their reliance on the regional or national economy more so than cities (Daniels, 1999). When an industry closes in a small town, it can cause a domino effect, whereby loss of industry leads to the closure of other businesses within the town, which forces people out of it.

4.4.7 Agricultural change

New Zealand depends heavily on the agricultural industry (Wilson, 1995). Globally the agricultural sector has experienced a technological revolution throughout the 20th century (Husband, 2017; Panelli et al., 2001). This revolution reduced the labour intensity of agriculture (Husband, 2017; Panelli et al., 2001). The change in farming flowed on to population changes as communities connections with farming changed (Panelli et al., 2001). Additionally, this change was a contributing factor of people moving from rural to urban settlements in search of work.

4.4.8 Changes of the 1980's in New Zealand

In New Zealand, it is common for agricultural based industries to form the dominant economy while the small town creates the service function of the wider area (Panelli et al., 2001). Rural

New Zealand experienced large changes in the mid 1980's following government policy changes and a shift in the role of the state (Wilson, 1995). The changes at this time were triggered by global capital seeking higher profits and new geographical locations to keep profits high (Wilson, 1995). These global changes had implications for New Zealand farmers, who had at the time, been over-producing commodities under protectionist government policies (Wilson, 1995). This coincided with falling global trade for agricultural commodities and public concern over modern farming practices (Wilson, 1995). Farm subsidies were removed in the mid 1980s, increasing this trying-time for New Zealand farmers (Phillips and Pittman, 2014).

These changes in farming led to an overall change for small towns in New Zealand. There were both positive and negative effects that these changes had. Country towns saw populations fall and small businesses close, which at the time placed a lot of pressure on community members. This created an opportunity for re-invention of the small rural town, which offered peacefulness that city folk wanted to have, as well as the aspect of community and neighbourliness (Phillips and Pittman, 2014). These changes also made way for tourism opportunities, especially for small towns that were along the transport routes to large tourist attractions, such as ski-fields. Places where buses would stop and get food grew, as the attraction itself grew. At the same time, small towns recreated their identity, from the farming communities they once were, to communities based on a particular aspect of the town. Setting up large icons was another way that the towns could recreate and play on their identity. While these were not intended to be a long term solution, many have become synonymous with the town they reside in (Phillips and Pittman, 2014).

4.5 Response

4.5.1 Introduction to Response

Organised response to small town decline often stems from government, central and local, or community intervention (Husband, 2017). These responses are necessary to ensure that the social and economic side of things continue to work well. Small town communities that are able to identify a reduction or loss of industry before it occurs are more resilient, and more likely to have less adverse effects (Dampier et al., 2014). A large part of being resilient is ensuring

communication between different groups in society. Social capital can be an influence in assisting small towns facing change and crisis (Dampier et al., 2014).

4.5.2 Diversification

Nel and Stevenson (2014) note that new economic activities are happening in small towns, ranging from manufacturing stationery equipment through to making pies, or establishing new tourism activities through to transition town initiatives and retail spaces. This is partly in an attempt to help attract other businesses into the townships, increasing diversification, and ensuring that towns no longer rely on one method of economic gain. Single industry towns or resource based towns can be negatively impacted upon in challenging economic climates, so “It is important to note that many rural settlements in New Zealand today are only partially dependent on agriculture for their economic and social well-being” (Willis, 1988, in Wilson, 1995). Ensuring that there is diversification, helps to increase economic activity and jobs, and while this does not replace the loss of jobs in many small towns when traditional core industry has closed, it can mean that as opportunities change and diversify, there is room once again for growth.

4.5.3 Institutional Response to Change:

Government restructuring of policy can be a response to dealing with change (Wilson, 1995). Often small towns have been neglected in national policy, making it difficult for them to react to change without institutional backing (Knox and Mayer 2009). Britton et al. (1992 in Wilson, 1995) highlights the importance of understanding the human dimension to restructuring. Institutional or government restructuring ultimately impacts people: their lives, their security and their sense of place (Britton et al., 1992 in Wilson, 1995). Local Government has a key role to play in local response to shrinkage and change, as it is often assumed that those living in the area are best suited to deal with the issues (Nel and Stevenson, 2014). Political decision makers can make more effective decisions if “they have a better understanding of the affected community’s history and identity” (Dampier et al., 2014, p.11). Often strategies for economic development in response to

economic decline are focused on large metropolitan centres then transplanted to smaller urban centres.

4.5.4 Champions

Bryant (1989 in Wilson, 1995) argues that people may adopt a range of responses to external events and change. Bryant (1989 in Wilson, 1995) explains that change is often portrayed in a negative light, however macro-level changes can create opportunities. The ability of a community to capitalise on opportunities often depends on the presence of entrepreneurs (Bryant, 1989 in Wilson, 1995). Dampier et al. (2014) refers to a similar idea of entrepreneurial ethic, this is where entrepreneurs recognise an opportunity - or threat, and decide to capitalise on the opportunity or threat. These entrepreneurs or leaders are often referred to as champions, and are shown to be the individuals pushing for change.

4.5.5 Community Response

Another factor as to which the ability to capitalise on opportunities is, an enabling environment, which is “formed by the attitudes and actions of the local community, local government and even national government” (Wilson, 1995, p.418). Husband (2017) explains that successful responses to small town shrinkage and decline tend to include collaboration with community members and groups. Husband (2017) highlights that if small towns can identify the issues that are caused by shrinkage, they then may be able to prevent further decline.

Communities have often had to become more proactive, especially in towns that have experienced or are experiencing economic challenges (Nel and Stevenson, 2014). In the neoliberal era, the private sector plays a large role in developments, and often there is reduced support for small towns, as local government agencies tend to focus on larger populations within their areas of jurisdiction. Therefore it is important for communities to be proactive when it comes to their future economic and social well-being.

4.5.6 Social Capital as a Response:

Sampson et al. (2011) highlights that “voluntary or joint social actions provide the opportunity to resolve collective dilemmas” (p.97). Individuals can create social networks and bonds as a resource to responding to change (Coleman, 1988 in Sampson et al., 2011). Collective activity can be maintained through social structures and relationships and this can lead to communities resolving issues that they face in common (Sampson et al., 2011).

4.6 Changing Opportunities

4.6.1 Introduction to Changing Opportunities

Some small towns today have changed from the service providers they once were, to their own mini-metropolis. The dichotomy of urban versus rural areas is changing, as is the ideas that businesses could only be in large cities is changing (De Noronha and Vaz, 2015). Urban lifestyles, high-tech industry and development, access to higher education, modern facilities and service hubs are no longer just found in large cities, but now are more widely spread. This shows that small communities are growing to be recognised as their own municipal towns, with rights and duties (De Noronha and Vaz, 2015). As technology changes, there are creative solutions used to increase spatial balance in small communities. Nel and Stevenson (2014) refer to the idea of second modernity type enterprises. This includes things like expressing local foods and creating new adaptive businesses. Small communities are able to capitalise on this, thus increasing growth.

4.6.2 The creative class

Florida (2001) discusses the creative class as a theory interpreting why some cities remain stable and vibrant while others stagnate. The creative class is defined as a population cohort which breeds highly educated professionals specialising in a wide variety of disciplines. The professionals are employed to promote innovation and visionary thinking, fuelling not only the service economy, but societal development. Florida argues that cities capitalise on this imaginative thinking in prospects of growth and change, whilst also tending to become a more diverse and tolerant environment, thus attracting more liberal creative class thinkers (Florida, 2001 in Norman, 2013).

4.6.3 Small Town and Heritage Tourism

In the New Zealand context, ‘the tourist’ is seen as the saviour in small towns where unemployment is high or the town is experiencing population decline (Bell, 1997). Bell (1997) conducted research in New Zealand small towns that were turning to tourism to create economic growth. Bell (1997) uncovered that it was common for small towns that were experiencing decline to use their heritage and use the past as a resource for tourism, stating rather than “manufacturing new goods, heritage is manufactured” (p.149). Panelli et al (2001) notes that local stakeholders can deliberately modify and market the town to appeal to tourist and create economic activity. Furthermore, it is common for the economic tourism activity to be tied to something that resonates with a place - such as historic features and stories (Panelli et al., 2001).

4.6.4 Sustainable Small Towns

The term ‘sustainable development’ is defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland, 1987). Knox and Mayer (2013, in Husband 2017) note that small towns may reach a threshold in development and size that are now able to support their population and economy indefinitely. Sustainable development is particularly important for small towns as it can ensure endurance and well being of a smaller urban area (Semmens and Freeman, 2012). However, in order to sustain the growth, there needs to be measures in place to ensure economic and social well being. Sustainability can be applied in a number of ways, including ensuring that there are enough jobs for local residents; that residents spend their time and money in the town; and of course that the environment is not degraded beyond repair, by means of excessive use.

4.6.5 Cittaslow

Cittaslow (Slow Cities) refers to an activist movement that “encouraged towns to employ a set of urban design and planning tools to readdress the challenges associated with ‘fast life’” (Semmens and Freeman, 2012, p.353). Everyday lives have become faster paced, global standardisation and modernisation have led to the anonymity of cities (Petrini, 2001 in Semmens and Freeman, 2012). Cittaslow is a “global organization or ‘network’ of towns that strive to achieve the goal of

sustainable development through the avoidance of global culture in planning, urban design and infrastructure” (Semmens and Freeman, 2012, p.357). The aim of Cittaslow is to preserve local identity, increase small town liveability and to ensure economic vitality. Ensuring small town sustainability is important for not only the quality of life in small towns, but also for regional and national well-being.

4.6.6 Role of the developer

International literature by Powe and Hart (2011) discusses small town growth in the UK context drawing on perceptions of residential attitudes towards growth management. The authors studies conclude that developer-led housing developments have contributed to a loss of character and functionality in small towns. Developer-led design can often stray from the aesthetic ambitions of residents in how they would like to see their local environments develop, as their values differ (Powe and Hart, 2011). Residents can often fear the unknown in development initiatives and the impact it will have to the individual, inducing anxieties around future growth. A case study based on developer-led housing developments in the context of Norfolk, England concluded that fifty percent of established residents (over 15 years of age) were opposed to the developments. Opposition was centered around concerns of implementation affecting character and infrastructure pressures (Powe and Hart, 2011). It is important to note the corresponding consequences of concentrated housing development in small towns can lead to sizeable increase on pressure of community services such as education and medical providers. Powe and Hart (2011) suggest a need for tighter controls in develop-led projects in the UK context, restricting losses of rural land and small town appeal. There is a need to align policy concerns with the insights of residents who utilize and experience the space, in creating a shared vision of development (Powe and Hart, 2011).

4.7 Summary

There are a number of key things that small towns need to ensure so that they continue to grow in a sustainable way. Connectivity, how people move around the town and connect with neighbouring towns, is important in ensuring that the town plays a vital role in the region. Social capital is

important, ensuring that individuals views and wants for the town are incorporated, especially in periods of growth.

The key themes and ideas that have been explored throughout this literature review will be used to inform the remaining sections of this report. Following this section is the methodology explaining how the research has been undertaken.

5. Results

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the main findings from the key informant interviews and surveys that were carried out. This chapter is divided into four key sections that align with the research objectives proposed. Each section will cover the following topics: the positive and negative attributes associated with unprecedented growth within the small town, the perspectives on housing for residents in growing small towns, and the identity and place-making of small towns. Following this, the aspirations of the community for the future in dealing with these issues will also be discussed. Reflections on the material presented here forms the basis for Chapter 6: Discussion, where the key themes of the research are discussed within the Central Otago context.

5.2 Growth Issues

Objective one of the research project is to investigate the positive and negative effects that growth has had on Cromwell. The surveys and ten key informant interviews that were carried out identified a mixture of both positive and negative responses on this growth. These issues were found to be predominantly due to the pressures on infrastructure, services, housing and the role that development has played in the Cromwell township. In relation to this, the response of the Central Otago District Council to alleviate pressures of Cromwell's growth, was a significant topic of discussion across all the interviews. The following section will analyse the data and outline the key findings from both the key informant interviews and the surveys carried out.

5.3 Infrastructure

5.3.1 Positive effects of growth on infrastructure

The impact of growth on infrastructure in Cromwell was a key topic of discussion during the key informant interviews. The growth has resulted in several positive attributes that have benefited the township. Cromwell has experienced an increase in the population of permanent residents over the last five years (Stats NZ, 2018). The larger population of the town has meant community activities

such as fundraising has been able to attract larger revenues to invest in infrastructure in Cromwell. Key Informant 5 notes that the growth Cromwell has experienced has allowed for new facilities to be funded for the community to enjoy such as a BMX park, squash courts, indoor swimming pool and rugby grounds. Key Informant 9 explains that the community was able to fundraise the development of a world-class hockey turf that is able to host international sporting events. It is noted that without the growth of the Cromwell community, these facilities would not have been able to be funded in the first place. The increase in the number of people in the area has allowed for successful fundraising to occur to provide this type of infrastructure for the community to enjoy.

Another positive benefit growth has had on infrastructure in Cromwell is the attraction of both commercial and industrial developments. Key Informant 3 notes that the development of the Dunstan Light Industrial Area has helped to diversify the economy of Cromwell. Key Informant 7 notes that this infrastructure in the industrial area has paved the way for world-class industries to set up base in Cromwell. For example, the company Central Blue Ltd focuses on building sustainable housing for the Central Otago region and was able to base itself in Cromwell as a result of the infrastructure in place within the area.

5.3.2 Negative effects of growth on infrastructure

However, the growth of Cromwell has also had negative consequences for infrastructure as well. Many of the key informants discussed the inadequacies of State Highway 6 through the Kawarau Gorge connecting Cromwell to Queenstown. It was noted that there is significant congestion along the road during the morning from Cromwell to Queenstown and vice versa in the evenings as people residing in Cromwell commute to Queenstown for work related purposes. The road is viewed as being “dangerous and an accident waiting to happen” due to the narrow width of the road and close proximity to the face of the gorge (Key Informant 1). Many key informants said that the road requires urgent upgrading to cope with the amount of traffic that has been generated as a result of the growth in Cromwell.

