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Connecting and changing places: globalisation and tourism mobility on the Otago Peninsula, Dunedin, New Zealand

Dirk Reiser

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Dunedin, 18.08.2008
Abstract

Globalisation, localisation and tourism are processes that are closely interconnected. They relate to historical mobilities and non-mobilities of humans, ideas and capital that impact on environment, economy, culture, politics and technology. Yet, these impacts on local tourism destinations are not well researched.

Small destinations are not researched in relation to the impact of globalisation and tourism over time. The thesis develops an historical understanding of globalisation, localisation and tourism within the context of the Otago Peninsula in Dunedin, New Zealand. It portrays the 'glocalisation' processes, the specific mix of local and global forces that shaped the Otago Peninsula and created the basis for the current conditions, especially for tourism.

The research on the Otago Peninsula clearly identifies different stages of mobilities to the place, generally following a similar pattern to other places in New Zealand settled in the latest phase of colonialism. The first settlers, the Polynesians, were followed by white explorers, sealers and whalers at the beginning of the 19th century who exploited a local resource that was valuable to international markets. After the over-exploitation of the resource white settlers arrived to 'conquer' nature and to improve on their living conditions in a new country. They provided the basis for the following mobilities by developing or facilitating a local, national, regional and international infrastructure. Towards the end of the 19th century the major European migration had ended. The next major mobility movement was recreationists from the close urban centre of Dunedin who used the infrastructure on the Otago Peninsula at weekends, as time, money and technology limited mobilities to places further away. From the 1920s onwards, when these limitations were reduced by, for example, a better infrastructure and new technological developments such as the car and more disposable income and time, New Zealanders started to more widely discover their own country. Finally, international travellers started to arrive in the 1960s after the main obstacle, the distance and time needed to travel to New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula, was reduced by technological development, especially airplanes. During all of these phases of mobility, the Otago Peninsula became increasingly interconnected with other places on the globe, creating the conditions for tourism.

In this study, within the context of the phase model of mobilities, a variety of research methods were used to assess the impact of globalisation, localisation and tourism on the Otago Peninsula. These methods include literature, newspaper, local promotional materials and photographic images analysis, as well as participant observation and historical interviews.

The research clearly highlights the changes to the Otago Peninsula created by historical events that happened as a consequence of human mobility. Internal and external conditions at different geographical scales, ranging from the local to the global, changed the economy, the environment, culture, politics and the use of technology on the Otago Peninsula. The place was (and still is) constantly glocalised. Consequently, international tourism, as one of the more recent forces, has to be managed within this historical framework of stretched social relations, the intensification of flows, increasing global interactions and the development of global infrastructure and networks.
Acknowledgements

There are a number of human beings who influenced this thesis. They are part of the story that is told. In my case, there are two special people who deserve the highest praise and my love for their contributions. First, there is my mum. She made me the person I am through her often-underappreciated education. If she were still alive, she would laugh and be proud about my achievements at the same time. Second, there is Petra, who was my partner for many years. She had to endure days and nights without me because I was procrastinating at the computer. Her patience and encouragement gave me the strength to carry on when one of the thesis depressions hit.

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I am also very thankful to the people of the Peninsula, in particular the Historical Society and its president, Warren and my friends at the Portobello Badminton Club (Laurel, John, Geoff). They accepted me into their midst. Their knowledge about the history of the Otago Peninsula is enormous; and they were prepared to share it.

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<tr>
<td>AIEST</td>
<td>International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Bed and Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFC</td>
<td>Chlorofluorocarbons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRS</td>
<td>Computer Reservation Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCC</td>
<td>Dunedin City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAZ</td>
<td>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GATS</td>
<td>General Agreement of Trade in Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDS</td>
<td>Global Distribution Systems</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICCL</td>
<td>International Council of Cruise Lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and communication technologies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFTO</td>
<td>International Federation of Tour Operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH&amp;RA</td>
<td>International Hotel &amp; Restaurant Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPCC</td>
<td>International Panel on Climate Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODT</td>
<td>Otago Daily Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Otago Peninsula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNWTO</td>
<td>United Nations World Tourism Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>VFR</td>
<td>Visiting Friends and Relatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>WSSD</td>
<td>World Summit on Sustainable Development</td>
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WTO  World Trade Organization
WTTC  World Trade and Tourism Council
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Every instant disappears in a breath and immediately becomes past; reality is ephemeral and changing, pure longing. (Allende 2002, p. 303)

This thesis gives a historical account of the consequences of human mobility and movements to, from and on the Otago Peninsula in New Zealand. Mobility includes the 'large scale movement of people, objects, capital and information across the world as well as the more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space, and the travel of material things within everyday life.' (Lancaster University Center for Mobilities Research 2009) Many of these movements have increasingly been related to leisure, recreation and other forms of human mobility that are often characterised under the term 'tourism'. The modifications of the living conditions on the Otago Peninsula following these human movements are thereby closely linked to what is described as the process of globalisation, including the historical lead-up to it and the growing global interdependence of human living conditions. Consequently, globalisation and tourism have to be managed within the historical framework of the intensification of flows that ignore national boundaries, the increase in the extent and intensity of global interactions, the development of global infrastructure and networks operating outside nation states and stretched social relations (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton 1999). Stretched social relations refers therefore to the fact that decisions taken in other parts of the world can have a significant impact at faraway places as globalisation translates into growing social trans-regional interconnectedness (Held 2000). There is a clear lack of research in relation to the historical impact of globalisation and tourism on small destinations within this historical framework.

The topic of globalisation has been very much 'en vogue' for over a decade and has sparked debate amongst scholars and non-scholars alike (e.g. Huntington 1993, 1996; Huntington and Harrison 2000; Huntington and Berger 2002;
Fukuyama 1992, 2004, 2006; Barber 1992, 1996, 2003; Giddens 1999; Friedman 2000; Nederveen Pieterse 2000; Mueller 2002; Stiglitz 2002), with many different opinions existing about what constitutes the process, how old it is, how it impacts on the everyday life of people, or whether it is happening at all. In this thesis, it is argued that the current process of globalisation is real and a logical consequence of the capitalist system and its intrinsic pressure for global (trade) expansion.

In this process, temporal compression of space is an expression of the pressure to reduce the financial impact of distance between trade locations within capitalism. Capitalism as an economic system where the means of the production, distribution and exchange of goods and services are privately owned and operated for profit (encyclo 2008a) is thereby instrumental for the globalisation of trade. However, such focus on economic globalisation is limited in the sense that culture, economy, technology and environment are also globalising and globalised spheres of life. Often the relationship between these different spheres of life is blurred and cannot be untangled or be seen in isolation.

Globalisation also does not exist in isolation from places and their local characters. Rather, it could be argued that capitalistic globalisation is a consequence of the (economic) limitations of localisation or that localisation is a reaction of localities to globalisation. Localisation is therefore an equally important process.

Tourism is closely related to globalisation, as both processes have an 'interest' in spatial expansion and temporal reduction to shrink the distance on the globe, as well as with localisation to capitalise on the specific nature of a locality (Titley 2000; Milne and Ateljevic 2001; Cawley, Gaffey and Gillmor 2002; Teo and Lim 2003; Stipanovic 2005) as a potential source of place-based competitive advantage. Tourism is therefore not only experiencing the power of growing interconnectedness, but is also fostering the process itself. The interchange between the localisation and globalisation processes and the following changes are worthwhile researching, especially when applied to a specific location which
is also a tourist destination. This thesis is therefore intended to describe the relationship between a specific place (Otago Peninsula) and the human movements to this place as an expression of globalisation and tourism and consequent changes that result at the intersection between the local and the global.

The Otago Peninsula is located on the fringe of the city of Dunedin at the south-eastern coast of New Zealand's South Island. It is a peninsula 21 kilometres in length (90 km²) with a long history of migration and settlement going back to the Maori (800-1200 years ago) (Kirch 2002). Today, a 'new' form of movement, tourism, is not only an important form of mobility for New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2005) and Dunedin but also the Otago Peninsula. Within the local tourism industry the Otago Peninsula is one of the main areas of touristic activity for wildlife viewing, visiting heritage attractions, walking and coastal recreation for domestic and international tourists. Historically, these migration and tourism movements changed the Otago Peninsula dramatically and connected it with the process of globalisation.

In general, the human impact on the Otago Peninsula is the result of culturally specific human actions reacting and acting in relation to the surrounding environment. It is the local-global nexus (Milne and Ateljevic 2001). Included in this result is the addition of countless communications and interactions between local people and new arrivals and their ideas, in person or virtual. Change is thereby rather the norm than the exception. However, the speed of this change has achieved a new quality under the conditions of capitalism and post-modernism in the form of time-space-compression (Harvey 1989).

Research in tourism has focused on international tourism, globalisation and cultural change (e.g. Mowforth and Munt 1998, 2003; Meethan 2001; Wahab and Cooper 2001; Tucker 2003; Macleod 2004). While such research is useful and necessary, the thesis extends it to include not only cultural change but also the interrelationships between environmental, economic, political, technological change in the micro-environment of the Otago Peninsula through the historic settlement periods. It therefore provides a more complete account of the impact
of globalisation, localisation, change, tourism and human mobility. Nevertheless, it is only a partial representation of the local reality that is connected with regional, national or global events and processes and specific local reactions to them. However, these processes produce multiple place-specific outcomes, changes and realities in relation to the global, with particular consequences for the local tourism product.

Globalisation, localisation and tourism are of specific interest to tourist destinations such as the Otago Peninsula. It involves the increasing number of domestic and international tourists with progressively different cultural backgrounds visiting and impacting on tourism places. The Otago Peninsula is located on the fringe of Dunedin, the second largest urban centre on New Zealand's South Island. It is shaped by its history of human settlement and accompanying land uses. While whale and seal hunting and agricultural forms of land use and resource exploitation dominate the early history, tourism and touristic forms of land use dominate the more recent land use patterns (e.g. Huggett 1966; Holland and Wearing 2001; Read 2005). A focal point of touristic land and resource use (for international tourists) is the wildlife on the Otago Peninsula, including several rare species such as the Northern Royal albatross, the yellow-eyed penguin and the Hooker sea lion. Other resources that attract tourists to the area include its history (for example, the site of the first cheese factory in New Zealand, Larnach Castle – the 'only castle in New Zealand'), its landscape (for example, the scenery on both the harbour side and the ocean side) and its location (close proximity to Dunedin). It can be expected that most tourists do not actually stay in the area, but visit it on a day trip while staying in Dunedin, as there is a lack of appropriate infrastructure to accommodate them. However, free and independent travellers regularly stay for a day or more in their campervans or in bed-and-breakfasts (B&Bs) or backpacker hostels.

The thesis consequently describes the history of the Otago Peninsula in relation to human mobility and alterations in land and resource use, as well as subsequent changes in economy, environment, culture, technology and politics. In general, the aim is to provide an overview of the place 'Otago Peninsula' in its historical context with particular focus on the more recent history in relation
to tourism and globalisation as expressed in different human mobilities. It provides the framework of the locality, defining its limitations and opportunities in relation to the global, the local and tourism.

Overall, the thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introductory overview of the main themes and issues – globalisation, localisation, tourism, change and the Otago Peninsula – and the way the topic is approached. Following the introduction, the main body of the thesis will start with a review of the overarching term and process of globalisation. In order to understand the background of the study area the Otago Peninsula is introduced in Chapter 2, before moving on to the more general processes of globalisation and tourism are outlined. Thus, Chapter 3 reviews the story of the globalisation process, aiming at addressing its history and different forms, namely economic, socio-cultural, political, technological and environmental globalisation. Different ways of thinking about the process are addressed, especially those of Fukuyama (1992), Huntington (1993, 1996) and Barber (1992, 1996). It also identifies localisation and globalisation as part of the same process, with one existing in relation to the other. The chapter concludes with the provision of a working definition of the process of globalisation.

This definition presents the basis for Chapter 4, which connects globalisation, localisation and tourism. It starts by defining the process ‘tourism’ and by describing current trends in tourism, indicating where tourism and globalisation meet. Next, the thesis outlines their close historical relationship, before deepening the analysis to look at their connections in technology, politics, environment, culture and economy. Particular emphasis is thereby placed on the demand and supply side of tourism, making it clear that the tourist destination, the Otago Peninsula, needs to be seen with respect to the global and the local, to globalisation and localisation.

The arguments laid out previously provide the reasoning for the research, namely to describe the specific historical and current changes brought about by the forces of globalisation, localisation and tourism at the micro-destination level of the Otago Peninsula. Chapter 5 details the methodology used to achieve
these goals. The chapter is subdivided into the justification of the selected research methods, the rationale to select the Otago Peninsula as the tourist destination for the study, the description of the research process of the historical and the contemporary research as well as the research limitations.

Chapter 6 discusses the research results concerning the historical development of the Otago Peninsula since the start of human settlement. It provides a six stage model that evolved from the different phases of human mobility, changing the land and resource use in relation to local, regional, national and global circumstances and tourism. The degree of the impact of the different spatial levels on the economy, environment, politics, culture and technology thereby varies significantly through the phases, characterising the level of globalisation, regionalisation and localisation. It tells the ‘story’ of the Otago Peninsula and the short- and long-term movement of people to the area through the earlier developed six stages. It is told through history, starting with the establishment of a ‘baseline’ of pre-human settlement history. It also provides a general overview of the location of Otago Peninsula. The different stages of human movement are then described in relation to New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula, using different research methods. While the results for the first two stages mainly rely on the literature written about the area, the results for stages three and four also include historical newspapers and photographic images. In the last two stages, two interviews as well as participant observation were conducted. The research results give a clear indication that present-day tourism is changing the place, but that these changes have to be seen in relation to the history of the Otago Peninsula and its negotiation with local, regional, national and global conditions. Thus, tourism is only one important element in this globalisation-localisation equation that is subjected to changes, but is also initiating them at the specific location. The future of tourism in particular places needs to be seen as interwoven in a web of relationships anchored in history that span all spatial levels and spheres of life, and perceptions and decisions made need to be seen in this light.

The final chapter provides a conclusion to the thesis, highlighting how the present Otago Peninsula is a consequence of the historical human mobilities
that are connected with the forces of globalisation and capitalism. It makes the point that these forces compressed space and time, and dramatically increased the flow of people (in particular tourists and immigrants) and information. As a result, the future of the Otago Peninsula will more than ever depend on global conditions, but at the same time the local will determine the place specific outcome. It is emphasised that this 'glocalisation' process, whereby local communities respond to global changes (encyclo 2008) is constant. In particular the growing importance of tourism and tourism development will depend on those constant negotiations between the global and the local as tourism sits at the global-local nexus. This chapter locates the historical temporal and spatial relations between tourism, glocalisation and the Otago Peninsula. It thereby shows the ways in which globalisation and glocalisation are experienced at a particular tourist destination.
Chapter 2: Location Otago Peninsula

In the following chapter, the research location – the Otago Peninsula near Dunedin, New Zealand – is outlined. The location is important, as it provides the basis for all human activities, including movements and tourism described in the thesis. Additionally, the processes of globalisation and localisation are also determined by the location.

The local environment and history pre-empt certain developments, while others are encouraged by the surroundings. Of particular interests is the ‘narrative’ of the historical context of human occupation and mobility starting with the Moa-hunter/Maori and the developments after the first Europeans arrived. These conditions, a combination of a location in New Zealand with a long history of settlement, consequent heritage and infrastructure mixed with a great variety of rare and accessible wildlife, various landscapes and beaches located near a major and accessible population centre, make the Otago Peninsula a prime destination for Dunedin residents (recreationists), domestic and international tourists.

The Otago Peninsula is situated at the urban fringe of Dunedin. Dunedin is the eighth biggest territorial authority in New Zealand (out of 74) with 114,342 inhabitants (at the 2001 census) (Statistics New Zealand online, no date) located in the south-east of the South Island of New Zealand (for the global location of New Zealand see figure 2.1). It is the second biggest population centre on the South Island (after Christchurch) (see figure 2.2), covering an area of 3,350 square kilometres and incorporating various landscapes, including urban lands, farmlands, wetlands or alpine ranges and rare wildlife species (e.g. Yellow-eyed penguins, Hooker sea lions) which justifies its description as ‘the wildlife and nature heritage capital of New Zealand’ (Peat and Patrick 1995, p. 3). The maps below give an indication of the location of New Zealand within the globe, as well as the location of Dunedin within the New Zealand geography.
Human developments on the Otago Peninsula are at the centre of the thesis. However, in the geological history of the Otago Peninsula, 'Human timescale is but a blink in geological terms' (Peat and Patrick 1995, p. 13). Long before the first humans arrived in New Zealand and on the Otago Peninsula, there were global, non-human induced events that shaped the globe, all of which have helped to predetermine the human experience of the Peninsula. First, the land mass now covering New Zealand started to drift away from the super continent
Gondwanaland around 120 million years ago by opening up an oceanic gap, starting the development of the unique characteristics of New Zealand as new plants and animals could not bridge this oceanic gap (Hutching 1998). As part of this continent, what was to become New Zealand was already a ‘global place’, before becoming a local place. Second: ‘Approximately 65 million years ago a great global cataclysm or environmental change brought an end to the dinosaurs and ushered in the era of mammals – except in New Zealand, where birds became dominant’ (Hutching 1998, p. 25). New Zealand became a bird country, with some of the birds loosing the capacity to fly as a consequence of the lack of predators. This impacted on the survival of the first human arrivals by providing easy prey for Maori as their imported plant and animal species accustomed to the warmer climate of the South Pacific struggled in the colder climate of New Zealand. Both events provide excellent examples of the link between New Zealand, including the Otago Peninsula, and the rest of the world long before the impact of human beings started to be felt.

Around 10-13 million years ago the Otago Peninsula was formed as the eastern side of the Dunedin shield volcano Rakiriri (meaning ‘angry sky’). It built up volcanic flows over three million years, with its hard centre at Port Chalmers, Portobello and the mid-harbour islands of Goat Island and Quarantine Island (Forsyth and Coates 1989; Peat and Patrick 1995). The Otago Peninsula was later disconnected from the mainland when rising sea levels invaded a fault in the earth’s crust (Peat and Patrick 1995), becoming an island until 5,000 to 10,000 years ago, when it was reconnected with the mainland by a sandy isthmus (St Kilda). The narrowest point of this ‘recent’ isthmus between Andersons Bay Inlet and St Kilda Beach (Otago Witness 4 March 1865) defines the Otago Peninsula, including the coastal and harbour islands (Johnson 2004). Because of the volcanic origins ‘it [Otago Peninsula] mainly consists of basalts, trachytes and softer ash and pyroclastic (fragmentary volcanic rock) layers with some older sedimentary rocks included (e.g. the limestone at Sandymount)’ (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998, p. 6). Most of these geological formations on the Peninsula are eroding, and landslides are therefore common, with half of the area having a high to moderate risk of landslides (Peat and Patrick 1995), adding to its interesting and changing nature.
The Peninsula is approximately 21 kilometres in length, consisting of a series of peaks and ridges, inlets, flats, rolling land, headlands and bays separated by a hilly backbone (Peat and Patrick 1995). The width ranges from 1.5 kilometres to 7.5 kilometres, with Mt Charles (408m above sea level) the highest point on the Peninsula (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998). Other hills of notable height include Peggy's Hill (395m), Transmitter Hill (381m), Sandymount (319m) and the iconic Harbour Cone (315m) (Peat and Patrick 1995) (see figure 5.4 for an overview over the Otago Peninsula). The surface area is a little bit more than 90 square kilometres (Bayfield Jaycees 1968) and is 41 per cent flat to moderately sloping, 57 per cent fairly steep and two per cent very steep (Holland and Wearing 2001) with an average height of around 1000 feet (Otago Witness 4 March 1865). The Dunedin Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority (1968) divided the physical features of the Otago Peninsula into the ocean shore (cliffs, points of distinguished forms, off-shore rocks, beaches, tidal sand flats and freshwater lagoons) and the harbour shore (stone sea wall, headlands, beaches).