Despite the fact growth has attracted new businesses and services to the region, some key informants recognised the negative impact surrounding the placement of these services within the township. There is currently not enough adequate infrastructure in place within the township for services to locate appropriately. Key informant 1 comments on the areas that were once zoned for light industrial use, now accommodate for mixed-use developments. For example, it is noted that residential and educational services are located within the industrial area due to limited infrastructure in place for these facilities elsewhere in the township. Thus, despite the area being designated for light industrial use, the limited availability of infrastructure has meant these services have had little choice but to locate here.

Furthermore, key informants have the perception that the rapid pace of growth in the Cromwell township has meant planning for infrastructure has not been entirely thought out, with a strong vision for the future. Key Informant 1 notes there is no cohesiveness in the current retail developments that are occurring. There is no effort to connect retail spaces together via pedestrianization as each piece of retail has its own separate car park. This means people often drive to neighbouring retail buildings due to inaccessibility, to reach the destination otherwise. Key Informant 8 also identified that the introduction of optic fibre into Cromwell was being installed via power poles as opposed to underground that would mean the views of the surrounding landscapes would be compromised within the near future. Table 4 below provides further examples of key informants’ perspectives on the implications of growth on infrastructure.

Table 4: Quotation table showing the various perspectives the impact of growth has had on infrastructure in Cromwell

Key Informant	Quotes on the impact of growth on infrastructure
Key Informant 1	“Every bit of retail has their own car park attached to it. The Dunstan Light Industrial area started off being light industrial and then people started putting services, offices and even residential in there... You have everything

	going on there now. It's a dog's breakfast."
Key Informant 2	"There is a 400-bed worker accommodation development that is going into the industrial zone. I'm not sure that is the best place for it but the rules allow it and the demand is there for it..."
Key Informant 5	"Growth in Cromwell has definitely made the community better. Cromwell has great facilities for families, you have got an amazing BMX park, amazing squash courts, pools, and rugby grounds. All of those facilities were essentially funded by the community through fundraising."
Key Informant 6	"I think that seasonal worker accommodation and people living here to work in Queenstown is something we do have to think carefully about. We don't want to create ghettos."
Key Informant 8	<p>"When I first came to town, there was talk of putting power underground...Now they're going along installing fibre everywhere and they're sticking it up the power poles. I don't think an awful amount of thought has been placed into some of the infrastructure that is going to cope with growth that makes it a long-term sound decision."</p> <p>"The growth of the primary schools has led to new classrooms being built over the next few years to cope with the number coming through.... Cromwell Primary hasn't had a school hall for the past few years because it's had to be converted into classrooms...they're finally starting to catch up on the growth"</p>
Key Informant 9	"The Cromwell community Board was looking at an upgrade of the waste water treatment system. We had to get new [consents] and we tried very

	<p>hard to keep the same standards in the old consents to the new ones... In the end we got a consent that was quite onerous in terms of what the discharge could be. And then that resulted in quite a bit of work and development of a new design to meet that... [The] new treatment plant is about to be commissioned sometime between now and Christmas. As part of that process, then the future growth was applied. Will it be enough? No. Because all I know about predictions is they're always wrong. You'll never guess the amount of growth you're going to have... In the design we put, 'it'll need to be improved', standards will also need to be improved.</p> <p>“the only reason that growth is coming is because we've got the infrastructure to absorb it.”</p>
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5.3.3 Community perspectives on infrastructure in Cromwell

From the surveys that were conducted, residents were asked for their opinion on the most important areas of infrastructure that are currently under pressure as a result of growth. Figure 3 below shows that health facilities were found to be the most critical piece of infrastructure that requires urgent attention alongside educational facilities. Approximately 37% of respondents said healthcare facilities needed to be prioritized compared to 33% that considered educational facilities need to be the main priority for Cromwell. Survey respondents commented on health care facilities needing to prioritize emergency services and maternity care as the nearest hospital providing this was located in Dunedin. Key informant interviews also discussed the urgent need to expand the existing primary and secondary educational institutes in order to cope with growing demand. Roading was considered to be the least important piece of infrastructure in the surveys, despite many key informants urging the need for further investment into the road connecting Cromwell to Queenstown.

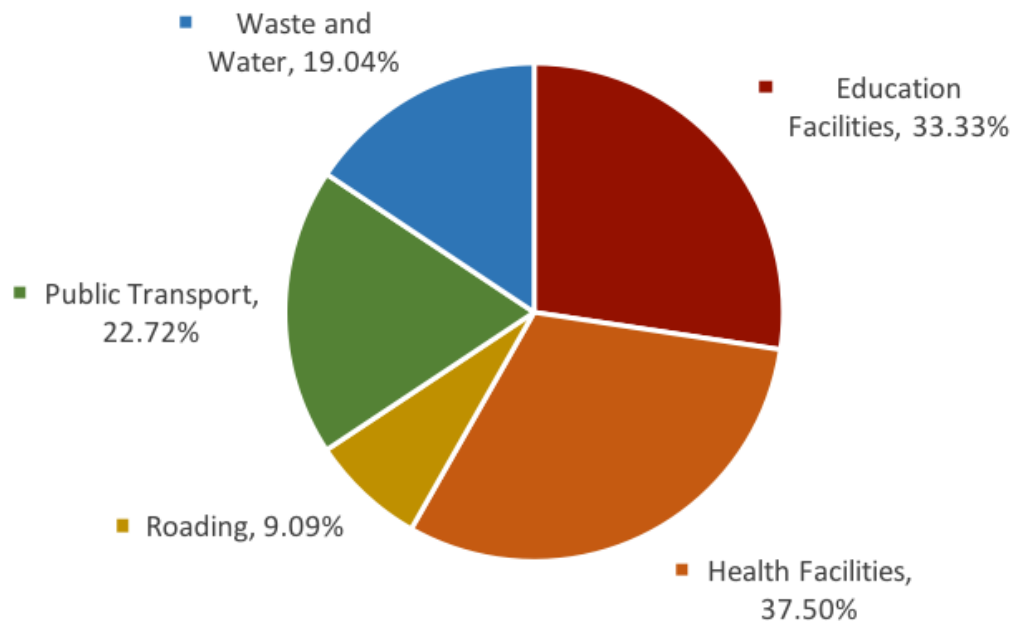


Figure 3: Community perspectives on the most important pieces of infrastructure that requires the most investment

The surveys, revealed that there were other types of services and infrastructure that members of the Cromwell community believe require investment to accommodate for future growth in Cromwell. Figure 4 shows the proportion of survey participants who gave an ‘Other’ option. These ‘Other’ options are described as follows;

- Retail services upgrades (an increase to retail options and upgrade to town centre);
- Housing;
- Cycleways; and
- Community centres (community resource buildings, performing arts hall, sports clubs)

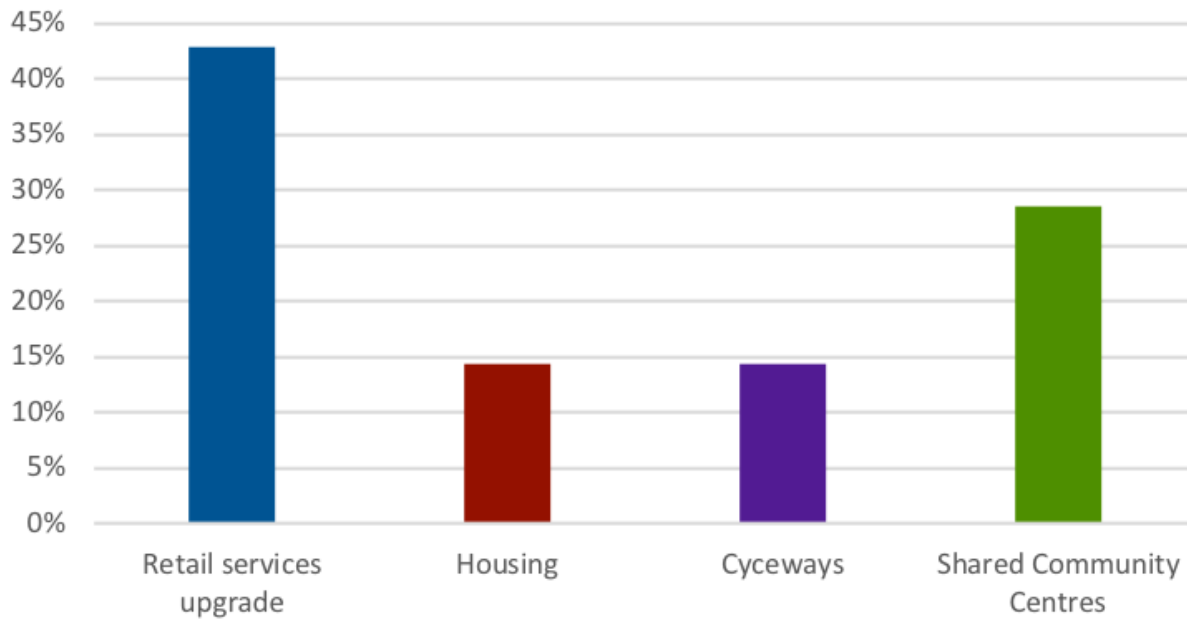


Figure 4: Other areas of infrastructure that should be prioritized in Cromwell

5.3.4 Council perspectives on infrastructure in Cromwell

The council has the perspective that the current infrastructure in Cromwell is currently adequate to keep up with the current demand. Key Informant 9 notes how the rebuilding of the Cromwell township following the construction of the Clyde Dam has provided the town with good quality infrastructure that would not be seen in other small towns around New Zealand. For example, wastewater and stormwater facilities were all upgraded during the refurbishment of the township. The community was also able to negotiate other community infrastructure such as an indoor swimming pool complex (Key Informant 9). However, Key Informant 2 notes that adequate provision of housing is a key concern for the council alongside the development of a community centre for the township to utilize.

5.4 Services

5.4.1 Positive effects of growth on services in Cromwell

Growth has had a positive impact on some of the services Cromwell offers. The geographical positioning of Cromwell halfway between the townships of Queenstown and Wanaka has played a pivotal role in the growth of the township. In particular, the industrial service sector has benefited

well from the location of Cromwell as well as the availability and the affordability of the land in comparison to Queenstown. Key Informant 8 notes national firms are locating to Cromwell to benefit from its strategic positioning and ability to service the wider Central Otago region. Key Informant 10 notes this has helped to diversify the local economy and has seen Cromwell start to establish itself as a distribution hub. Furthermore, its positioning allows it to connect other existing services in the area. Key Informant 5 notes that once all the cycleways and trails around the district are connected, Cromwell will become a central hub to service these cycling tourists. The perspectives of key informants have been collated below in Table 5.

5.4.2 Negative effects of growth on services in Cromwell

Due to the growth of the Cromwell township, many of the services the area provides have struggled to keep up with the increased demand. Growth has had a significant impact on the workload at the Central Otago District Council. Key Informant 2 notes how the policies pushed through by central government do not take into account small councils that have limited capacity to cope with rapid increase in the demand for their services in terms of the timeframes that each consent must be turned over in. For example, the Central Otago District Council typically processes between 30 to 35 building consents a month until recently where this number doubled to 60 consents requiring to be processed. Key Informant 2 notes that the timeframes placed on the consent to be turned over can sometimes compromise the environmental outcome due to the limited time available to think through particular developments. However, this additional workload is considered temporary and is able to be offloaded to external service providers (Key Informant 2).

Another negative consequence of growth on services is that there has also been demand on essential services such as day-care, kindergartens, schools, medical centres that have reached capacity following the growth experienced in Cromwell. Key Informant 10 questions how much longer these essential services can continue to cope with the influx in demand. It was evident there is also a lack of information readily available for these essential services to illustrate the anticipated growth that Cromwell will experience. Key Informant 3 expressed the view that services such as the police are unsure of how it should expand its facilities to accommodate the future permanent and temporary populations.

Despite the increased growth in Cromwell, services are often struggling to remain open during the off-season. Key Informant 1 notes that shops often close down for the winter due to a lack of foot traffic and tourists coming into the township during this season. This has meant that only commercial chain stores are able to survive in Cromwell. The current retail area named ‘The Mall’ is currently inadequate to offer any real change to this situation. When asked questions associated with the centre of town to provide retail, many key informants responded with negative comments about the area. Key Informant 3 notes that current commercial spaces on offer are currently too expensive for boutique stores to open up and attract a diverse range of activities into the township. However, a site analysis of the Mall revealed that only three retail spaces within The Mall were vacant and the remaining were leased by other businesses. Furthermore, Key Informant 5 notes there is a limited amount of activities occurring in Cromwell during the night time despite being a good day-time destination, as it is a struggle for the hospitality industry to survive sustainably in the area because of this lack of night-time activities and off-season periods with limited foot traffic in the area.