Overall, the Peninsula 'is devoid of flat lands' and 'the steepness of the slopes' has determined 'not only the patterns of land use, but also transport, for roads have been forced to hug the indented shoreline or find the easiest gradient on the step, and often dissected, hill country' (Huggett 1966, p. 3). The coastlines were even more difficult for establishing communication – the inlets are too shallow and building a road along the coastline seemed impossible for the early settlers because of the landforms (Huggett 1966) (see figure 2.3).
FIGURE 2.3: Map of Otago Peninsula (courtesy of Kynaston 2001)

It is thought that the Otago Peninsula was covered with temperate rainforest when the first humans arrived, except for some sand drifts, and the soils being mainly igneous with a medium level of fertility (Huggett 1966). Johnson (2004, p. 7) describes that the soils – 'a mixture of loess and the weathering products of volcanic rocks' – receive an evenly-spread 700-880 millimetres rainfall per year, which is enough to support forest vegetation. However, there is also the run-off of water and occasional droughts that are countered by low evapotranspiration, low sunshine hours, cool summers and relatively cold winters with reduced numbers of frosts that impact on the soils and the landscape of the Otago Peninsula (Huggett 1966). The climatic patterns are also different for the more sheltered harbourside in comparison to the more open ocean side. Besides the above-mentioned different relief of the two sides, the climatic patterns impact upon the ocean side by being more supportive of agricultural production, while the harbourside is more suitable for human settlement.
(Huggett 1966). However, it is the combination of both environments that make the location attractive and important for human settlement and Dunedin and its tourism industry.

The Otago Peninsula is the most important element of the 'wildlife capital' Dunedin (Peat and Patrick 1995). In particular the bird and the marine life are impressive as a result of the availability of food sources either within the Peninsula, such as the two tidal inlets (Hoopers and Papanui Inlet), or in the ocean, with its submarine canyons being as close as 10 kilometres to the north and the south (Peat and Patrick 1995). As a result, seabirds (e.g. three species of shags, royal albatross), wading birds (e.g. black oystercatcher, royal spoonbill), penguins (little blue penguin, yellow-eyed penguin), seals (e.g. fur seals) and sea lions (e.g. Hookers sea lion) are common (for more information on the birdlife see the Otago Daily Times and the Otago Museum 2005). In addition, there is also an endemic plant, a moth and a caddis, justifying the name 'flagship of biodiversity' (Peat and Patrick 1995, p. 25). This environment is the outcome of the geographical history of the Otago Peninsula. It was and is especially influenced by the patterns of human mobility over time since the initial settlement.
CHAPTER 3: GLOBALISATION

No-one can step twice into the same river, nor touch mortal substance twice in the same condition. By the speed of its change, it scatters and gathers again. (Heraclitus 600 BC cited in Harrison 1996, online)

Historically, globalisation is a process as old as human movement and mobility (Nederveen Pieterse 1995; Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Physical mobility is therefore the original way in which ideas, capital and humans were distributed, first locally, later regionally, then internationally and eventually globally (Duckenfield 2003). This process took a long time and is still on-going. However, mobility and movement have changed dramatically, especially since the beginning of last century (e.g. Baldwin 2001; Robertson 1992). In more recent time inventions, in particular in transport and communications technology, helped humans to overcome their physical limitations in space and time. They add a new dimension to globalisation and localisation by compressing space and time dramatically (Rodrigue and Comtois 2005).

Tourism is inherently connected with globalisation and localisation, as it requires people and their cultural knowledge to travel from one point to another to visit specific localities. In combination with globalisation it has led to an ever-increasing geographical mobility and accessibility for many humans and goods (Hall 2003), thereby fostering the capacity for exchange, including travelling and trading and the reaffirmation of the local in the process.

Globalisation and tourism in their current forms are thought to have had only minor impacts in Western countries such as New Zealand. The cultures brought into contact through these processes are regarded as similar and their technological developments comparable. Their capitalistic economies are operating at similar high levels, they are aware of local and global environmental threats and liberal democracy is their political model of governing.
Nevertheless, their histories are different and impacts on societies are possibly subtle changes over long periods of time. In spite of this, there are not many publications examining the way globalisation actually impacts on tourism 'on the ground', at a specific location over time. Generally, globalisation is a process that is described in its general descriptive consequences, sometimes within specific sectors of the tourism industry. With the exception of MacLeod (2004), who applied the concepts of 'tourism, globalisation and cultural change' to Valle Gran Rey in La Gomera, studies of tourism and globalisation do not tend to apply their theoretical frameworks to specific places with their specific histories and the specific changes brought about.

Many publications apply a specific framework of globalisation to a specific sector of the tourism industry. These include Go and Pine’s (1995) *Globalization strategy of the hotel industry*, the International Labour Organization’s (2001) *Human resource development, employment and globalization in the hotel sector, catering industry and tourism*, the World Travel and Tourism Council, the International Federation of Tour Operators, the International Hotel and Restaurant Council and the International Council of Cruise Lines (2002) publication *Industry as partner for sustainable development* which looks at the tour operator industry, incoming tour operators, agents, ground handlers, coach and rent-a-car companies, the hospitality industry and the cruise line industry, or Richards and Wilson’s (2005) research on the backpacker industry as a global phenomenon in *The global nomad: Backpacker travel in theory and practice*. While all these books include valuable contributions within the researched area, they focus mainly on specific industry sectors. They are therefore only a partial image of the impact of globalisation and tourism on destination areas.

Other publications take a broader, more general approach to discussing tourism and globalisation. Mowforth and Munt (1998, 2003), for example, use globalisation as one of the main themes in their book *Tourism and sustainability – New tourism in the third world*. However, they only provide a theoretical understanding of the dynamics of tourism under the condition of globalisation,
resulting in inequal access within a difficult to define conglomerate of countries called the Third World. The book is therefore general, providing a discussion of power structures, socio-environmental factors, the tourism industry, host-guest relationships and governments and tourism, with only occasional case studies applying theory to the practice on the ground. This topic is also covered by a special issue of Tourism Recreation Research, ‘Globalization: North-south tourism’ (2002) that describes the consequences of globalisation and tourism in relation to the ‘West’ visiting the ‘Rest’. Similarly, Reid (2003) concentrates on the impact of ‘Tourism, globalization and development’ in the planning process of tourism in developing countries. Despite the incorporation of interesting elements (e.g. case studies), the publication describes the consequences of a specific form of current globalisation (corporate globalisation) on specific countries (developing countries), within a specific political area (tourism planning and development) for better distribution of the benefits of tourism to local hosts.

In ‘Tourism in the age of globalisation’ (edited by Wahab and Cooper 2001) various authors cover a wide range of topics including the relations between globalisation and tourism demand, marketing, the competitiveness of tourism businesses, and sustainability. Most writers take a very general, descriptive perspective on various issues within these areas. It appears that the term globalisation is used in a very broad, all-encompassing fashion. This is very much in line with an early publication, ‘Globalisation and tourism’, edited by Keller (1996), that includes contributions of a broad range of writers at the 46th Congress of the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism (AIEST) in Rotorua, New Zealand. In a more detailed approach, Meethan (2001) gives a very thorough and interesting but descriptive account in ‘Tourism in global society’. However, the author acknowledges that more research into tourism and globalisation is needed to ‘develop transformative analytical frameworks that account for the dynamics of change at both a macro and a micro level, and the interactions that inform local knowledge and practices in the context of a globalised world’ (Meethan 2001, p. 173). Such a framework would need to analyse the history of a destination in connection with the general history of the geographical region and the world and globalisation and tourism.
3.1 The ‘story’ of globalisation

‘Globalization’ is on everybody’s lips; a fad word fast turning into a shibboleth, a magic incantation, a pass-key meant to unlock gates to all present and future mysteries (Bauman 1998, p. 1).

Globalisation is the catchword of the 1990s (Kelsey 1999) or the ‘buzzword of the moment’ (Ellwood 2001, p. 8). It is a chaotic and confusing concept (Jessop 2002) that is used by different parties in highly disparate ways (Lechner and Boli 2000) because it incorporates various contradictory trends (Roddick 2001). Nevertheless, today everything needs to be described and discussed within the framework of globalisation (German Bundestag 2002), be it the economy, culture or politics.

A more neglected term, localisation is as important as globalisation. Localisation refers to an approach that builds on as much self-reliance as possible to counterbalance the trend towards globalisation (Mowforth and Munt 2003; Hines 2000). It is argued that tourism needs to be described in relation to globalisation and localisation, in particular since the concept of globalisation is more and more called upon in the analysis of tourism (Hall, D. R. 1992).

The concept of globalisation encompasses tourism, especially international tourism. It has always done so, as tourism is closely connected to leaving a place of residence for a different place. It involves the mobility of people and their ideas (e.g. culture) across (social) borderlines, thereby spreading ideas across space and fulfilling one of the basic conditions for globalisation. In times of growing international tourism, tourism ‘helps’ globalisation while globalisation ‘helps’ tourism.

Conceptually, globalisation can be organised after the approaches taken in the literature, where it is looked at as an historical epoch, an economic phenomenon, the triumph of American/Western values and a socio-political and technological revolution (Higott and Reich 1998). An often-forgotten element of
globalisation is environmental globalisation, which is added to the analysis. The well-known works of Fukuyama, Huntington and Barber provide valuable insights into how differently these elements are described within the globalisation discussion. Their arguments fit well into Held’s (2000) globalisation spectrum. It organises the different approaches to globalisation on a continuum ranging from globalists to transformalists to traditionalists. The continuum also symbolises that the origins and the process itself are widely contested.

Overall, there are clear interdependencies between the globalisation process and different areas of the human environment, including tourism. The identification of the importance of single forces seems to be difficult at the very least. However, a good starting point for discussion is the history of globalisation that is subscribed to the term itself.
3.2 Globalisation – no start and no end?

The career of buzzwords like ‘globalization’ follows a similar pattern. They lose their sparkle just as they start to trip off the tongue (Shipman 2002, p. 7).

In 1959 the Economist applied for the first time the term ‘globalised’ to describe something that was happening world-wide by writing that ‘Italy’s ‘globalised quota’ for imports of cars has been increased’, while the Webster Dictionary introduced the words ‘globalism’ and ‘globalisation’ in 1961 (Paul 2002). The use of the term globalisation gained prominence at the end of the 1980, but it did not appear in academic literature before 1987 (Waters 1995; Waters 2001); it has since then experienced an exponential growth in usage in all sorts of publications. The Globalisation Guide.org (2002) describes that at least 2822 papers were written on globalisation in 1998, and that 589 new books on the subject were published the same year, with virtually everyone including their own definition of globalisation. This intensification in usage is also mirrored in the appearance of the term ‘globalisation’ in the catalogue of the Library of Congress in the United States, with 34 publications containing the term in their title in February 1994, rising to 284 in February 2000 (Waters 2001). The following figure illustrates the increase of the use of the term in a German newspaper (‘Globalisierung’) – Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ):

Such examples illustrate that the term is relatively new, but as argued throughout the thesis, the process itself is as old as the mobility of human beings. The term globalisation is a so-called 'buzzword' of the last ten to fifteen years (Gewald 2002), its meaning being different for different people (World Markets Research Centre 2001). It is perceived as a positive, negative or even a marginal process (Jeffrey 2002).
3.3 The origins of the process of globalisation

Life on earth was global from the outset, as one fragile planet huddled for comfort against a cold and empty space. Localization came later, after manners started to fragment over space and memories over time (Shipman 2002, p. 5).

Globalisation, according to Shipman (2002), was always there, long before the arrival of localisation and the rediscovery of globalisation by academics in the late 1980s. But even the rediscovery by academics is contested. It is sometimes argued that the ideas of globalism, globality and a network of world societies can be found in the works of philosophers and early sociologists such as Kant, Hegel, Durkheim, Marx, Husserl or Weber (Duerrschmidt 2002; Waters 2001) and that globalisation therefore has a much longer academic history than often thought.

On the whole, the starting point of the process of globalisation is given various dates, with the earliest being the beginning of human mobility. Mobility took and takes various forms. It includes the 'movement involved in trade, investment, and knowledge' incorporating tourism, migration and the movement of refugees (Hall 2003, p. 9), short-term and long-term movements, voluntary, pressured and compulsory movements. Mobility is therefore one of the main 'junctions' between globalisation and tourism.

Other authors emphasise the fact that there are different historical globalising processes by setting the starting-point of the process of globalisation at various dates in human history (e.g. Robertson 1992; Nederveen Pieterse 1995; Wallerstein 1999; Baldwin 2001; Waters 2001; Duerrschmidt 2001; Shipman 2002; Dahrendorf 2002). However, capitalism added a new time and space dimension, as it pressured capitalistic nation states to slowly discover and connect most areas on earth in the search for new markets (time-space compression) (Harvey 1989). It led to increased inter-relationships between people and places in time and space (time-space convergence) (see, for
example, Janelle 1968) and the annihilation of the importance of being present in time and space to influence things at a locality (time-space distanciation) (see, for example, Giddens 2000).

This time-space compression (Harvey 1989) has been particularly visible in the interconnected transport and communication sectors since the 16th century. Technological development in these areas drastically reduced the time needed to reach distant places and people (Osterhammel and Petersson 2003). While the speed of the sailing ship, the main mode of transport in the 16th century was 16 kilometres an hour, jet planes today reach speeds between 800 and 1120 kilometres an hour and telecommunication is instantaneous (see figure 2.2) (Rodrigue and Comtois 2005). Clearly, the pace and extent of connectivity has changed dramatically and with it the time-space distanciation between people is reduced as local practices are increasingly linked with global social relations in ever-increasing speed (Sociology online 2002). Globalisation could accordingly be described as the highly increased contact of local political, social, economic and cultural institutions to an international or global environment (Duckenfield 2003) through the process of time-space compression.

![Figure 3.2 Time-space compression and technology](Rodrigue and Comtois 2005, online adapted from Tolley and Turton 1995, p. 132.)
When and where globalisation started remains unclear, but it is obvious that the current phase is mainly described as closely connected to the development of Western-style capitalism and its consequences since the 15th century. This seems to be a limited localised Western version, in particular if history is perceived as building on earlier developments in different places on the globe, not only in the West. Overall, it can therefore be said that the history of globalisation is widely contested. The starting point of the process is set between the start of human world history (Nederveen Pieterse 1995), the 13th century (Bundeszentrale fuer politische Bildung 2001) and the year 1989 (Huntington 1993; Fukuyama 1994; Barber 1996; Urry 1998a; Friedman 2000) (see table 2.1). In particular (Western) authors that describe globalisation as a more recent event see the process of globalisation as happening within a capitalistic-economic framework that determines its development.

TABLE 3.1 Examples of phases of globalisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical globalisation phases</th>
<th>Main event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Start of human movement</td>
<td>General distribution of ideas and people around the globe – ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 13th century</td>
<td>Indirect Asian-European trade relations (Asian-centred)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start at the end of 15th century</td>
<td>Expansion of European empires to America and Asia, capitalism introduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start of 19th century</td>
<td>Industrial revolution and its mass production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last quarter of 19th century</td>
<td>Technological developments (steam power, telegraph)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>First atomic bombs – global destruction possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>First men on the moon – world seen as one unit on TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-1970s</td>
<td>Production moved away from natural resources and markets for cost reasons – new division of labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-1980s</td>
<td>New York Plaza agreement in 1985 – new exchange rates of main economies agreed upon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Fall of Berlin Wall – end of Cold War and global systemic division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-1990s</td>
<td>Use of the term globalisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 Globalisation – the story of mobility and flow

An English princess travelling with an Egyptian businessman through a French tunnel, in a German car with Dutch engines, driven by a Belgian driver under influence of Scottish Whisky gets into a terrible accident because they are chased by Italian Paparazzi. She is treated by an American doctor with British medicines, but dies & Indians mourn (The Gokhale.com 2003, online).

As the quote above suggests, globalisation is a term that is now widely used in many different circumstances. It is for example one of the most used terms in the social sciences literature, describing a magical word for some that includes the solutions for all problems of society, but unfolding as a nightmare for others as it is seen as the cause of all problems in society (Bundeszentrale fuer politische Bildung 2001). Consequently, the term globalisation is addressed in various, often contradictory ways.

It is, for example, unclear if globalisation is a collective term for more or less advanced trends, if it signals the entrance into a new area or if globalisation is a consequence or a cause of change (Mueller 2002). Some would even argue that its current form is a competition between economic and social systems (Rigassi 2000). Others believe that globalisation is not happening at all (Hirst and Thompson 1999) because the occurring changes are nothing else than a consequence of the changes in production from Fordism to neo-Fordism but not globalisation (Waters 2001). It appears clear though that globalisation is more than internationalisation.

The term ‘international’ is defined as ‘between or among nations; concerned with the relations between nations; for the use of all nations; of or for people in various nations…’ (Webster’s Reference Library 2005, p. 173). A separation of international and global only makes sense if international is limited to the number of nations involved in international relationships while global goes beyond the nation-state. The main point of reference for international is clearly
the nation state. Singer (2002, p. 9) describes the difference from internationalisation to globalisation as 'moving beyond the era of growing ties between nations... [where people] are beginning to contemplate something beyond the existing conception of the nation-state.' Globalisation is a process of flows that ignores borderlines.

Flows are the initiators and drivers of globalisation within given limitations of the globe, because they are a symbol for growing worldwide interconnectedness:

A river, a mountain range, a stretch of forest or desert, a sea – these were enough to cut people off from each other. Over the past few centuries the isolation has dwindled, slowly at first, then with increasing rapidity. Now people living on opposite sides of the world are linked in ways previously unimaginable (Singer 2002, p. 11).