Table 5: Quotation table showing the various perspectives on the impact growth of the Central Otago region has had on services

Key Informant	Quote on impact of growth on services
Key Informant 1	<p>“It is absurd that they grow so much food around here but it is actually quite hard to even buy it in Cromwell. You can’t get restaurants where you can have it to plate and locally sourced that is happening everywhere else in the world... this has to be fixed so Cromwell can become a place where it is one of its strength.”</p> <p>“Shops shut down in winter, there is no foot traffic, no one stopping on the way through...you have to get commercial interests interested before you offer some services.”</p>

<p>Key Informant 2</p>	<p>“The Central Government has introduced a load of policies...around timeframes. In my opinion...it’s not about how fast you can get through something, it is about achieving the right environmental outcome.”</p> <p>“We normally process between 30 to 35 consents a month...but for three months last year we were getting 60 and there was absolutely no way our team could do that. A consultant has been engaged with and now takes the bulk of the overflow.”</p> <p>“The significant increase in AirBnB...and what that does to the rental market is significant because landowners can rent out two nights a week, not have the hassle of full time tenants and earn way more. I don’t know how you counter that...it’s only a restricted discretionary activity so we might look at changing that.”</p>
<p>Key Informant 3</p>	<p>“Chain stores are the only one that can really survive economically here. The retail space in Cromwell is not cheap enough for boutique stores and besides - chain stores keep shopping affordable.”</p>
<p>Key Informant 5</p>	<p>“There is clubs for Africa in the Bulletin. But I think the real challenge is people being so busy...both people in households work so people aren’t as generous with their time anymore because they feel like that they can be.”</p> <p>“Highlands began to change the tourism landscape for Cromwell. The cycling has been here forever, but that connectivity between Queenstown, Cromwell and Wanaka, and the rail trail are going to change the stars again.”</p>

	<p>“Cromwell is not quite yet able to provide services at night-time. We are a great daytime destination with wineries and the lake. But at night-time, not much is open. It is getting better... but for the high end guest, there isn't anything here yet... Bannockburn is doing well with the bar and another restaurant. It is a challenge sustainably for hospitality industries through the winter months here. ”</p>
<p>Key Informant 8</p>	<p>“There's much more service industry [in Cromwell] in recent years because its location is ideal to service the wider area. We see national firms coming here and able to service the wider parts of Central Otago.”</p> <p>“I think the community board in Cromwell is perhaps the most progressive one in Central Otago...what they've done has been fantastic to get the town to where it is now.”</p>
<p>Key Informant 9</p>	<p>“So you look at that [fruit industry] and you go, that's what we've become. And then more importantly now, we've also become that hub for the rest of the area. So where that was probably previously Alexandra. And then, because of the Queenstown/Wanaka influence and how they've grown, Cromwell's actually taken that plus.”</p> <p>“Alexandra used to be the centre of local government and all that sort of things and government agencies... Technology's changed so much that actually, you don't need those things anymore anyway. And, for some of those things, they should be here.”</p>
<p>Key Informant 10</p>	<p>“With the growth of the industrial area broadening the range of the local economy now, people are coming here for some of that work now. A lot</p>

	<p>of businesses are basing themselves in Cromwell here because it is actually more affordable for land than it is over in Queenstown. So [Cromwell] is becoming the distribution post, the hub.”</p> <p>“Services are a really interesting one... groups are starting to struggle. Youth groups, kindergartens, some of those core community service groups that actually are starting to get pushed of demand... the medical centre’s pretty full in terms of people they can take and those key services are starting to bulge at the moment.”</p>
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5.4.3 Council perspective of the impact of growth in Cromwell

One of the key findings from the key informants was in relation to the role that local government plays in facilitating growth in Cromwell. Table 8 summarizes the key quotes in relation to the role the council has on growth in the area. Key informant 1 notes that Central Otago District Council has generally been facilitating for developers and permissive of the plans that are proposed. This attitude towards development was confirmed through various other key informants interviewed and all agreed that there could be negative consequences as a result of being extremely permissive on these developments that would ultimately shape Cromwell. Key Informant 10 notes that this permissive attitude is a result of the current district plan being out of date with the current situation in Cromwell. The operative district plan was written in 1998 and was prepared at a time where Cromwell was in a period of decline. As a result, the plan essentially promotes and encourages growth to occur within the region and is generally very permissive on the activities that are allowed to occur. However, many of the key informants also agree that it should be the responsibility of council to take control to prevent unwanted development from occurring. Key Informant 5 notes that the council needs to deny some activities to occur since the land in Cromwell will always be at a premium due to the environment it is situated within. However, Key Informant 2 and 6 note that there is often a misunderstanding on exactly what the council can and cannot do in relation to the requests they receive. Thus, a lack of control and guidance from the appropriate authority could potentially see the growth of Cromwell being portrayed in a negative light.

5.4.4 Council-related discussion

Table 6: Quotation table showing key quotes from the key informants on the role and impact Council has on the Cromwell area

Key Informant	Quotes on council involvement within Cromwell
Key Informant 1	<p>“The council is known to be pro-development and soft on developers. Cromwell in 20 years time with the every man for himself type mentality will see Cromwell develop on steroids as a result.”</p> <p>“A major issue is that these land lots are getting zoning changes from rural to residential and then don’t end up carrying out the subdivision by the next District Plan change. They are land banking, not following through with the development until it is more valuable and then sell it off to someone who will do the subdivision. The council needs to step in and control this with rules.”</p> <p>“[Cromwell] need some form of legal aid that is tailored to planning issues...the planning profession equivalent of legal aid. They would be able to run it so that little Joe Blog can go and be informed and educated on the developments and decisions occurring. Right now, the whole system favours the developer”.”</p>
Key Informant 2	<p>“In 2008, [the Council] changed the rural section of the plan to stop random development happening. We had to put our foot in the door because it used to be too permissive, where controlled activities were subdivisions and they were occurring all over the place with no consideration for the environment.”</p>

	<p>“Because of the changes made by Central Government, it now means that if we put out a plan change then it doesn’t come into effect until it has been through the entire process. We end up with a lot of things coming through the door before the plan change can actually have effect.”</p> <p>“In terms of the [Cromwell community], we do see a lack of people getting involved with the planning processes. The Wooing Tree subdivision attracted a lot of attention so people are interested in the developments occurring.”</p> <p>“Quite often people say that Council should be doing this and that...but it is only supposed to be core services, basic stuff like infrastructure, roads, making sure you have good design and road flow. It isn’t the council’s place to be putting money into businesses and stuff like that”.</p> <p>“On the development front, the only thing councils can really do is make provision for that development to occur so it might be that we zone appropriately or make provision for them in certain areas.”</p>
Key Informant 5	<p>“It is really up to the council to say no [to developers], hold on. This is how it is so you either like it or you don’t. Land is at a premium, this is an aspirational destination. You don’t have to worry about people not wanting to do it... but we just seem to be deer in headlights at the moment.”</p>

	<p>“The council is very slow. That isn’t a criticism, that is just a reality.”</p>
Key Informant 6	<p>“I have been at meetings where people don’t understand the role of the council within the community. I’ve been at meetings where people go ‘can’t council just make those housing issues go away themselves’...”</p>
Key Informant 8	<p>“We’ve hit a few brick walls [with the Council]. We’ve had to upgrade our sewage treatment onsite here...not only did we have to pay for the connection to the town scheme, we had to pay for the size of the pipe that would allow for anyone else to connect to it - and then we had to pony all the development costs and so forth, and a contribution fee. If the town is going to grow, the council needs to do a little bit more to aid infrastructure...but people around town are struggling to get any sort of sense [of what’s going on].”</p> <p>“Whenever the council asks to consult with the community, they get bugged all feedback from them anyway... The people who moan about things are the people that never actually contribute something or do something about it.”</p> <p>“The current cost of worker accommodation if you’re going to build a hostel is about \$22,000 a bed. And we only need it for six weeks of the year, so it is a bit challenging at the moment.”</p>
Key Informant 9	<p>“And so we’ve got a very enabling district plan which was done at a time that Central Otago was facing huge decline.”</p>

	<p>“We were prepared when our district plan was enabling. Going forward, you might say that the plan change, on Sandflat Road, is going to be measured against that current plan. The District Plan review is probably going to change the rules around certain things, and, the most important part, if all of those things are going to happen, and now with the Masterplan being developed by the Board as well to look at.”</p>
<p>Key Informant 10</p>	<p>“Council is in the process of reviewing its District Plan... their previous District Plan was very permissive and was written at a time back in 1998...and it was really written around having growth because they wanted to attract people here and have growth.”</p>

5.5 Housing in response to growth

5.5.1 Current housing situation in Cromwell

Housing was a major topic in relation to the growth pressures within the Cromwell context. Of particular interest was the difference between renting and home ownership. Figure 5 shows the different housing situations for Cromwell community members based on how long they have been living in Cromwell and illustrates the percentage of survey participants who own or rent their home. People who have lived in Cromwell between 0-2 years are the highest proportion who do not own their home. However, they are also the second highest proportion who do own their own home. Survey participants who have lived in Cromwell for 10 or more years are the highest proportion who own their own home and the second highest proportion who rent. As well as this, we see that just under 5% of those who have lived in Cromwell for 0-2 years selected the other option in regard to their housing situation. This option was describe as boarding.

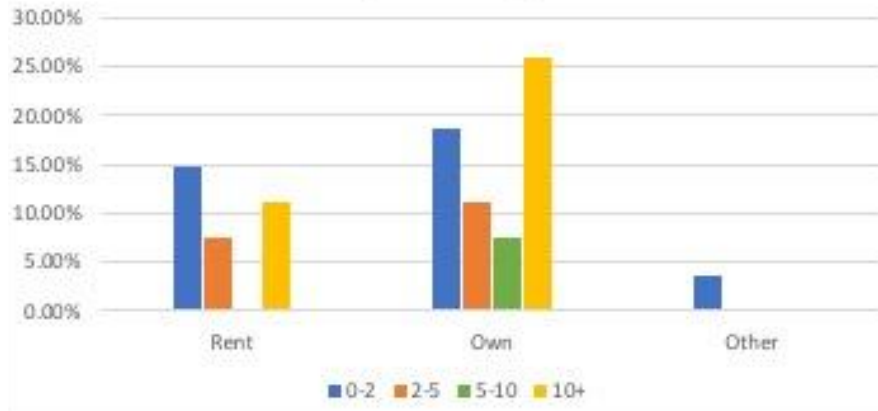


Figure 5: Number of people owning or renting their home in relation to how many years they have lived in Cromwell for

A key concern that came through associated with housing and growth was that of affordability. A link was made between the growth experienced in Queenstown and Wanaka and the rising unaffordability of housing in the Queenstown-Lakes District area. The rise of adventure and destination tourism in Queenstown and increasing economic activity within the region has seen more people choosing to live in Cromwell due to the region being much more affordable to purchase a house in (KI1). The average (median) price of housing in Cromwell has doubled from between approximately \$300,000 to \$400,000 to \$700,000 to \$800,000 (KI1). This has led to an increase in rent payments and mortgage repayments for those who reside in the area. Figure 6 shows that those who have lived in Cromwell the least and longest amounts of time are the highest proportions who spend more than 30 percent of their income on housing. They are also the highest proportions who do not spend more than 30 percent of their income on housing.

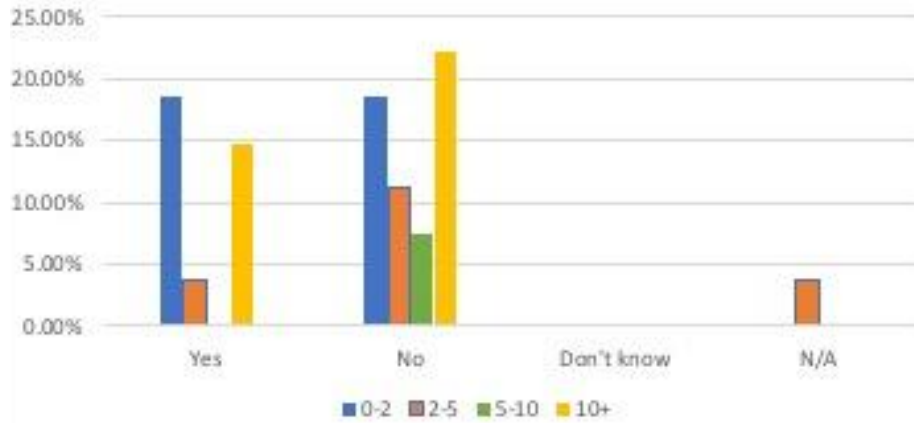


Figure 6: The proportion of people who spend more or less than 30% of their income on housing in Cromwell

Furthermore, residents of Cromwell were also asked whether or not the current construction of housing is keeping up with the demand for them. This was important to gauge as an increase in supply in housing would theoretically make housing more affordable and accessible for people in the area. Figure 7 shows that a majority of respondents believed that the current rate of housing developments were not keeping up with the demand for them.

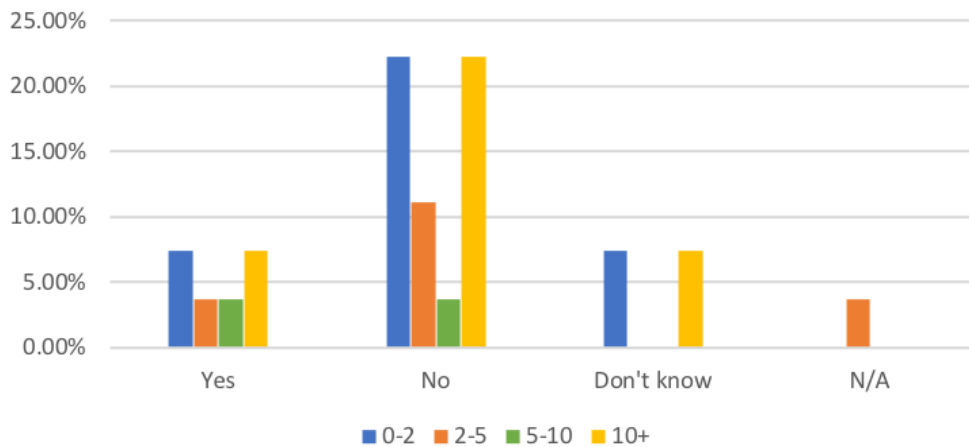


Figure 7: Residents perspective on whether the current construction of housing is keeping up with demand

The surveys further investigated what sectors were experiencing the most hardship in trying to find adequate accommodation. The sectors that were experiencing difficulty finding affordable

housing were low-income earning individuals or families, long-term locals, newcomers, renters, seasonal workers, and young couples.