Most human beings are now integrated into these flows in one way or another depending on their level of global access to information and mobility. The flows are thereby not only economical, but also cultural, environmental, technological or political. What is believed to distinguish current global flows from earlier international ones is that borderlines and nation-states are not definitive and important anymore. It is rather believed that increased global mobility and access to information exchange make the globe a confusing place of multi-layered flows in various directions.
3.5 Organising the flows

The human mind is so complex and things are so tangled up with each other that, to explain a blade of straw, one would have to take to pieces an entire universe... A definition is a sack of flour compressed into a thimble (De Gourmont 1859-1915, unknown).

'Simply' organising complex flows is difficult, as flows are tangled up with each other, forming what could be called the human living environment. A researcher could spend a whole life to separate them and take them apart. Nevertheless, several possible viewpoints on globalisation and the connected 'flows' can be identified within the literature.

Higott and Reich (1998), for example, identify four different viewpoints on defining globalisation or approaches to globalisation in common use: globalisation as a historical epoch, globalisation as the confluence of economic phenomena, globalisation as the triumph of American values, and globalisation as sociological and technological revolution. Globalisation as environmental blundering should be added to the discussion as an increasingly important element. Here the focus is on these five 'flows' and the way they are described in three exemplary and widely used publications on globalisation: Francis Fukuyama's (1992) 'The end of history and the last man standing', Benjamin Barber's (1992, 1996) 'Jihad versus McWorld' and Samuel P. Huntington's (1993, 1996) 'The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order'.

3.6 Economic globalisation – the main part of the story?

Globalisation has become the slogan for a total world market within an unrestrained capitalism (Scheer 2003, p. 6).

In its most basic definition, economic globalisation can be defined as the increase in trade between various countries (Ellwood 2001). There is a variety of opinions on this process. The critics, for example, believe that this economic globalisation is rendering nation-states powerless in the wake of growing borderless trading by transnational companies in the search for maximisation of profits.

Actual economic globalisation, criticises Klein (2002), is nothing more than a particular economic model that swallows everything else within the perimeters of trade – culture, human rights, the environment and democracy. Scheer (2003) agrees that globalisation is the slogan for a total world market in a borderless capitalism, which is, according to the German Bundestag (2002, p. 8), ‘driven by major financial players and the governments of the United States, Japan and the member states of the EU [European Union]’. The consequence of economic globalisation is an economic interconnection where the division of labour makes countries dependent on each other for materials and access to markets (Shipman 2002). This process benefits only a small percentage of people without producing wealth for the great majority (Roddick 2001).

Fukuyama (1992, 2002) has a different view, arguing that there is a single, coherent modernisation process, with liberal democracy and its two principles, liberty and equality, as well as market modernisation driving globalisation. Accordingly, the globalisation process is determined by market forces – its current weaknesses are not a problem of the system but rather the consequence of incomplete implementation of liberty and equality (Fukuyama 1992). In particular capitalism – the economic system of liberal democracy – has assumptions about human nature that are far more realistic than those of other systems, for example communism (Fukuyama 2002a), and is therefore
more successful in creating wealth for everyone. But Fukuyama (1998) goes even further by suggesting that there is a clear correlation between economic development and successful democracy in the role of the only viable political organisation of nation-states. Here, successful political development is subordinated to economic development. Such an argument is highly questionable, especially what kind of liberty and equality are achievable under a competitive economic system like capitalism. Even further, the suggestion that capitalism works better than earlier systems is not sufficient an argument for capitalism being the best system. It seems that Fukuyama also believes that there is only one form of capitalism and liberal democracy, mastered by the United States. Other authors put forward different ideas of the importance of economic globalisation for the overall process.

Huntington (1993) is critical to the dominant role of economic globalisation. He describes world politics and the conflict between different cultures as the main factors in globalisation, leading to the clash of civilisations. Economic globalisation is therefore a consequence of political globalisation, and not necessarily the source of conflict in a global world. Recent events such as September 11 or the London bombings (7 July 2005) by Muslim extremists seem to verify Huntington’s argument about the clash of civilisation. However, in a global world based on nation-states, economic globalisation impacts on politics as do politics on economic globalisation. Both Huntington and Fukuyama argue relative extreme positions of economic globalisation and its consequence. In reality, human affairs are not that simple, but rather more complex.

Their arguments are included in Barber’s (1996) interpretation of the importance of economic globalisation. He makes the case that globalisation moves between the politics of identity and the economies of profits. Economic globalisation is just one process in the overall globalisation process that constantly ‘swings’ between politics and profits. He unites Huntington’s idea of political globalisation being more important than economic globalisation and Fukuyama’s opposite position.
One cannot help but agree with Klein (2002, p. xx) that the ‘economic process that goes by the benign euphemism “globalization” now reaches into every aspect of life’, whereby the environment, poverty and global inequality, global financial markets and migration have moved into the centre of the recent globalisation debate (Mueller 2002). It seems also appropriate to describe the process of globalisation as one that is happening in phases, starting with human history – although, in more recent times, a specific form of economic globalisation that evolved with a particular form of capitalism and its Fordist and post-Fordist modes of production is seen as its main agent. This capitalism is understood as being responsible for the increased speed and high degree of Westernisation/Americanisation of the overall globalisation process.

3.6.1 The capitalist world – built for globalisation

Critics and proponents of the current dominant process of globalisation agree with the argument that capitalism is driving globalisation. Capitalism itself has a long history, with its definition and consequences as contested as globalisation. Many authors (e.g. Wallerstein 1999; Robertson 1992; Waters 2001) argue that globalisation started in the 15th century in conjunction with capitalism and its evolving characteristics.

Globalisation is – at least for most scientists in the so-called developed world – closely connected with the rise and spread of capitalism following feudalism. The capitalistic system took over, starting in England between the 15\textsuperscript{th}/17\textsuperscript{th} and the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century (Slater 2001). Later, capitalism spread into other parts of Europe and the world, in particular to the colonies, as they provided a new resource base for cheap labour in the form of slaves and new markets for the colonial empires (Blaut 1993). The spatial colonial expansions of European countries to ‘new’ landmasses like New Zealand made trade more global and at the same time internationalised Western and American countries with the introduction of new cultures (e.g. black people to the Americas, immigrants from the British Empire to New Zealand). It is argued that, because capitalism was
and is continually evolving in Western Europe and America, it carries a clear connotation of Westernisation /Americanisation.

Capitalism itself is a theoretical framework, introduced by Adam Smith in his book *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of the nations* in 1776. The model’s driving forces are the selfishness and self-interest of human beings. Production, which is determined by supply and demand, takes place to make profits, which are accumulated as capital. Profits are maximised by, for example, minimising the production costs in order to sell at a cheaper price than the competitors or by gaining a competitive advantage by being the first to use a new technology (Slater 2001). Capitalism is accordingly a driving force of technological innovations in order to gain a competitive advantage within the system. Various authors describe capitalism as the deciding development that made globalisation possible (e.g. Wallerstein) or accelerated its speed since the 15th century, especially since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 when the politically defined competition changed into an exclusively economically defined (capitalistic oriented) competition (Deutscher Bundestag 2002). Since the end of the 20th century, according to Wallerstein (1999), this capitalist world-system is in a systematic crisis, as seen in the current transitional chaos, with an uncertain future into a new historical system. This transitional stage could be equated to the move from organised to disorganised capitalism (Lash and Urry 1987).

In 1910, a model of ‘organised capitalism’ was introduced by Rudolf Hilferding which he describes as ‘the competitive market interaction between individual economic actors ... seen to be in the process of being superseded by formally organized collectivities of economic action (corporate firms, cartels) and interest representation (trade unions, business associations)’ (Offe 1985, 5-6). While the section above deals with the evolution of important elements of ‘organised’ capitalism and its characteristics, the following discusses the transition to ‘disorganised’ capitalism in the 20th century.

The patterns of ‘organised capitalism’ have been disorganised in contemporary societies by transformations in space and time, economy and culture (Lash and
Urry 1987), leading to a failure of organisational and institutional mechanisms to organise the socio-political system of contemporary welfare state capitalism (Offe 1985).

Consequently, everything is changing in this ‘Age of Transition’ (Wallerstein 1999), the last step into a new world-system. McMurtry (1999) describes it more drastically by arguing that humans live in the ‘cancer stage of society’. Around the turn of the 21st century, according to Klein (2002), (unorganised) capitalism (or the cancer stage of capitalism and society) is no longer unchallenged and is now a legitimate topic of public debate as a consequence of its failure. Capitalism in Klein’s (2002) sense (following Wallerstein) is in a ‘transitional’ stage, in which unorganised capitalism is challenged, particularly in Western countries, but also increasingly in developing countries. Global post-modern capitalism has become unorganised, contradicting Fukuyama’s ideas about it as the best system for human development and emphasising the possibility of a clash of civilisations, but also ‘leaving the door open’ for a new economic system growing out of the advantages and disadvantages of capitalism. It could lead to a social system, controlled either by people defending their status in an unequal hierarchical society or by the move to a more democratic and egalitarian society.

The change from ‘organised’ to ‘disorganised capitalism’ is closely related to the development of postmodern societies, ‘characterised by a rejection of absolute truths and grand narratives explaining the progressive evolution of society’ (Burke 2000, p. 10). Postmodernism, preceded by traditionalism and modernism, is typified by the dissolution of an organised economy and society into a more individualistic, disorganised, transient society. This is very much in line with disorganised capitalism within a global market.

The capitalist postmodern society can be described as one ‘of intense change, particularly in relation to where people live and how their lives are organized over time’ (Lash and Urry 1987, p. 1). In the last 30 years, the period of disorganised capitalism, human beings are starting to lose the relationship with
the immediate living environment to a point that geographers argue that they are becoming global human beings (Shaw 2001).