5.5.2 Positive effects of growth on housing

The growth of Cromwell has had a positive effect on housing in the area. As a result of increased demand for houses, the price of property has also risen. This has attracted significant investment into Cromwell in the form of housing developments due to the potential for developers to turn over a high profit. Key Informant 4 notes that many retired couples are also now selling off property they previously owned in Cromwell and moving to other places like Alexandra to obtain additional revenue that is used to fund their retirement. For example, one couple purchased a house for \$500,000 a few years ago and recently sold it off for \$750,000 to make a quarter of a million dollar profit. This has a positive effect on the surrounding economy of Cromwell as more money is invested into the area as a result.

5.5.3 Negative effects of growth on housing

One of the main negative effects growth has had on housing in Cromwell is the impact it has had on housing affordability. Key Informant 6 notes that this increase in house prices has started to push people out of both the property market and the rental market. The survey respondents noted comments around rental properties that lower paid residents that help to run hospitality, supermarkets and gas stations will be forced out of the area as a result of higher rents. Furthermore, it is noted that central government have not adjusted their policies according to the property market of the area. For example, a survey respondent noted that the Kiwisaver grant price caps are still at \$50,000 which makes needing a deposit on a house increasingly difficult. Until this is adjusted, younger couples are unlikely to be able to afford to live and purchase a home in the Cromwell area.

The unaffordability of the housing market as a result of the unprecedented growth in Cromwell has also meant people are living in inadequate temporary accommodation such as backpackers for extended periods of time (Key Informant 8). The temporary accommodation was typically taken up by seasonal workers during the summer months but is increasingly being booked out to people

working in other industries for extended periods of time. Furthermore, housing in Cromwell is facing increased pressure due to the loss of temporary accommodation. This includes the loss of the Top 10 Holiday Park and The Chalets which have been sold to developers that intend to subdivide the land for permanent housing (Key Informant 8). This has created fear and uncertainty for the short term due to a lack of a solution to house those residing in temporary accommodation. Table 6 shows some of the views on housing that came from the key informant interviews.

Table 7: Quotations from key informant interviews on the impact growth in Cromwell has had on housing

Key Informant	Impact growth has had on housing in Cromwell
Key Informant 1	“Within the last couple of years there has been a real estate gold rush...properties that were selling around the \$300 - \$400k mark are now going for \$700k - \$800k... it creates a massive problem for everybody because you have this gold rush mentality that people have to make the most of it.”
Key Informant 6	“The growth has been unprecedented so people are being pushed out of the rental and property market.”
Key Informant 8	<p>“[The housing situation] is pretty close to being a dire situation for some. It’s quite concerning that you hear that there are nearly 100 people living full-time in sort of temporary backpacker type accommodation Right from people living with kids going to school to elderly retired people.”</p> <p>“...people who are coming here for the summer as part of the fruit industry to work here in the sort of services industry and paying nearly \$1500 a week to rent a house... to buy a house now you need at least \$750,000 already which doesn’t seem right for a sleepy little rural town.”</p>

	<p>“The chalets, which is a sort of backpackers place in town here, has just been sold and its likely to be bowled over and turned into a residential development at some stage...they’ll be huge pressure on casual accommodation. Orchids and businesses around here are having to provide [accommodation] for themselves rather than rely upon a third party to do it, so there is a lot of investment going into it right now.”</p>
<p>Key Informant 9</p>	<p>“Cromwell was going backwards at a great rate after the dam finished. All very well to say, no more building dams but, no more work, for a thousand people. But a whole lot of houses. So for a while, we became quite popular with young, solo mothers while we had this big housing stock. Brought a few issues to town, a few challenges. We got through them and other things happened, and in the end, someone found out that Cromwell is rather, geographically well placed to a lot of other things.”</p>

5.5.4 Role of the housing developer

Another key finding from the key informant interviews is the role that developers plays in the growth Cromwell has experienced. All key informants across the interviews said that developers are the ones in control of the development of Cromwell and are not working in unity with the community’s aspirations. Table 7 summarized the key quotations from the key informants on the role of the developer within the community. Key Informant 1 notes that the more revenue developers have access to, the more likely they are to establish how the township develops because “he who has the gold makes the rules. That is the golden rule”. This is due to developers being too focused on their own goals as an individual or firm to maximize their profits and monetary gains. The key informant interviews revealed they are not concerned with developing these projects with the idea they will benefit the community as a whole. However, the key informant interviews note that there is a limited amount that can be done due to land being in private ownership. Key Informant 7 reveals their frustration at the community being opposed to the

development they have proposed to take out the vineyard even though it will be occurring on the land where they planted the vines originally.

Developers often select land to develop that is not consistent with current zoning. Furthermore, Key Informant 2 notes that developers often choose to start their developments out of zone and automatically assume the status of non-complying. Despite these activities being classified as 'non-complying', developers and independent commissioners are using the gateway test outlined in s104D of the Resource Management Act 1991 to consider that their development will have a no more than minor effect on the environment. For example, Key Informant 5 provides the example of the River Terrace development that will occur adjacent to the Highlands Speedway Motorsport Park. The speedway generates a lot of noise in the area that will mean residential housing built adjacent to this business will likely result in the clashing of ideas. Key Informant 5 provides the example of how other speedways around New Zealand face significant reputational damage to their business and reduced operational hours as a result of residential housing being built adjacent to speedways. This illustrates that the developers are not putting forward their developments to be in union with what already exists within the Cromwell community but instead how they can develop their land irrespective of how the area currently operates.

One of the key issues that was highlighted when investigating the role of the developer is the lack of citizen participation in the development process. It was noted that a majority of the key informant interviews agreed that these developments were inappropriate and believe they are not able to do anything about them. However, Key Informant 2 notes that for developments that are inappropriately zoned, the community decides not to submit when the development becomes publicly notified. For example, the subdivision that is occurring at the Top 10 Holiday Park was carried out as a resource consent as opposed to a plan change. As a result, the underlying zone of the new subdivision will still be rural despite its residential characteristics. However, only a total of 12 people submitted on the development. If a decision is publicly notified and the community do not chose to engage, then the development is likely to be approved regardless of the impact it will have on the community (Key Informant 2).

Table 8: Quotation table showing the various perspectives on the role of the developer within the Cromwell community

Key informant	Quote on the role of developers
Key Informant 1	<p>“[Developers] are using planners that are known for being aggressive....I’m not anti-development but the 840 section one is an example of bad development. But those developers have all the money that they need and understand the dynamics of development here. He who has the gold makes the rules. That is the golden rule”</p>
Key Informant 3	<p>“[Cromwell] needs to take a more integrated approach to development that has a more community-oriented focus...Developers are too focused on squeezing too much into housing subdivisions for monetary gain...this is creating unsafe neighbourhoods and changes the lifestyle of people living here...”</p> <p>“Subdivisions are not happening the way [the community] wants them to. There is no evidence of the things [the community] value such as greenways, and most are too narrow or compact to offer the lifestyle Cromwell can offer...”</p>
Key Informant 2	<p>“The worst thing I see coming through is the non-complying subdivisions...what you end up with is people trying to develop out of zone. You get subdivisions in inappropriate places. It’s really hard for the panel to say no. The District Plan Review can’t come soon enough”</p> <p>“The gateway test for subdivision is non-complying, it’s pretty tough...[but] subdivisions get approved by independent commissioners in</p>

	<p>a zone the requires an eight ha average with lots down to 350m2.”</p> <p>“[Developers] are lodging resource consent applications instead of undergoing a plan change process. They chose that route instead of having to carry out a S32 analysis, so now have a resource consent with 100 conditions because it is still rurally zoned... It’s kind of a perverse outcome when you have a subdivision of 171 lots on rural land where there should only be three. If someone has a larger section and they want to graze cows on it, they can.”</p> <p>“The community does recognize that some developments are inappropriate, but [the Council] can’t stop it. When it is appropriately zoned, we can’t stop the development [because it is permitted]. When it’s inappropriately zoned, the community doesn’t submit. There were 12 submissions on the Holiday Park, most of them in support... if you publicly notify something and the community has chosen not to engage, what more can you do?”</p> <p>“Developers are pushing builds through the door so before new plan changes and rules are made so they can get in on the old rules.”</p>
Key Informant 5	<p>“A real challenge [Highlands] faces is...the developers have put in a private plan change to put in 860 sections... They call it cluster housing but that is going to have a significant impact on the longevity of the business.”</p>

	<p>“When you look at other motor sport facilities in New Zealand... any that have had residential development come through have essentially been hamstrung. They struggle to survive commercially and simply won’t... is that the risk we want to take for the sake of growth?”</p> <p>“The reputational damage to our business will be the most significant if affordable housing goes up next door...People need to stop and go hold on... is this really where we want Cromwell growing? Is this best for the region? I’d challenge anyone that it isn’t.”</p> <p>“I think new subdivisions will make Cromwell lose its sense of character...if we continually allow the development to be signed off for roads no wider than this table, with no open spaces, that is going to be what creates a real problem here...I don’t know why we are just giving it all away...why are we rolling over and making it so cheap?”</p>
Key Informant 9	<p>“But now the big developers coming across the road, across sandflat road and says, ‘we want a plan change for 820 sections and we’re gonna make it into a full blown residential area with some schools possibly, a bit of a retirement village and maybe some business stuff’... Developers I suppose are able to do whatever they want but that’s what they’ve decided to have a go at and that’ll go through a process”.</p> <p>“...the residential developments happening in the Gair Ave block we’re part of with the developer. So we chose there not to actually sell land to the developer, we chose to say to the developer, lets share in the profits. We’ve got the land, we’re not selling it to you. You do the development,</p>

	pay for the development costs and the minute you sell the land, we get our money back that way, you get your money back and we all win”.
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5.5.5 Community’s overall perspective on growth in Cromwell

Overall, there is a mixed perspective on growth in Cromwell. Figure 8 below, shows that while there is a higher percentage of people who believe that growth in Cromwell is more positive for the town than negative, a greater percentage of people have mixed perspectives on the growth.

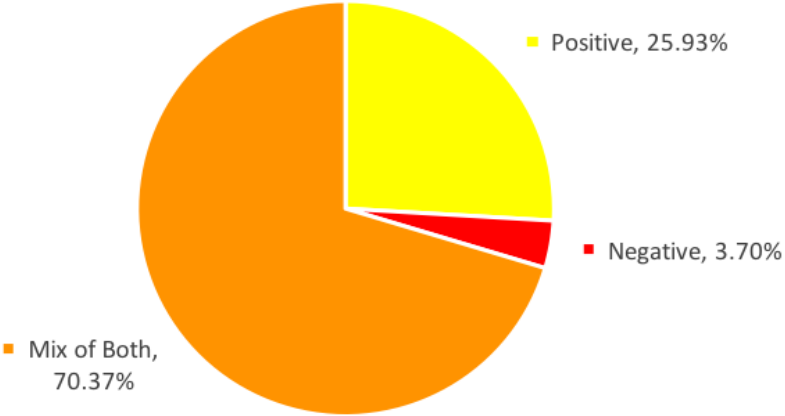


Figure 8: Community’s overall perspective on growth in Cromwell

Survey participants were also given the opportunity to explain their reasoning to their answers. Figure 9 indicates that the majority of the survey participants that thought growth was positive for Cromwell was for the benefits it would have on the local economy and businesses in the area. Those who perceived the growth as negative were generally concerned about the rising cost of living and loss of the small town identity that Cromwell offers.

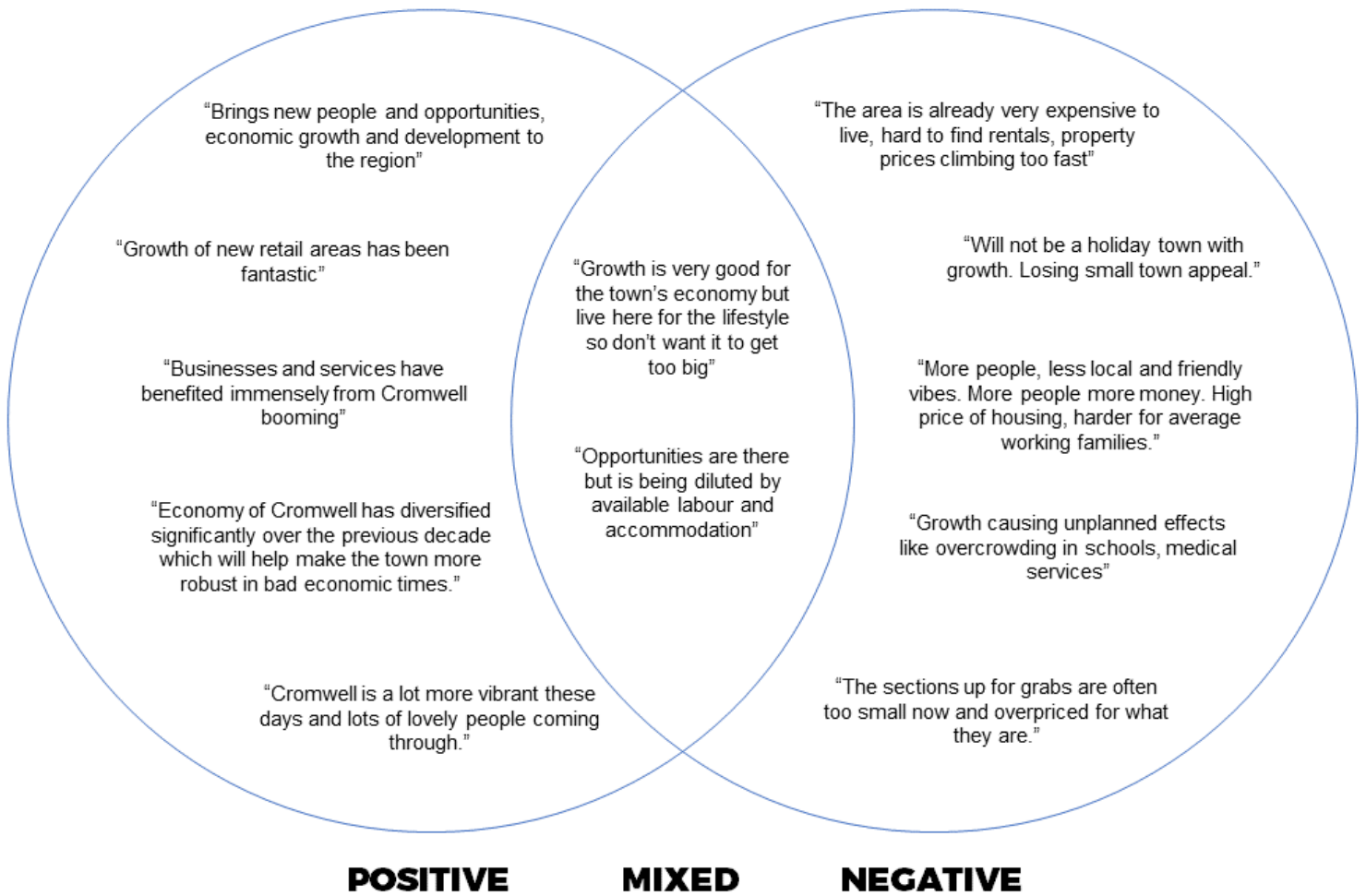


Figure 9: Survey comments from community members that perceive the growth in Cromwell as either positive, negative or mix of both.

Although the community have many opinions surrounding Cromwell's growth, over 50 percent of the community members surveyed believe they have not been given an opportunity to express their opinions (Figure 10). As well as this, almost 15 percent of those surveyed were unsure whether or not they had been given an opportunity to express their opinions.

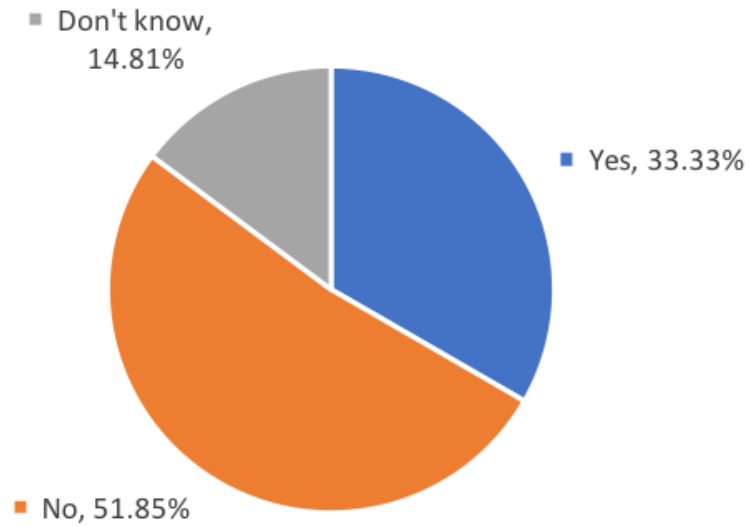


Figure 10: Community’s perspective on whether they are provided adequate opportunity to express their views on growth

Furthermore, Figure 11 shows us that over 60 percent of survey participants are unsatisfied that local government are effectively managing Cromwell’s growth.

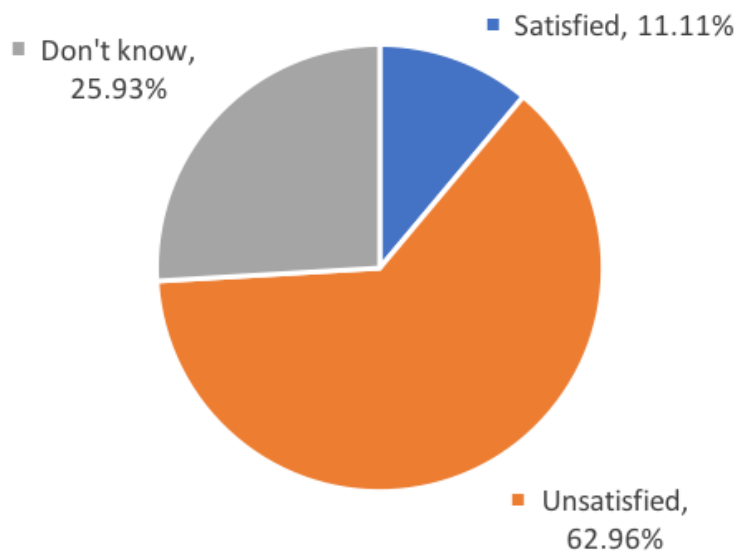


Figure 11: Community’s satisfaction of council management of Cromwell’s growth

Looking forward, members of the Cromwell community raised many opinions around Cromwell's potential future. Table 9 below presents some common themes and thoughts of the community.

Table 9: Opinions of Cromwell's potential future

Theme	Comments
Supporting businesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Support businesses that pay rates by removing the hawkers e.g. fish'n chips, Mexican, caravans at the big fruit are not the look we want to portray to visitors. ● As a business owner – more retail in different locations, so too spread out.
Town Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● That if nothing is done about the town centre/retail/hub, then Cromwell will just become a satellite town for housing Queenstown and Wanaka workers, and the town will lose its sense of community
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Property being too expensive for young families and first home buyers. ● People are going to be crammed into tiny sections in Cromwell with no space. Losing sense of community
Developments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Developers not factoring in social responsibilities. Lack of engagement with other agencies/govt. departments e.g. police, health on requirements from now going forward ● Worry about the lack of more greenways included in new subdivisions e.g. goldfields – no greenway allowed for and the ability for emergency services to access homes and issue as no room for parked vehicles etc and an emergency vehicle e.g. fire engine to negotiate safe access. ● Lack of services to keep up with population. Poor planning, i.e. lack of footpaths and crossings – result of developer led planning. Lack of green space in new subdivisions

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lack of infrastructure for increased population. Development seems to be on an ad hoc basis and is fragmenting the town. Would be good to have a ‘town centre’ as such.
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● How will environmental services, schools, medical facilities, be addressed in a timely manner? Certainly businesses like supermarkets, real estate agents, petrol stations are flourishing. Need funding for the health care, arts, sports to support new residents. ● Not ready for the ageing population. ● Over-popularity – the demand for housing is so great, residential sections are getting smaller and prices are rising. Retail growth is great for tourists and residents alike but it appears Cromwell is losing its small town charm

5.6 Identity and placemaking

One of the key findings from the key informant interviews was the idea of Cromwell being unsure around what it wants to be known for. There was a general consensus among the interviewees that Cromwell needs to decide what it wants to be known for as the township undergoes rapid change due to the growth it has experienced. Due to the growth and development occurring in Queenstown and Wanaka, one of the key concerns that this lack of distinctive identity would mean for Cromwell was whether or not Cromwell should be its own town or simply a dormitory town to service the Queenstown-Lakes district. Key Informant 1 notes that the motive of developers in Cromwell might be to develop Cromwell’s identity as a dormitory suburb of Queenstown as opposed to its own township. Key Informant 3 notes that many people are moving into the new subdivisions being completed in Cromwell and commuting to Queenstown.

The place of Cromwell was found to have several key values that the key informants associate with the area. One of the key values people associate with Cromwell is that of community. Key Informant 5 notes that the sense of community in Cromwell helps to make the area a safe and enjoyable place to raise their family. Key Informant 8 depicts that Cromwell is very community minded and people are willing to look after each other.

However, the growth that the region has experienced has seen these values that create this place come under threat. Many key informants fear that the intake of new people moving into Cromwell will erode this sense of community that contributes to the identity of Cromwell. Key informant 8 notes that one previously used to know everyone around town but that has completely changed. Key Informant 10 notes that a lot of people are moving into the Cromwell community with varying different expectations on how they think the community of Cromwell should develop and what the place means to them, even if it only means using it to access Queenstown or Wanaka. Furthermore, Key informant 10 notes that this value of community is coming under threat because of the rising costs of the lifestyle that area offers, particularly for young families that is resulting in a decrease in diversity within the community. Without this diversity within the community, tensions are likely to rise.

Another key theme from the key informant interviews was the need for Cromwell to properly brand itself and put forward an identity to distinguish itself from the Otago region. Key Informant 7 notes that Cromwell has the ability to easily do this as the Cromwell region is already well known for fruit and wine with many of the top wineries in New Zealand and the world located there. Multiple key informants note that Cromwell should utilize what it already does well and identify itself as a place of premium. Key informant 5 says that the idea of seeing Cromwell as a place of premium is not an elitist point of view, it is just a point of difference since the area is “world class” already. However, Key Informant 5 notes there is a need to protect this type of authenticity of Cromwell in order to celebrate the identity of the township. To carry this out, the key informant 4 suggest that Cromwell needs to wake up and have serious discussion about what it wants to identify itself as.

Another key theme surrounding the identity of Cromwell was that of the greenways present within the town. The key informant interviews note that the greenways around Cromwell add to the character of the township. They provide greenery for the neighbourhoods and provide permeability of the subdivisions to allow residents to easily move around (Key Informant 1, Key Informant 5).

Table 10: Quotation table showing the various perspectives of key informants on the identity of Cromwell

Key Informant	Quotation
Key Informant 1	<p data-bbox="488 380 1425 470">“I value the environment this area has to offer, I value the sense of community. Third thing would be the outdoors.”</p> <p data-bbox="488 596 1425 686">“[Cromwell] is a bit of a petrolhead environment as well, so you definitely get some distinctions.”</p> <p data-bbox="488 812 1425 1064">“We are of the view that Cromwell needs to decide what it wants to be known for. People go to Queenstown and Wanaka because it is known for its natural endowments that have been worked by a very entrepreneurial bunch of people into adventure sports... But what does Cromwell want to be known for? That is what the town has to decide.”</p> <p data-bbox="488 1190 1425 1337">“You wonder if [the developer’s] motive is by the development which is clear of growing Cromwell as a community and more as a dormitory suburb of Queenstown...”</p> <p data-bbox="488 1463 1425 1554">“You can’t force the mall owners to spend one cent if they don’t want to because it is privately owned.”</p>
Key Informant 3	<p data-bbox="488 1633 1425 1829">“People are moving to Cromwell to live in all these new subdivisions and travelling to Queenstown for work everyday. [Cromwell residents] are afraid this might lead to an increased rise in crime as less people will be around and allow people to break in and getaway. It also results in</p>

	<p>Cromwell losing its sense of community...”</p> <p>“The general consensus is that Cromwell needs to get rid of the fruit - it is misleading to tourists. That land could be redeveloped to a much better use like a potential community centre.”</p>
<p>Key Informant 4</p>	<p>“Cromwell needs to wake up... and have a really serious look at the heart. I think Cromwell is growing very, very fast, and got to maintain that, but we’ve also got to build a heart into the town.”</p>
<p>Key Informant 5</p>	<p>“Community. That real sense of community and belonging and safety and those key elements [<i>when asked about what makes Cromwell a good place to live</i>]. For me, I am a mum and have a young daughter and I really love the fact that my daughter is growing up in a community where people know each other and look out for each other and that sense of knowing your neighbours.”</p> <p>[<i>it is important to</i>] “protect the authenticity of Cromwell. We are small town New Zealand and we celebrate that we are world leaders in many things. Our orchard industry, our wine industry, our merino industry and now our tourism. We don’t just do anything here. What we do is world class. But that is caged with kiwi authenticity which I think gives us a real uniqueness and is something that we need to hold on to.”</p> <p>“If you look at the established parts of Cromwell, they all have beautiful greenways, very wide roads, drive two cars down them and park a car on</p>

	<p>the side of the road. Established trees and it is beautiful. That needs to be retained.”</p> <p>“But if you want to visit here, you pay the premium. If you can’t - go to Queenstown or Wanaka. That isn’t an elitist point of view, we just have to have a point of difference. We are world class. I’ve talked about the orchards, cycling, vineyards. Lets own that as opposed to take whatever is coming.”</p> <p><i>[Discussing whether Cromwell should leave the lake style development to QT and Wanaka as that is what those towns are already doing]</i> “I don’t think Cromwell should leave anything to those guys. I have fought so hard for Cromwell to be taken seriously as tourism destination.”</p> <p>“Cromwell is still growing up.”</p> <p>“The analogy I often give to people is that if you are going to Vegas, you want to stay in Vegas. You don’t want to go to Boulder City. You haven’t paid all that money to go to Vegas to stay in Boulder City. But you go there for the day trip because you want the helicopter to the Grand Canyon. That is where Cromwell has really been the day trip, and then go back to Vegas.”</p>
Key Informant 6	<p>“And a place of premium, you know premium wine, premium wool, premium fruit.”</p>

	<p>“People like Cromwell because they like to benefit from the towns speed - you know with Highlands, Jetsprings and the lake. The petrolhead town. Some people would hate that but I think that is quite cool because not many people would recognize that as something of their identity. So it is really cool that we can see that and people go this is who we are, and I am quite proud of that and stick it out there so people don’t swallow it up and only get one person’s idealistic view of an ideal place.”</p> <p>“I think what the community board were trying to do was try to understand was how it should be implemented. If a subdivision were to go down in the heritage area they would want to show that in the street names and think about that Irish heritage. If you look at the names they are all Irish counties. When you go out the other way of Cromwell you have vice versa like Pinot Noir Crescent, Chardonnay Drive, so it is leeching off the time of development. At the moment it is the development of grapes, wine etc. I feel that they had to remediate that sense of grieving when the town was drowned. People had to turn their back on that and go this is what we have got. It is really interesting and does showcase a timeline of how the town has changed and right now the town is undergoing a rapid change yet again.”</p>
Key Informant 7	<p>“[Cromwell] needs to be make itself more of a destination. It needs something to actually bring people into the town. They might come here but it’s sort of in and then out again.”</p> <p>“We need to brand ourselves, Cromwell has the fruit and it has the wine... Everybody wants to come to Central Otago and Cromwell could do a bit</p>