Capitalism could therefore indeed be described as an agent of globalisation, particularly economic globalisation, while economic globalisation on the other hand is integral to capitalism's need to expand into new markets and to maximise the profits – it is built around free trade (Piclab 2004).

Capitalism is also interwoven with another basic historical change, from modern society to postmodern society. While modernity is associated with Fordist production and consumption (Meethan 2001), organised capitalism and modernism, postmodernity is associated with post-Fordist production and consumption, disorganised capitalism and postmodernism. Both Fordism and post-Fordism have inherent consequences for industries such as tourism.

3.6.2 Post-Fordism and capitalism

While disorganised capitalism describes the changes in economy resulting from the modification of capitalism from its organised form, postmodernism describes the changes in society following modernism; post-Fordism refers to the changes in production and consumption from earlier Fordism. It is easier to describe post-Fordism in comparison to 'disorganised' capitalism and postmodernism, as the latter remain difficult to identify (Burke 2000) while the alterations in the current regime of production and consumption are very visible. The post-Fordist consumption patterns that are closely related to the post-Fordist production system have thereby an immense impact on tourism and globalisation as well, as they are influenced by both.

'Fordism' received its name from the early 20th century inventor of the assembly line, Henry Ford. It refers to a new form of production and its consequences. The assembly line changed the 'face' of capitalism, it rewrote the industrial rules (Shipman 2002), particularly in the developed world, as it made the mass production of cars possible (Beder 2000). Other companies (e.g. General
Motors, Citroen, and Fiat) soon followed this system of mass production in large plants and the consequent development of mass markets (Giddens 1993) to sell the mass produced products.

However, the capitalist mode of mass production and consumption – Fordism – and the consequent development of industrialised areas were up until 1960 limited to Western Europe and North America, where more than three-quarters of the world’s industrial output was produced. The ‘Third World’ continued to be agricultural (Shaw 2001). On the whole, Fordism is characterised by the standardisation of products, the large-scale use of machinery only usable for a specific product, scientific management of labour and the assembly line. The connected changes led to affluence, increasing quantities of disposable income and time, the creation of individual security through welfare systems, widespread suburbanisation in Western Europe and the United States (Cumbria Business School 2004) and a growth in technological advances. They are all basic requirements for increased mobility and accessibility within markets focusing on constant expansion, and therefore, for example, mass tourism markets.

It can therefore be argued that – after 1960 – expanding economies started to become transnational with a decrease of importance of national boundaries, an increase of global importance of multinational corporations and a new more flexible approach to production helped by the progress in information technology (Shaw 2001). The mode of production and consumption changed from ‘Fordism’ to ‘post-Fordism’ or from ‘modernism’ to ‘postmodernism’ (concerning culture).

The post-Fordist production system ‘comprises a mix of different ways of organizing a mix production at a number of spatial scales’ (Bryson and Henry 2001, p. 360). It is a direct consequence of increased competition in a global economy, where flexible production is necessary. It is in contrast to Fordist-production, not production-led but consumer-led (Burke 2000), and shifts the emphasis from increasing the worth of output to decreasing the cost of input to produce the same at reduced cost (Shipman 2002) by using new technologies.
Such economic change is determined by technological and socio-cultural change such as flexible machines, and a change in labour practice such as the use of flexible, multi-skilled workers. It also combines the production of industries such as small and medium enterprises and multinationals to produce customised products.

In the wake of post-Fordist production, consumption patterns tied up into globalisation and postmodernism changed as well. Meethan (2001) characterises Fordist consumption as the mass consumption of standardised product in relatively homogenous markets, while post-Fordist consumption is determined by smaller productions of customised goods in more heterogeneous markets. Table 2.2 provides a more detailed summary of the changes in consumption from Fordism to post-Fordism under the condition of capitalism, postmodernism and globalisation.

**TABLE 3.2 Mass Fordist consumption and post-Fordist consumption**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mass [Fordist] consumption</th>
<th>Post-Fordist Consumption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase of commodities produced under mass production</td>
<td>Consumption rather than production dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High or growing rate of expenditure on consumer products</td>
<td>New forms of credit and indebtedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual producers dominate particular individual markets</td>
<td>Almost all aspects of social life become commodified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producer dominant</td>
<td>Consumer dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little differentiation between commodities</td>
<td>Greater differentiation of purchasing patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively little choice/producers interests reflected</td>
<td>Consumer movements and politicisation of consumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumers react against the ‘mass’ and producers more consumer-driven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many more products and shorter lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New kinds of specialised commodity emerge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Urry 1990, p. 14

Overall, actual economic globalisation could be described as the distribution of the Western model of capitalism in connection with post-Fordist production and
postmodernist values of consumption around the globe. It is driven by Western governments and corporations, using global economic institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation to achieve this goal, especially in developing countries. This form of globalisation spills over into the culture of developing nations by introducing specific cultural American/Western capitalistic values for production and consumption.
3.7 Globalisation = cultural imperialism?

At the el-Sahel market opposite the Nile on Friday, sellers hawked ‘Intefadeh’ dates for 13 Egyptian pounds ($NZ 2.96) a kilo, and ‘bin Laden dates – the priciest in the market – at 32 pounds ($NZ 7.62).

‘He deserves it,’ vendor Ahmed Ibrahim (23) said...

Ibrahim’s allegiance to bin Laden appeared to be at least somewhat in jest, however. He wore a shirt with the name of a US brand.

‘This is work,’ he said pointing at the dates. ‘This,’ he said of the shirt, ‘is my style’ (Otago Daily Times 2004, online).

If current globalisation is determined by American/Western economic capitalism, post-Fordism and postmodernism, then it is logical that it is, at least in part, the triumph of American/Western values spreading around the globe aided by their economic power and its urge to control the global capitalistic competition. Giddens (2000) agrees that the industrial countries have far more influence over world affairs, but that globalisation is only partly Westernisation as the process is not under the control of any group. There is certainly truth in the statement that ‘the West has driven the globalization agenda, ensuring that it garners a disproportionate share of the benefits, at the expense of the developing world’ (Stiglitz 2002, p. 7). Cultural globalisation could therefore be described as imperialism and neo-imperialism which benefits the Western world but not the majority of developing countries (Harindranath 2006).

Fukuyama (1998) believes that globalisation has to be Americanisation, because America is the most advanced capitalist society with the best human system possible. Therefore, its institutions and values are the logical progress of market forces in a world where liberal democracy marks the end of history, the pinnacle of organising human affairs that will triumph globally. This will lead to a homogenisation of culture and economy in the form of Americanisation/Westernisation. Such a form of cultural globalisation is basically biased and unequal, and environmentally destructive. It is now widely accepted that the global distribution of American consumption patterns would
destroy important global resources and possibly limit the capability of human beings to sustain their lives (e.g. climate change as a consequence of the use of fossil fuels) (e.g. Dasgupta and Kiely 2006; Crenson 2000).

Huntington (1993) agrees that the actual process of globalisation is determined by American and Western European values (Westernisation), but this penetration of the rest of the world by Western values is only superficial. The basic concepts of other civilisations are fundamentally different to the USA and Europe, which is why there is no universal civilisation but a world of different civilisations (Huntington 1993). Going even further, ongoing research, according to Gewald (2002), indicates that the homogenisation of the cultures of the world is not happening, but instead that the position of social arrangements must now be set up in relation to the dominant capitalist West (Waters 1995, 2001). The consequences are glocalised societies, where the local values are constructed to accommodate or refuse specific global values to ‘produce’ localised cultures. Anti-American sentiment in reaction to the invasion of Iraq provides a good example that cultural values are more fundamental than Westernisation, but it also shows that Iraq has to relate its social arrangements to the dominant capitalist West (e.g. the concept of human rights).

The extreme and therefore limited versions of Huntington’s clash of different civilisations and values and Fukuyama’s triumph of American liberal democracy and values fit nicely at the two opposite poles in Barber’s framework. In Barber’s (1992, 1996) view the world of globalisation is torn apart between the process of ‘Americanisation’ (Fukuyama) and ‘Lebanonisation’ (Huntington) of the world, between ‘McWorld’ and ‘Jihad’, between Disneyland and Babel. In more general terms, Barber (1992) sees the world clashing at two axial principles and values, namely tribalism and globalism. Palestine is a good example of such a clash, where ‘tribes’ (Hamas, Fatah, Israel) fight along the lines of tribalism and globalism (and religion). This both extremes are threatening democracy His solution is to develop localised democratic institutions without pre-fabricated ‘one-size-fits-all’ solutions that do not threaten developing nations while at the same time satisfying the Western drive for democratisation (Barber 1996). This would lead to hybrid cultures that consist of
global homogenous elements and institutions and locally specific ones, but with more democratic than fundamental values. Otherwise the world could be torn apart between Jihad and McWorld (see figure 2.3)

![Diagram showing the processes of globalisation as a process of hybridisation](image)

FIGURE 3.3 Huntington, Fukuyama and Barber on cultural globalisation as Americanisation

The processes of globalisation can thus be described as a process of hybridisation, where the local is set in relation to the global in a specific, localised way. It is not the homogenisation, radicalisation or Americanisation/Westernisation of the rest of the world, even if it sometimes appears to be.