	<p>on that... I don't think we need to do much, it's happening anyway. There's a lot of top wineries in New Zealand and the world based in the Cromwell basin so there is that."</p> <p>"Cromwell is a nice place to live and there's a good lifestyle. Probably the best climate in New Zealand because it doesn't rain and its very hot in the summer and it's very dry in the winter. It has the lake, close to ski fields, Queenstown, mountain biking, so it is a good place to live."</p>
<p>Key Informant 8</p>	<p>"You used to be able to say you knew everyone around the town...Now it has completely changed. It hasn't got the same cozy feel to it. But in saying that, it's still a lot more friendlier and welcoming than bigger towns and cities. So it still retains that sort of character."</p> <p>"People here are very community-minded, where people actually are happy to live and look out for each other, in their work and personal lives. That's something that might be hard to attain as the town grows and lots of new people come in."</p>
<p>Key Informant 9</p>	<p>"this is where Cromwell has its biggest strength, as it says we're a bunch of can-do people. We'll get off our arse and we'll make it happen. And we'll put money from our pockets to go and do it. Got a Board that's got a few dollars, that's helpful, but it's not about ratepayer paying for everything. But I thought my mates reaction was pretty cool, he said, 'I'm just a farmer... but that sort of revenue is good for Cromwell.' So there's a payback. If Cromwell grows, we all benefit."</p>

	<p>“I love Cromwell, I love Central Otago and for me, you should be part of your community and do what you can.”</p>
Key Informant 10	<p>“A lot of people are moving into this community, but a lot of them have differing expectations or what they would like to see. Some would like to see it remain as a small community. Others are using it as a suburb of Queenstown and probably don’t actually care what size it gets and things like that, so long as they’ve got good access up that way and through to Wanaka depending on where they are.”</p> <p>“There is a lot of discussion around trying to sell the area for its lifestyle and things like that, which is what a lot of people come here for. But especially for young families, that lifestyle is costly. And that’s a real challenge for the community, because if you don’t have that diversity, it creates a whole lot of tensions within the community.”</p>

5.7 Community aspirations for the future

A key theme identified in that key informant interviews was around the future of Cromwell in order to accommodate growth. A common thought was around the idea that it should be the Cromwell community who decides what they want their future to look like instead of the development of the town being driven solely by developers. For example, the subcommittee of a community group does not actually discuss a vision for Cromwell but is instead committed to community-led development that sets up tools to capture the opinions and ideas of the community instead (Key Informant 1). Key Informant 8 stresses that it is important that the people of Cromwell are planning for the area properly and for long-term use. Key informant 7 notes this is not being well thought out. For example, the recent subdivision development at the Top10 Holiday park will result in a loss of a campground for the community despite the fact Cromwell is a big holiday

destination for New Zealanders. Currently, the Cromwell Masterplan has provided opportunity for the community to indicate where they want growth to occur such as along Lake Dunstan, and what should be protected (Key Informant 10).

Table 11: Quotation table showing the various perspectives of key informants on the community aspirations of Cromwell for the future

Key Informant	Quotation
Key Informant 1	<p>“The sub-committee of the trust don’t actually discuss a vision for Cromwell since that isn’t the idea of that group... it is committed to community-led development and the idea is to set up tools...to capture the opinions and ideas of the community...we are not developing an idea of what we want Cromwell to be.”</p> <p>“The future here is tied up with what happens with the lake. Definitely not service industries of the past. It has to have extra stuff for its future to work. It could be around tourism and beauty and not just servicing the vineyards or motor vehicles.”</p>
Key Informant 2	<p>“Tourism is a really big thing for the future of Cromwell...once all the cycle trails join up with the rail trails to connect Bannockburn, Cromwell, Wanaka and Queenstown will result in further</p>
Key Informant 7	<p>“What is Cromwell going to do for a campground? [<i>when asked about Top10 Holiday Park subdivision</i>] ...Cromwell needs a camping ground because the chalets in town have been bought by a developer as well and Cromwell is a big holiday destination for New Zealanders.”</p>
Key Informant 8	<p>“At the end of the day, it is important we make sure that there’s people</p>

	planning for Cromwell properly and thinking of the long-term future use of the area rather than short-term gain.”
Key Informant 10	“The Cromwell Masterplan is a really good opportunity for Cromwell to take that step back and think what do we actually want to have in our future, where do we want growth to occur, what things do we want to protect within our community... those types of discussions need to happen now.”

5.8 Conclusion

From the results, we were able to understand many of the key issues that Cromwell community members had in regard to growth in their town. The issues highlighted were mostly in regard to excessive growth changing Cromwell's identity as well as increased pressure on services and infrastructure. These issues also linked to the role of developers whose developments are having the most impact on Cromwell as they do not reflect community values. The following chapter will further synthesise the results and compare them with the relevant literature discussed in the previous chapter.

6. Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this research project was to investigate four key objectives in regards to the growth experienced in Cromwell. The study found that growth has resulted in significant development that has occurred over a short period of time that has started to reshape the identity of Cromwell. In particular, the growth from the neighbouring Queenstown-Lakes District has provided a flow on effect to Cromwell and has given significant economic stimulation in the region that has been mostly positive in an economic sense. However, this development has resulted in the erosion of the identity of the small town and created significant pressures on existing infrastructure and services in the township. Furthermore, the growth in the township has also produced housing pressures for both existing residents and newcomers to the area. This growth needs to be managed in the near future to ensure the aspirations and vision of the community is maintained and retains its small town identity in future.

The focus of this chapter is exploring the results of the Cromwell experience relative to previous literature. This chapter discusses the research objectives and analyses how the pressures of growth in Cromwell fit into the wider theoretical framework on small town development literature. The chapter is structured around the discussion of the key findings in each research objective in relation to the relevant literature.

The first research objective is to ‘understand the positive and negative results of the recent growth experienced in Cromwell’. There was a mixture of both beneficial and negative attributes associated with the growth experienced in the wider region as a result of the increased tourism to the area. However, the lack of adequate planning for this anticipated growth has meant that more adverse impacts on the community have outweighed the beneficial things.

The second research objective was to ‘investigate how the existing infrastructure and services are accommodating growth at the present and what the township’s ability to deal with anticipated pressures are’. The key concern was that, while most of the services currently in place in Cromwell were currently coping with demand, it is anticipated that further growth of the town will place

dramatic strain on these services. While aware of the anticipated growth the community would face, many services were unsure how to proceed to keep up with the demand. Another concern was the provision of adequate infrastructure such as a strong town centre meant that the township of Cromwell was not likely to be able to deal with the anticipated growth.

The third research objective was ‘to identify key growth issues which local residents and planners need to consider when planning for the future of the town’. Various individuals and groups identified that the community of Cromwell should play a critical role in the future development of the town. This is in contrast to the current control the developers investing in Cromwell have on the township. Furthermore, tourism is likely to reshape the town in the near future and will need to be accommodated for appropriately.

The final research objective is ‘to investigate the perspectives on housing of the residents living in Cromwell regarding its current challenges and future opportunities’.

6.1.1 Limitations

Specific methods for understanding how to manage growth within the built environment are rarely, equally applicable in different contexts. This is a result of the varying nature of the local environments they inhabit. The results of this study have two key limitations. In terms of this research to other small town literature, it is only applicable in the context of Cromwell and further research would be required to establish the relevance of these findings for other small towns in both New Zealand and worldwide. Specific characteristics that are important of these findings in Cromwell that may differ from other small towns are the location of the town in close proximity to large tourism towns, geographical location and positionality, an already diverse economy in agriculture, fruit picking, viticulture, the motivated community, and the presence of an industrial servicing industry.

Another key limitation of this study is that a lot of data came from key individuals, organizations and businesses who are prominent members of the community. The selection of people had the luxury of time to share their views and were mostly from an affluent background or held a position of authority within the community. Thus, the findings exclude a large portion of the working population and those community members that felt their viewpoint was not of much importance.

To balance this, surveys were conducted to collect the wider community's opinions on growth in Cromwell. However, this method presented its own limitations as the amount of surveys collected did not accurately reflect the entire community's opinions. A reason for this is attributed to the location where surveys were distributed; the mall. As previously presented, the mall is not an area where the community enjoy gathering. Rather, it was quite a barren and desolate environment with very few people walking about. Another reason why the surveys did not provide an accurate representation of the community's opinions is due to the time surveys were conducted. Surveys were conducted during the day between 9am and 5pm. This meant that the population of Cromwell who worked elsewhere in Central Otago were not represented in the results.

Objective 1: To understand the positive and negative results of the recent growth experienced in Cromwell

6.2 Satellite Urban Community

6.2.1 Beneficial aspects

A positive result of growth in Cromwell has been its use as a satellite urban community. Cromwell's geographical location and relationship to Queenstown and Wanaka, characterises the town as a satellite urban community due to its connected networks of residents, employment and tourism. Yan (1994) notes that in theory, satellite communities are presented with prospects for growth and development, deriving from the production and population linkage. Whether or not progression in the form of growth and development actually occurs is highly dependent on context (Yan, 1994). The interconnected relationship between Queenstown, Wanaka and Cromwell have provided opportunity and to the development prospects of Cromwell. Results concluded that from an economic perspective, Cromwell has benefited from the interrelationship. Key informant 8 discusses how Cromwell's satellite town positioning, enables to the town to hold a strategic position and service in the Central Otago area, drawing national firms to the area. Key informant 10 states that the industrial sector has grown in Cromwell, bringing with it workers and residents. Business growth in Cromwell has occurred within this satellite town for two key reasons. First, Cromwell offers a cost-effective alternative to the increasingly unaffordable land prices in Queenstown, enabling Cromwell to establish itself as a distribution and business hub. Second,

Cromwell is geographically located halfway between growing cities such as Queenstown and Wanaka and is well connected via State Highways to other main centres such as Dunedin and Christchurch. This growth is beneficial to the growing urban areas of Queenstown and Wanaka because the decentralisation of industrial and business activity aids the urban issue of lack of land, whilst expanding on opportunity in the business sector in the satellite town (Yan, 1994).

6.2.2 Negative aspects

However, there are several negative consequences about being within close proximity to rising urban areas. The unaffordability of land prices in Queenstown and Wanaka has influenced the rise in real estate prices in Cromwell. The town has seen an influx of residents choosing to reside in Cromwell, while maintaining employment in Queenstown or surrounding towns (Key Informant 3). The town is well connected to Queenstown and Wanaka via State Highway 6. This connectivity allows for ease in accessibility between these urban areas (Schrader, 2015). Fuggit et al. (1997) details that commuting is a significant component of small towns as job opportunities often in neighbouring, larger centres. Cromwell is approximately a one-hour drive to Queenstown and 40 minutes to Wanaka. Queenstown and Wanaka are desirable centres with some of New Zealand's highest housing prices. Being in close proximity to a larger centre where a daily commute to is possible can lead to the success of a small town as explained by Dampier et al. (2014). This is particularly true with Cromwell. Key Informant 3 explained that many people are moving to the new subdivisions in Cromwell and commuting to Queenstown. Some Key Informants also spoke of the congestion that is on the road from Cromwell to Queenstown in the morning and evening with Cromwell residents travelling to and from Queenstown for employment. Cromwell proves an example of a satellite town in this sense, accommodating to Queenstown's decentralised growth by building new settlements beyond the urban city, linked by commuter networks. Despite the region being seen as an affordable alternative to Queenstown, key informant 1 discusses the rise in housing prices in the town increasing from between \$300,000 to \$400,000 to \$700,000 to \$800,000. As the population in Cromwell grows, this inevitably drives up the property market, as demand increases.

There is a general concern in the community surrounding rapid housing developments seen as a quick fix solution. Key informant 1 argues that developer-led housing developments are motivated by the aim to establish Cromwell as a dormitory suburb of Queenstown. In this sense, Cromwell suffers as a satellite town as there is a shared community desire to maintain a sense of local identity in expansion efforts. Key informant 6 states “that seasonal worker accommodation and people living here to work in Queenstown is something we do have to think carefully about. We don’t want to create ghettos.” Yan notes that this is a problem in the construction of satellite towns, where large amounts of land are consumed yet little is contributed toward local development (Yan, 1994). There is a general consensus among residents that if there is nothing done to develop to town centre, Cromwell risks losing its sense of community and identity, to become simply a satellite town to serve Queenstown and Wanaka. To aid of this, local and regional governments should prioritise improving conditions of a satellite town, through allocating expenditure toward development projects, in improving welfare and livelihoods of its residents (Yan, 1994).

6.2.3 Tourism

Bell (1997) explained that tourism can have sizeable economic benefits for small towns, especially those experiencing decline. Despite the growth and development occurring in Cromwell, there are periods in the year where the town’s economy goes into hibernation. As noted by Key Informant 1, shops in Cromwell often close down for the winter due to a lack of foot traffic and tourists. Hence, Cromwell could benefit from increasing tourism attractions during the winter and other off-peak times. Bell (1997) and Panelli et al. (2001) explain that small towns often use their history as a mechanism to create tourist activity and attractions. Cromwell has a rich history which could definitely be capitalised on to bring in tourism revenue. Some tourism developments are already in the pipeline such as the cycle trails. Key Informant 2 and 5 stated that the cycle trails will enhance the tourism opportunities for Cromwell. Additionally, Cromwell has already experienced some benefits from tourism that were borne out of Highland Motorsport Park. Key Informant 5 said “Highlands began to change the tourism landscape for Cromwell”. Exploiting tourism further would have a positive impact on Cromwell’s economy.

6.3 Increasing Pressures on Infrastructure

6.3.1 Introduction

Growth has placed significant pressure on infrastructure and services in Cromwell. Cromartie and Nelson (2010) explained that growth of small towns can put pressure on existing infrastructure and create the need to build new infrastructure. This is particularly relevant to the pressure on roading infrastructure in Cromwell and Central Otago more generally. Roding is one of the obvious infrastructure that is under pressure as a result of the growth in Cromwell. Many people are making return trips from Cromwell to Queenstown daily for work. State Highway 6 traverses the Kawarau Gorge and is the only route to Queenstown from Cromwell. The road is often under construction as the banks of the gorge need ongoing stabilisation, guardrail replacements are also often required and NZTA have been working on widening the road in recent years. The road is a difficult road to traverse as it is winding and the increase number of cars travelling on the road is making it more challenging. Key Informant 1 stated the road is “dangerous and an accident waiting to happen”. This point was reinforced by other key informants wanting to see the road upgraded due to the high traffic volumes it experiences.

6.4 Establishing Small Town Identity and Placemaking

6.4.1 Small town identity

Growth has had a mixture of both positive and negative attributes. The results found that Cromwell is a small town with multiple facets to its identity. Massey (1991) explained that “places do not have single, unique ‘identities’, they are full of internal conflicts [and...] a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations” (p.29). However, creating an identity of a place can create social capital (as explained by Dampier et al., 2014) and positively benefit a place through tourism and allowing residents to reinterpret their version of an ideal community (Tauxe, 1998). The growth experienced has attracted significant investment and a number of new residents moving into the region. The results found that there are four key facets to Cromwell’s identity which are:

- Community minded
- Place of premium

- Petrol-heads
- Dormitory suburb for Queenstown and Wanaka

Cromwell does have aspects of their identity that could be used to create an external image and increase social capital. First, there is community aspect of Cromwell. Small towns are often associated with creating an identity of a community focused place. This is true of Cromwell, Key Informant 5 noted there is a sense of community in Cromwell and this helps to make the area safe and enjoyable. Key Informant 8 also noted that Cromwell is a community minded place and people are willing to look after each other. By promoting Cromwell as a community focused and family friendly town, residents can create social capital. However, this community aspect to their identity is threatened with increasing growth and development in the region. With a significant amount of people moving to the region, the community needs to consciously think about how this aspect to their identity can be secured otherwise it will be lost as a result of growth and negatively impact the existing residents in the township.

Another identity related section of the literature review explained how identity can be created through food and totems. Panelli et al. (2008) explained that place-identity can be created through food. Cromwell has long been a producer of fruit and has become renowned for this. This was reflected in comments by the key informants. Key Informant 7 explained that a lot of the top wineries in New Zealand and the world are based in Cromwell and this provides a good opportunity for Cromwell to brand themselves. To an extent Cromwell is already branding themselves as a wine and fruit producing place. However, Key Informant 1 noted that none of the produce that is grown in Cromwell is readily available in any of the restaurants or bars in the township. This is likely due to a lack of a strong hospitality industry in the town. This aspect to their identity could be exploited in order to benefit positively from the growth the area is experiencing.

The idea that a town can be identified by ‘something’ that is large and visible is well known around the world (King and Cazessus, 2012). King and Cazessus (2012) explain that something large and visible is often some form of totem. Cromwell has employed a totem as a branding mechanism, that is the big fruit. The fruit clearly reflect what Cromwell is identified as, which is a food producing area. However, within the community there is some dislike of the fruit, as noted by Key Informant 3: “The general consensus is that Cromwell needs to get rid of the fruit - it is misleading to tourists. That land could be redeveloped to a much better use like a potential community centre”.

This suggests that the community would prefer to be known more for its community-minded attributes and provide a place for its residents as opposed to only tourists.

One of the key findings found that growth has had a negative impact on establishing small town identity. The growth that Cromwell has currently experienced has started to erode this small town identity. Everitt and Gill (1993) discuss in their findings, that residents migrate to small towns for a desired quality of life, often influenced by relationships and familiarity. A small town encompasses specific characteristics often absent or inaccessible in urban areas, including open space, low density housing and safety (Everitt and Gill, 1993). Exponential growth in any location, requires development to accommodate and sustain the populations livelihood. Growth can therefore have an impact on shaping a towns' appearance and functionality, in some instances, eliminating desired aspects that drew residents to the location in the first place. In Cromwell, the amount of people relocating to the township but are working in Queenstown or Wanaka has grown exponentially. However, the key informants suggest they are unaware of the exact numbers of the aspirations of these people and whether or not they want to participate and support the Cromwell community or only utilize Cromwell as a place to sleep (Key Informant 5). This suggests growth has had a negative impact on the community of Cromwell as there is potentially residents residing within the township but are consciously choosing to participate in life outside of the area because they do not associate with Cromwell as their first choice.

The role of developer's in facilitating development has been hugely present in Cromwell's growth and key informants expressed concern in development plans suiting community aspirations. Developer-led design can often be conflictual in small towns because it tends to stray from the ambitions and vision residents have of their local environment (Powe and Hart, 2011). Key informant 1 argues that the developer-led developments are too permissive in their plans, while the general consensus among key informants agrees with such claims. Developers can often take a business approach to projects focused on their own goal and profits, which is to be expected. Key informants were seen to not be concerned with the developing of given projects but concerned around the compatibility of projects benefit the community and its vision. The state of development in Cromwell is mirrored in literature, whereby Daniels (1999) discusses the challenge for towns to maintain their desired 'small town feel' and unique qualities whilst facilitating the development needed in accommodating growth (Daniels, 1999). There is a general consensus among the

community the council should be responsible in regulating developer led projects, in hope of preventing unwanted developments, which contribute to shaping the community. Therefore, growth has had a negative impact on the small town of Cromwell in this sense.

Powe and Hart (2011) explained that developer-led housing developments contributed to a loss of character and functionality in small towns. Additionally, existing residents felt anxiety over developer-led developments. Despite Powe and Hart's (2011) research being conducted in the United Kingdom, it strongly reflected points that were raised by key informants. In the context of Cromwell, it is worthwhile to note that when the District Plan was created the region was aiming to create growth. This meant that the Plan was drafted in permissive manner to encourage growth and opportunities that would interest developers. This is still the case today and the Central Otago District Council are generally permissive of developers; this point was highlighted by Key Informants 1, 3 and 5. The research uncovered that there is a general feeling of mistrust towards developers. As noted in the results section of this report, all key informants across the interviews said that developers are the ones in control of the development of Cromwell and are not working in unity with the community's aspirations.

The growth of Cromwell has also had a negative impact on the identity of the area due to the change in pace and lifestyle. Cromartie and Nelson (2010) determine that small town population growth is due to people being attracted to smaller locations for the lifestyle the town can offer. Small towns can typically offer a slower pace of life, more opportunities for leisure and recreation. This was not reflected by comments from key informants. Key informants did not expressly comment on aspects relating to an enjoyable way of life as Cromartie and Nelson (2010) explain are reasons for choosing to live in a small town. Key Informant 1 noted that shops often close in winter due to the lack of commercial interests of those coming to the town. Furthermore, key informant 3 notes that current commercial spaces are too expensive for smaller businesses to inhabit and halts diversity in the retail outlets provided in the town. Leisurely shopping is not reflected as something that is currently available in Cromwell. Additionally, dining out is not provided within the town. Despite Cromwell being a food and wine producing area, but as Key Informant 1 noted "it is absurd that they grow so much food around here but it is actually quite hard to even buy it in Cromwell. You can't get restaurants where you can have it to plate and locally sourced that is happening everywhere else in the world".

6.4.2 *Place-making*

The literature review in this report discussed in detail the phenomenon of ‘place-making’. The identity of a place is created both informally and through strategic processes of place-making (Panelli et al., 2008). As explained in the literature review, place-making refers to a “multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public places for improving urban environments and residents’ quality of life” (Sofield et al., 2017, p.1). Place-making is now formally embraced into urban jurisdictions. The research did not uncover any direct place-making initiatives formally being employed in Cromwell. However, many of the key informants discussed that, in order to benefit from this period of growth Cromwell has experienced, place-making initiatives to affirm Cromwell’s identity will help to solidify people’s attachment to the place. Without this, the residents of Cromwell may lose some of the values it holds dearly. Place-making initiatives can have positive impacts on residents quality of life and can be particularly beneficial for a community experiencing rapid change, such as Cromwell.

Growth has had a mix of positive and negative effects on place-making for Cromwell. Key informant 1 discussed how many people tend to over romanticize small towns and yearn their loss when growth and development takes over. There was a significant body of literature discussing romanticising small towns. Bell (1997), Tauxe (1998) and Panelli et al. (2008) explain that the perceived identity of small towns is often romanticised. This was reaffirmed through key informant 1. They note that the attributes of small town that Cromwell desires is exhibited in the developments that are done well such as its greenways, close-knit community feel and safety. It was discussed that these elements are able to be replicated in other larger urban areas such as Sydney along Darling Harbour and all comes down to the design of the space. Thus, it is suggested that growth has negatively impacted the ability for Cromwell to be romanticized due to new developments not following the aspirations of what the community desires in its built environment.

Objective 2: Investigate how the existing infrastructure and services are accommodating growth at present and what the township's ability to deal with anticipated pressures are

6.5 Service Pressure

Growth has had a significant impact on services in Cromwell. Cromartie and Nelson (2010) discuss the pressures rural councils face in accommodating to the demands of a growing population (Cromartie and Nelson, 2010). An influx of residents requires development of existing infrastructure and services to meet the needs of the local community (Powe and Hart, 2011). The results indicated that Cromwell is currently experiencing strain on their local service providers. Key informant 10 discusses claims that “groups are starting to struggle. Youth groups, kindergartens, some of those core community service groups that actually are starting to get pushed of demand... the medical centre's pretty full in terms of people they can take and those key services are starting to bulge at the moment.” Survey respondents mirror these claims, Figure 3 indicates that community perceptions consider healthcare followed closely by education, as the most important facilities requiring investment and development. For example, key informant 8 notes that Cromwell Primary school has converted their school hall into classrooms as a temporary solution in coping with increased student numbers. While new residents to a town brings positive economic impacts, there is significant implications when this is not planned for adequately. Development of new services and infrastructures is required in a town experiencing growth, in order to sustain the needs and welfare of existing and incoming residents (Cromartie and Nelson, 2010). Cromwell's current levels of growth reflect a state of service pressure, however local providers are finding it difficult to expand due to uncertainty surrounding predicted levels of growth. A Cromwell community board meeting suggested that service providers are aware of the town's exponential growth, though are uninformed of predicated trends in growth and how to adequately plan to support populations. For example, the police force in Cromwell are currently hesitant and dubious in future expansion efforts, as there seems to be a lack of clarity surrounding predicted growth trends and how to cope and plan for future conditions.

Both key informant interviews and surveys highlighted resident ambitions for Cromwell's town center to be developed. Despite the growth experienced, services such as retail and hospitality are struggling to sustain themselves during the off-season. Key informant 1 notes that shops are often forced to close down in quieter winter periods, due to the lack of demand. Key informant 3 holds a similar perspective, stating that "Chain stores are the only one that can really survive economically here. The retail space in Cromwell is not cheap enough for boutique stores and besides - chain stores keep shopping affordable." The greater presence of chain stores provides more diversity and choice for consumers, though also weakens the small town character Cromwell is desperately trying to retain. Residents are currently unsatisfied with the current state of their town centre coined 'the mall', with over forty percent of residents believing the town should prioritise a retail services upgrade. The situation of Cromwell's retail center reflects similar narratives in literature where small towns struggle in their consumer services. Large supermarket, restaurant and clothing chains are dominating the market, taking over from once independent and family owned businesses (Knox and Mayer, 2009). Chain stores have a greater means to sustain themselves in seasonal periods whilst also obtaining necessary resources to maximise business opportunity and expansion. Thus, it is likely that the future growth of Cromwell's services will be led services that are able to sustainably maintain themselves year-round despite the rapid growth of the township.

6.6 Institutional changes that are occurring in Cromwell

6.6.1 *Role of the council*

Changes have occurred in the services provided by local government in Cromwell that have changed due to growth. The response to this change often stems from government or community intervention, which is necessary to ensure society and the economy continue to function (Husband, 2017). At the institutional level, Britton et al. (1992) highlights that the importance of understanding the human dimension [within institutional change] is hugely important to restructuring, as it often largely impacts on people's lives, their sense of security and the sense of place. Local government plays a crucial role in institutional change, and their ability to make more effective decisions is based on their understanding of the affected community and their history and identity (Dampier et al, 2014). Political institutions can be regarded as fast-moving, as they can

change quickly. Key Informant 9 notes that “Alexandra used to be the centre of local government and all that sort of things and government agencies... technology’s changed so much that actually, you don’t need those things anymore anyway and, for some of those things, they should be here”. The literature does not specifically speak to how political institutions have changed, however it does accept that there is a growing need for political institutions to better represent smaller towns. For Cromwell, as it continues to grow, this could mean that the largest town within the district does change, and this may require political and government institutions better reflect the change and allow these services to cope with growth and demand more appropriately.

Cromartie and Nelson (2010) explained that in periods of growth, it is important for rural jurisdictions to understand the changing demands for local goods and services. Further noting that while population growth can be positive for small towns it can also create challenges for providing infrastructure and services such as health care. When survey respondents were asked if they thought the Council were effectively managing growth, the majority (62.96%) stated they were unsatisfied the Council is effectively managing growth. Cromartie and Nelson (2010) highlights the importance of jurisdictions to understand the challenges created by incoming populations, the results do not reflect that the Council understand or perhaps cannot manage these challenges created by the growth in Cromwell.

It is important to note that there can be misconceptions in what is considered council’s responsibility. Key informant 2 and 6 drew on this point noting that there is a misunderstanding on what the council can and cannot do in relation to the requests they receive. This point was not reflected in the literature.

Regarding cultural institutions such as history, identity, beliefs and values, Cromwell has a long history that is reflected within its built infrastructure. Key Informant 6 notes how new developments have attempted to allude to the history of the town, “If a subdivision were to go down in the heritage area, they would want to show that in the street names and think about that Irish heritage. If you look at the names they are all Irish counties. When you go the other way of Cromwell, you have vice versa like Pinot Noir Crescent, Chardonnay Drive... I feel that they had to remediate that sense of grieving when the town was drowned. People had to turn their back on that and go this is what we have got. It is really interesting and does showcase a timeline of how the town has changed and right now the town is undergoing a rapid change yet again”. This shows

how after the flooding of the Old Cromwell town, there were attempts made to maintain a history connection. This also alludes to the attempt to maintain resilience in a changing climate, and also ensuring that social capital can be used to influence small towns facing changes (Dampier et al., 2014). Maintaining the values that the Cromwell community has, requires input and participation from the community. Key informant 10 however notes that the values held by the Cromwell community may come under threat by an influx of newcomers, and that it is important to ensure that the community does understand their role. Thus, as infrastructure continues to develop in the township to respond to the growth, a reflection of this cultural heritage should be exhibited in tangent.