Wolf (1982), for example, shows that the process of globalisation is not just a one-sided, Western model for the rest of the world. Instead, people in the so-called Third World or developing countries have a history that influences colonising nations, just as colonising nations influence them (e.g. Vietnamese restaurants in France). This hybridisation is nothing new, but its increased speed through globalisation leads to the hybridisation/glocalisation of already hybrid/glocalised cultures (Nederveen Pieterse 1995), often fostered by values transferred from Western capitalism into non-Western cultures, but also in the other direction. It is further accelerated by sociological (e.g. dramatic increase in international tourists) and technological developments (e.g. information technology and the speed and availability of information).
3.8 Socio-political globalisation: will everyone be the same?

In the old world you had to choose between left and right. In the new world you choose global and tribal – both/and rather than either/or (Naisbitt 1994, p. 48).

Today the organisation of societies in the global age is more contested than ever before as the ‘fences’ built around the organisation of other societies are ‘down’, leaving them open for comparison. However, there is great variation in the result of this growing social interconnectedness. While Fukuyama (1992) believes that this development will inevitably lead to the acceptance of liberal democracy as the best system of governing, Huntington (1993, 1996) argues that it will lead to the clash of civilizations. Barber (1992, 1996) tries to unite both arguments by outlining that governments will move in two different directions to different degrees at the same time – ‘the bloody politics of identity’ and ‘the bloodless economies of profit’.

Fukuyama’s (1992) argument is that human beings around the world have consented that liberal democracy is the system of government, having conquered other ideologies such as monarchy, fascism and communism. He believes it to be the final form of government, leading to the end of history. The result of the process of globalisation will be ‘One World’, where there will be no more conflict about the organisation of societies (Lechner and Boli 2000) – history has ended. Globalisation is the positive worldwide distribution of universally accepted ways of ‘doing’ things. However, at the moment, according to Fukuyama (1998), globalisation is still superficial, as trade is predominantly regional and governments and consumer markets remain national. American models of politics and values will homogenise the socio-political world in the future.

Huntington (1993, 1996) disagrees, describing civilisations, including their history, language, culture and tradition, as ‘basic’. He argues from a political perspective that fights between groups of differing civilisations are the most
dangerous aspect of the developing world politics (Huntington 1996). The dominating source of conflict is culture (Huntington 1993). Conflicts between civilisations are the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world after the conflicts between princes, nation-states and ideologies. Globalisation is therefore more an outcome of the evolution of human conflicts than anything else. Civilisations are cultural entities defined by common objective elements (e.g. language, religion) and subjective self-identification of people; consequently, the boundaries of civilisations and their composition change over time (Huntington 1993). Conflict between such civilisations has more emphasis in a world where, for example, interactions between them increase concurrently with a higher awareness of civilisation, awareness of differences and the growing separation of people from local identities (Huntington 1993). The concept of a universal civilisation, according to Huntington (1993) is wrong, because there will be many different civilisations needing to learn to coexist with the others, leading to glocalised Americanised/Westernised civilisations.

The arguments of Fukuyama and Huntington provide a basis for Barber's position (1992, 1996). He describes two opposite forces or scenarios as the leading principles that pull the world apart. His first scenario is called Jihad, describing the socio-political ‘retribalisation’ or ‘balkanisation’ of nation-states, where narrowly defined faiths rebel against every kind of interdependence (e.g. pop culture, integrated markets) (Barber 1996), often dividing countries. This first scenario is similar to Huntington’s clash of civilisations, as the tribal unit is a cultural unit or civilisation on a smaller scale than the civilisations Huntington writes about. There is ‘a sense of community, solidarity among kinsmen, neighbours and countrymen narrowly conceived’ that ‘guarantees parochialism and is grounded in exclusion’ (Barber 1992, p. 10). One of the fundamentals of civilisation, identity, is used by Barber (1996) to define Jihad as ‘the bloody politics of identity’, where all humans belong to some tribe. Such a statement sits well with Huntington’s clash of civilisations where identity becomes increasingly important (Huntington 1993).

The McWorld scenario closely connected with Westernisation goes in the direction of Fukuyama’s end of history. However, McWorld is more about the Americanisation of the world, the development of a global theme park (Barber
1996) than Fukuyama’s global triumph of liberal democracy (even if the American liberal democracy is arguably part of this Americanisation). The results, however, are the worldwide triumph of one form of ‘doing things’ or, as Barber (1996) puts it, McWorld pursues ‘the bloodless economies of profit’, where humans use consumption as a source and expression of their identity. Huntington (1993, 1996) is in agreement that Americanisation/Westernisation is occurring, but only at a superficial level, as Western cultural concepts differ significantly from those of other cultures. Many countries therefore opt to accept certain elements but reject others; they modernise, but they do not want to Westernise, thus leading to hybridisation. However, Klein (2002) argues that the economic fundamentalism of McWorld and the religious fundamentalism of Jihad are not the only possible worlds available, rather that there are numerous worlds, as human affairs are more complex than argued within and between these scenarios.

Overall, there is a strong argument for Barber’s (1996) idea that interrelated globalising and localising socio-political forces are active at the same locality and at the same time. It seems that many authors agree with this position, using terms such as glocalisation (Robertson 1995) or hybridisation (Nederveen-Pieterse 2000; see also, for example, Teo 2001, Sociologyonline 2002, Fukuyama 1998, Ohmae 1996). Furthermore, globalisation and localisation produce and need each other. The world is caught between both forces, which pull it with equal intensity in opposite directions ‘between Babel and Disneyland’ (Barber 1996, p. 4). The communality of these forces lies in their destructive energy to destroy the nation-state and its democratic institutions in favour of supra-national and sub-national institutions, as well as to decrease equality and justice.

Both scenarios, Jihad and McWorld, according to Barber (1992) are politically undemocratic. While Jihad points towards intolerant retbralisation, McWorld suggests uniformitarian globalism, but both need globalisation as ‘enemy’ or ‘friend’ to develop. McWorld needs globalisation to create, for example, a common language, a common currency and a common behaviour of consumers in their search for a common economic market. Democracy is thus not a
necessity in the global search for profits as nations lose parts of their sovereignty — for example, through man-made ecological disasters that make national boundaries obsolete, or through transnational companies that include nearly every public good and service in their transnational commerce. The most important task for a political system in the McWorld scenario is gaining access to markets and the provision of a stable political climate for commercial activities. Jihad, on the other hand, needs globalisation as a medium and is an enemy for local cultures, as most states are heterogenous, requiring a unifying 'other' to 'fight' against (Barber 1996). The forces of Jihad or the clash of civilisations (Huntington 1993, 1996), according to Barber (1996), will be very prominent in the short-term, but the forces of McWorld will be very prominent in the long-term leading to the slow, but unstoppable, world-wide spread of Western civilisation and the possible end of history (Barber 2002) (see figure 3.4).

**Scenario 1**
Jihad —> 'Retribalisation'/ 'balkanisation' —> Localisation

Globalisation = 'enemy' that unifies heterogenous groups = conflict between civilisations (Huntington)

**Scenario 2**
McWorld —> Americanisation/Westernisation —> Globalisation

Globalisation = 'friend' that helps to disperse American liberal democracy = 'One world with universally accepted political ideas and principles (Fukuyama)

**FIGURE 3.4** Socio-political organisation of society and globalisation
3.9 Technology – the force that keeps globalisation ‘moving’

Technological process has merely provided us with more efficient means for going backwards (Huxley 1932, cited in Roddick 2001, p. 41).

Human history is closely connected to innovations that helped to reduce human dependency from nature and to extend the limits of human existence. In recent human history, technological developments and innovations in particular have accelerated these processes. They opened up the world, assisted by, and assisting, globalisation. Technological change is therefore particularly important, because it is driving globalisation and capitalism (Barber 2002).

Huntington (1996) makes a case that technology is the basis of current globalisation. Western expansion was only possible as a consequence of the development of ocean navigation to reach distant people and the military capabilities to conquer them. New information technologies are an equivalent in modern times. They create one of the basic conditions for globalisation, namely to render national boundaries increasingly meaningless. The internet, for example, defies national regulation (Barber 2003) and globalises information access.

Technologically, the increased speed of globalisation is very much influenced by ‘the explosive development of information and telecommunications technology’ (German Bundestag 2002, p. 8). As economies move towards a knowledge economy, knowledge generation and information processing (Castells 1995, 2001) become very important. Van Lubbers and Koorevaar (1998) describe technological globalisation, mainly with reference to information and communication technology innovations, as one of the two prime movers of current globalisation (the other being ideology in the form of Americanisation). Technological globalisation had such an impact on mobility and communication that a social revolution and a shift from an industrial capitalism to a post-industrial conception of economic relations followed. Marcuse (2000), who has a Marxist background, follows a similar line, describing the present form of
globalisation as a combination of technological globalisation and the
globalisation of power. Advanced technology is thereby dominated by the West
and Japan. These countries try to sustain their position by minimising the
dissemination of advanced technologies.

Until the 1980s, globalisation depended very much on reduced transport and
communication costs. It relied on physical communication for the exchange of
ideas and capital. The time for and cost of global physical communication and
transport was thereby historically constantly reduced. The changes in the speed
of transportation following technological developments provide a good example
of the reduction of distance and time. From the 1500s when people travelled on
horse-drawn carriages with an average speed of 10 miles an hour (16 km/h) to
the 1960s when jets were transporting people with a speed of up to 700 miles
an hour (~1,100 km/h), the time needed to reach different places within and
outside one’s own country was dramatically reduced (Harvey 1989). In the last
25 years, the introduction of new information and communications technology
such as the internet made the physical transportation of information and people
less important for the distribution of ideas and capital. It has nearly erased the
limitations of space and time, for example virtually simultaneous handling of
financial transactions and price comparisons worldwide, globally interlinked
production and logistics and new ways of organising the division of labour in the
service sector (German Bundestag 2002).