Objective 3: To identify key growth issues which local residents and planners need to consider when planning for the future of the town

6.7 Use of community-led development to cope with the small town growth

Community-led development was found to be the best approach to dealing with the growth of Cromwell. Nel and Stevenson (2014) highlight that communities that are experiencing or have experienced economic challenges, often have to become more proactive. This can be portrayed in multiple ways, one of which is establishing a more community led development, as opposed to the top-down, government driven development. Successful response to small town decline tends to include collaboration with community members and groups (Husband, 2017) and often there is drive and pressure put on by particular individuals, known as a ‘champion’. Understanding the role of the community is important in understanding how they can be utilised to help create change. Often it is considered that those who live, play and work in the community are best equipped with the knowledge to understand the present situation and what needs to happen next (Nel and Stevenson, 2014). The Cromwell Masterplan is a way in which collaboration between community members and groups can occur, to ensure that development comes from a community perspective. Key Informant 10 notes “The Cromwell Masterplan is a really good opportunity for Cromwell to take that step back and think what do we actually want to have in our future, where do we want growth to occur, what things do we want to protect within our community...” Key Informant 8 backs this up, saying that “... The community board in Cromwell is perhaps the most progressive

one in Central Otago... what they've done has been fantastic to get the town to where it is now.” Key Informant 1 says that the sub-committee of the Cromwell Community Trust is committed to “community-led development and the idea is to set up tools...”

This integration of community led development, and the progress being made on a Master Plan showcases that when communities work together, something can be produced that aims to benefit the entire community. It is important for Cromwell to understand the pressures on the township, and how they can help to control these through a community led approach. To maintain the values held by the community, it is important that they continue to be involved with representing these values in a wider view. It is clear through the key informant interviews that Cromwell residents recognise that they do have a large role to play in the future development of the community.

Objective 4: To investigate the perspectives on housing of the residents living in Cromwell regarding its current challenges and future opportunities

Housing was found to be a significant discussion topic during this research project due to the growth Cromwell has experienced. Queenstown and Wanaka's growth has created a flow-on effect which has impacted on the price for people to buy and rent homes. Due to this, people are looking to live outside of Queenstown and Wanaka to the nearest township; Cromwell. From the results, Key Informants and survey participants have identified many of the effects this growth has had on the housing situation in Cromwell. For example, housing options for Cromwell residents are limited by price and competition due to lack of houses available to rent or own. This has several negative consequences such as a lack of adequate housing and affordability. These have flow-on effects that impact on the community itself and attract further investment into the area. Many of the Key Informants have also made mention to the fact that some of the temporary housing that is available is either being used as permanent housing or is being removed to make way for permanent housing. An example of this is the Chalet's as well as the Top 10 Holiday Park which are being subdivided for housing.

The current housing situation in Cromwell shows that there are a lot more people who own their homes than rent. However, there is still a high proportion of residents who rent in the area. As they

are the largest group who rent, we may assume that those who are newer to Cromwell (0-2 years) are struggling to purchase homes. This may be attributed to the increasing prices of houses and the lack of housing available that was highlighted in Key Informant interviews. The struggle to purchase homes is not limited to newcomers only but is inclusive of those who have lived in Cromwell the longest too. However, it may be likely that it is difficult for residents who have lived in Cromwell their entire lives to purchase homes as young adults.

The results show that the current challenges on housing in Cromwell are in regard to housing affordability, housing availability and developers taking over. As highlighted by Key Informants 1 and 4, housing prices have increased. Although this has had a positive effect on Cromwell's economy, it has had a negative effect on affordability of homes for those renting and owning homes. The overall residential desirability shows that Cromwell may not be a desirable town for low-income earners who may now be unable to afford a home. In contrast, higher-income earners may find Cromwell desirable for the unique experiences and activities it offers through vineyards, lake accessibility, Highlands Motorsport experience, and close proximity to Queenstown-Lakes District. In this sense, Cromwell may also be desired by people working in Queenstown or Wanaka yet not wanting to live amongst the fastening pace of life for those areas.

Another challenge currently facing Cromwell is the lack of temporary accommodation for seasonal workers and working tourists. Many Key Informants and survey participants identified that Cromwell accommodates seasonal workers from the local vineyards and orchards. However, temporary accommodation for these seasonal workers is not always available. Key Informant 7 notes that orchard owners provide some temporary housing for their workers. However, the housing they provide cannot accommodate all the workers they need, nor can orchard and vineyard owners afford to provide enough housing to accommodate all the workers they need, so many have to look elsewhere. The Top 10 Holiday Park as well as the Chalet were where many seasonal workers would live while they worked in the orchards. This suggests that the key economic sectors in Cromwell are conscious of the housing issues for the lower-income earners and the difficulty of finding adequate accommodation for short periods of time. This will lead to an increased amount of freedom campers. Freedom camping is already an issue in Cromwell, especially around the lake, so some orchard and vineyard owners are refusing to hire freedom campers who are residing by the lake.

Developers are now attempting to create new subdivisions to provide for more housing to accommodate the current demand in the housing market for the area. However, as Key Informants note, the developers are looking to provide houses for higher-income earners. Knowing that there are a lot of people struggling to buy homes in Cromwell due to affordability, developing for higher-income earners may not be the way forward. Survey respondents also noted that there are many people struggling to find housing in Cromwell and they also identified that lower-income earners are struggling the most to find affordable homes in Cromwell.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explored each of the four research objectives through comparing the results of this research to current literature. The growth Cromwell has experienced has resulted in several key changes for the township. Economic growth of the region has attracted significant investment into the region that has benefitted both the community and industries in Cromwell. However, the lack of adequate planning from a clear and concise Masterplan at present has resulted in severe strains on both infrastructure and key services in the area. Growth has also impacted on the identity of the town and has started to create confusion on how Cromwell wishes to identify itself. If growth continues at the current pace, it is inevitable that the aspects of Cromwell that people admire such as the slow lifestyle and community-mindedness will be affected in some way. If community-led development begins to take increased importance over developer-led style of development, then the character of Cromwell is likely to be preserved and enjoyed within the foreseeable future

7. Conclusion

The growth experienced in Cromwell is important to understand to ensure that the development of small towns is occurring in tangent to the aspirations of communities that reside within in. Taking this into consideration, this research project has examined the pressures growth has created in Cromwell. In accordance with the brief set by the Central Otago District Council, this research has carried out extensive primary research in the form of key informant interviews and surveys to investigate the experience growth has placed on the township. Four key objectives have guided this research:

- To investigate how the existing infrastructure and services are accommodating growth at present and what the township's ability to deal with growth projections is
- To understand the positive and negative results of the recent growth experienced in Cromwell is
- To understand the perspectives on housing of the residents living in Cromwell regarding its current challenges and future opportunities
- To identify key growth issues which local residents and planners need to consider when planning for the future of the town

To conclude this report, a list of possible future directions has been provided to help guide both the local community and local government agencies with a range of planning options for managing the impact of growth, with a particular emphasis on controlling this growth to place it in favour of community-led development. The results and discussion chapters of this report have guided these future directions, and offer solutions to the issues that were discovered during the research process. Powe and Hart (2011) asked “can small town growth be managed such that it maintains and enhances their appeal as residential locations?” (p318). This research project found that yes it could, provided the community takes a prominent role in how the town develops. These future directions address the major themes of the research, including addressing the impact of growth on infrastructure and services, resolving identity issues and housing issues. This is explained in further detail with explanatory paragraph, outlining how they are relevant to the wider research topic and their intended purpose.

7.1 Future Directions

Cromwell's current conundrum sees the town seeking to sustain its small-town community identity while maintaining and facilitating growth. Based on the analysis of this research, a range of suggested future directions have been provided below. These directions are first, to expand Cromwell as a tourist destination; second, to develop a heart/hub in Cromwell; third, to define the industrial service centre development; and finally, to establish networks of collaboration between Council and community.

7.1.1 Expanding Cromwell as a tourist destination

Tourism was a key industry identified throughout the research project, leaving Cromwell with opportunity to exploit and expand this sector. Cromwell's tourism sector has experienced a boom in recent years, with the introduction of Highlands Motorsport Park in 2013, a world-renowned winery industry and internationally recognised mountain biking tracks. The town holds a strategic position in the Central Otago region, located in close proximity to New Zealand tourist hubs, Queenstown and Wanaka. The relative location exposes Cromwell to tourists exploring the region. Cromwell's industries are internationally recognised, offering premium goods and services, carrying with it a positive reputation associated to the town. Residents and tourists alike value these high-class facilities, drawing people to the region to experience its unique, premium offerings. Cromwell has opportunity to expand on this high-value tourist experience, although require the associated amenities to support its tourism industry. The town needs to see further development toward complete tourist experience, to allow Cromwell to be seen as a tourist destination rather than a stop-over or day-trip town. Development of the town centre is essential in retaining tourist interest and experience, through development of night-time activities. The expansion of tourist offerings, may influence tourists to stay in the town rather than travel the short route back to Queenstown's' dynamic and active nightlife. Suggested amenities include bars and restaurants throughout the town centre, creating an enjoyable and vibrant atmosphere in the heart of the town. It is fundamental development of services and amenities influencing the tourism industry are of high-quality, in order to sustain the premium point of difference, engaging the attention of affluent consumers. Key informant 5 highlights Cromwell's tourism prospects comparable to Las Vegas, stating

“The analogy I often give to people is that if you are going to Vegas, you want to stay in Vegas. You don’t want to go to Boulder City. You haven’t paid all that money to go to Vegas to stay in Boulder City. But you go there for the day trip because you want the helicopter to the Grand Canyon. That is where Cromwell has really been the day trip, and then go back to Vegas.”

Town Centre development would not see benefit solely toward the tourism industry, as introduction of new facilities is an asset for the entire community to utilise.

7.1.2 Develop a Heart/Hub for Cromwell

Throughout this research process, it was evident that Cromwell was lacking a central 'heart' or hub as a communal public space. The town centre in its current state lacks vibrancy and dynamism, offering little diversity and character to residents and tourists. Future direction for Cromwell's development could redefine what the town centre is, as it is currently rejected as a main community centre due to little attraction and use. Establishing a community heart would contribute to Cromwell's character whilst also providing an area to facilitate community interaction and enjoyment. Development of a community centre could extend outside of the confined boundaries of the town centre, toward the lake. Water as a focal point in development efforts has seen success in other New Zealand locations such as Queenstown, Auckland, Taupo and Wellington. Cromwell has the potential to capitalise off its natural resource wealth, through lakeside development, as water is associated with positive connotations. Lakeside development could take form via open public space with corresponding facilities, development of services and infrastructure or lake activities. Currently, the lake is underused in its potential, as scenic and unoccupied land. Lake development would also require the improvement of access ways to the lake as convenient accessibility will make people more inclined to utilise the space.

7.1.3 Industrial Service Centre Development

The recently built industrial service centre has been identified as a positive attribute for the Cromwell community. One of the reasons for this is because it has become a hub for many business owners, further detracting away from the mall and Cromwell's city centre. This is due to the arrangements of businesses in the area. Most of the industry in the area is to do with laborious jobs such as construction and warehouse type developments. However, there is also a physiotherapist and law firm located here too and is in close proximity to a childhood centre as well as a retirement

centre. The diversity of businesses in this area further exemplifies the fragmentation of Cromwell. A future direction in this instance could be to adjust zoning regulations to define the specific zones that different industries should be placed in. Thus, being more vigorous about the type of activity occurring in each zone.

7.1.4 Establish Networks of Collaboration Between Community and Council

Through this research project, it was discovered that there are misunderstandings between the Cromwell community and the Council. It was found that the community was unsure of the Council's role in regard to various issues in the town. For example, in regard to developer-led developments, the Council can only follow regulations established by the Resource Management Act 1991. Community members are often upset with the council as they see them enabling developer-led development when, in fact, they are unable to do anything due to the permissive District Plan that was implemented following community consultation in 1998. On the other hand, the Council need to find ways to involve the community in planning processes so they are more aware and understanding of Council roles. This could be achieved by the council raising awareness about their roles and the roles of developers. To raise awareness, there could be learning sessions, advertised through flyer drops in letterboxes, notices in school newsletters and local newspapers.

As well as this, the main Central Otago District Council office is located in Alexandra. This was found to be impacting on the current connectivity between Council and the Cromwell community. Cromwell's growth is projected to overtake Alexandra. A future direction could mean that Council's larger, administrative activities be relocated to Cromwell. This would aid the services in Cromwell that are currently under strain by relocating local administrative services to the township.

7.1.5 Conclusion

The future directions highlighted above were carefully selected to address our interpretation of growth issues in Cromwell. Of most importance was the relationship between Council and the community. Ultimately, the stronger the relationship between Council and community, the more positive the impacts of growth will have on Cromwell in the future.

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9. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Key Informants

Key Informant	Affiliation
Key Informant 1	Winery Owner
Key Informant 2	CEO at an Orchard
Key Informant 3	Real Estate Agent
Key Informant 4	Council Staff (Planning)
Key Informant 5	Council Staff (Community Development)
Key Informant 6	Council Staff (Deputy Mayor)
Key Informant 7	Central Lakes Trust
Key Informant 8	Cromwell District 2050
Key Informant 9	Cromwell Interagency Group

Appendix 2: Ethics Form, Consent Form, Interview Schedule, Questionnaire
Survey