Greater spatial communication and transport in constantly shortening
timespans, according to Huntington (1996), has led to a common culture in
some cases, mainly in Christian societies with higher level of interaction such as
New Zealand. Technological development is therefore forcing humans to
expand the definition of community, as individuals are capable of
communicating with an ever-widening range of people, establishing real and
virtual communities instead of earlier ties of physical proximity (Barber 2002).
This interaction also reinforces existing identities, and produces reaction,
confrontation and resistance in all civilisations (Huntington 1996).
However, it needs to be acknowledged that access to information and communication technology is very uneven: the German Bundestag (2002) wrote about a digital divide that becomes a social divide as the world is divided between those with access to information and knowledge and those without. Information, computer and digital technology, and the Net are by no means universal, as most of the world is still dominated by traditional media such as newspapers, radio or television (Barber 2002). It appears that the world is again separated along the lines the West plus newly (including some industrialised Asian countries such as Japan) and the rest, or as Huntington (1996) argues, along the lines of religious affiliation, for example Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, and Hindus.

Overall, technological developments were and are fundamental for the spread of ideas and the worldwide reduction of time and space distanciation, and therefore for globalisation, but they are closely connected with developments in other areas such as economy or culture. The changes from different technological innovations have different consequences for different groups and individuals, making it a different lived experience. Yet, whatever experience someone has, new technologies are one of the most consistent elements of globalisation and change in everyone’s life.
No issue is more pressing than the havoc we are wreaking on our planet. From cutting down the rainforest to selling off our water supplies to the highest bidder, polluting our atmosphere with exhaust fumes and contaminating our food with GMOs [genetically modified organisms], we are planting a time-bomb that will explode with catastrophic results. Be warned – we are already seeing the first signs (Roddick 2001, p. 7).

The current phase of globalisation, intimately linked with capitalism and resource exploitation to maximise profits, has dire environmental consequences. Global warming and climate change, for example, will alter flora and fauna. It also has the potential to disturb, or under extreme circumstances destroy, the natural basis of humanity. Other issues include extreme weather events, water shortages or desertification. In particular, industries such as tourism which depend on nature could experience troubled times without the introduction of more sustainable human production and consumption.

In May 2002, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) globally launched 22 industry reports at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development. The overall outcome concerning the relation between business and environment is damning of the industry: ‘There is a growing gap between the efforts of business and industry to reduce their impact on the environment and the worsening state of the planet’ (UNEP 2002, online). It is, however, not only production, but also global consumption and global human settlement patterns that lead to negative environmental consequences.

Crenson (2000), referring specifically to growing urbanisation and the spread of American consumption and pollution patterns around the world, asks whether humans are living in the time of ‘The End of Nature’, as growing urbanisation means that humans will lose contact to nature. In her scenario, nature is only preserved as relics like museums, to be visited during holiday times. Additionally, there are now only a few places (if any at all) that have not been
affected by human intervention; ‘our society lives at the end of nature’ (Giddens 2000, p. 45) In a different vein, von Weizaecker (1994) argues that the 21st century is the ‘Century of Ecology’, where humans will be pressured to act in accordance with preserving the environment. If human beings want to preserve the natural basics of life, global ecology must be considered before global economy and not the other way around (Scheer 2003).

Environmental impact as a consequence of the mobility and flow of people, capital and ideas, as well as the interconnectivity of all spheres of human and non-human life, is often neglected in the research on globalisation. The works of Huntington, Barber and Fukuyama, for example, only mention them as by-products of other globalisations (e.g. political globalisation) despite the fact that the environment provides the basis for all human activities. Gulf-Cooperation environmental experts believe that ‘Globalisation is irreparably damaging the environment, threatening the future survival of mankind itself’ (Gulf News 2003, online). There is therefore a strong argument to change the process of current globalisation, with its global distribution of American consumption patterns, to a less destructive process.

Discussion about environmental globalisation and associated worldwide environmental problems are emotional and therefore often not based on rational elements. On top of this, scientific research results are often inconclusive, as humans are just starting to detect the interconnectivity of the planet that characterised it from its early beginnings. This makes it difficult for everyone to evaluate the environmental state of the globe, leaving the ‘door open’ for neglecting or exaggerating the problems. The acceptance of a precautionary principle would be warranted.

Writers started in the 1960s to raise awareness of human-induced global environmental impacts (e.g. Carson 1962; Hardin 1968; Lovelock 1969; United Nations Conference on Environment 1972; US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) 1980). Some of the impacts are obvious, such as the spread of DDT around the globe; others are less obvious, such as the transfer of environmentally friendly technologies. In 1987, the UN World Commission on
Environment and Development, reporting on the status of the biosphere, raised awareness of the important notion of sustainable development as a necessary element of human development by releasing the so-called Brundtland Report on ‘Our Common Future’. This report triggered the Earth Summits in 1992 (Rio-92 Earth Summit) and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) (Rio +10 Summit in Johannesburg), the International Climate Change Convention and the ‘Agenda 21’ programmes (for more information see United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2003) in 2002 (The Brundtland City Energy Network 2004). These summits were a consequence of the growing visibility and awareness of global environmental problems as a result of human activity.

However, environmental globalisation impacts on many other areas. The German Bundestag (Deutscher Bundestag 2002) describes the main positive and negative environmental issues that develop from the general dynamic of globalisation:

- The worldwide generalisation of Western consumption patterns and industrial production leads to an increase in resource use that is not sustainable (e.g. water use) (see also Crenson 2000).
- Increased industrialisation and export orientation of agricultural production worldwide because of global goods exchange follows an intensification of agriculture, increase in water use and over-use of soil.
- In the wake of the international division of labour many developing countries have specialised their production and export on mineral and agricultural products with negative consequences for tropical and sub-tropical ecosystems (e.g. loss of biodiversity).
- Globalisation is characterised by its above average increase in traffic that is followed by an over-proportional increase in environmental damage because of traffic. This is particularly valid for air traffic (e.g. air transport emissions).
- On the positive side, globalisation accelerates the transfer of environmentally friendly technologies.
- The liberalisation of international trade helps to distribute relatively environmentally friendly products worldwide through imports or exports to countries with higher environmental standards.
- Globalisation accelerates the spread of knowledge, i.e. information about causes and consequences of environmental destruction and possibilities how to avoid them.
- International environmental laws to protect the environment are followed by national governments. This practical conversion would not have been possible without the opening-up of the nation-states.

Unfettered economic globalisation, according to Roddick (2001, p. 136), is ‘inherently destructive to the natural world because it requires that products travel thousands of miles around the planet, resulting in staggering environmental costs’. Ellwood (2001) adds that humans exploit the natural resources and generate more waste than the natural world can regenerate to heal itself. The most pressing issue for Ellwood (2001) is the disintegration of basic life-support systems as a consequence of over-exploitation in a global competitive capitalistic system, in particular the water cycle, the composition of the atmosphere, the assimilation of waste and recycling of nutrients, the pollination of crops and the delicate interplay of species.

Clearly, humans have to learn to live within limits (Greenpeace 2001), because they have used more of the world’s natural capital in the last 50 years than in all previous human history (Ellwood 2001). Globalisation is a vital element in making a worldwide cooperation possible. It can help to either reduce global problems or/and cause them. The problems that occur with globalisation in relation to the environment are therefore not new, but need urgent attention.

In the end, it is the local area where the negative or positive environmental consequences of human activity are felt most strongly. Greenpeace (2001) argues that strong international and social agreements are needed, as well as international solidarity to give people options to act at the local level so that actions can accrue largely local benefits (accordingly regional, national, global,
depending on the level of the benefits) (Stiglitz 2002). However, some of the global environmental problems need global actions.

One of the problems that needs global regulation and local action is climate change. Singer (2002) uses the impact of human activity on the atmosphere as an example of the need for human beings to act globally. The Montreal Protocol signed in 1985 to end the use of ozone layer threatening chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) was, after Singer (2002), just the start to other, more important global environmental events like climate change and global warming. Scientists have for example very little knowledge about the distribution of the effects of global warming, making global warming ‘the big wild card’ in the future of human existence (Crenson 2000). However, scientists have collected evidence that human influences are changing the Earth’s climate with particularly intense impact on the Arctic Circle (Otago Daily Times 2004b). Impacts include shrinking ice caps that could raise global sea levels by about 10cm by 2100 (and reduce the reflection of earth-warming sun rays, thus heating up the oceans), extinction and reduction of species or the threatening and/or disruption of some indigenous cultures (Otago Daily Times 2004c).

Acting globally is therefore not a question but a necessity in the question of global environmental issues such as global warming and its consequences, despite regional differences with some regions more affected than others and changes difficult to predict (Singer 2002). Human action needs to change from being a homo technologicus, who believes in technological solutions for problems, to a that of a homo ecologicus, who solves problems within sustainable boundaries (Tamames 2000, uses both terms in reference to population growth). Even though a variety of the environmental problems are global in reach, their consequences are felt differently in localities. The local remains the space where life is lived. Localisation is therefore as important as globalisation for finding local solutions for globally induced problems.
3.11 Localisation

Tourism centres are in fact intercultural laboratories (Keller 2002, p. 12).

The term 'localisation' occurs regularly in the previous discussion on globalisation. Williams (2005) believes that globalisation and localisation (and production and consumption) cannot be separated. Localisation is as important for industries and human beings as globalisation, especially in an industry like tourism, which is built around global Western standards and local exotic or special attractions and cultures. As a consequence of tourism, more people (e.g. tourists, tourist receiving residents) are involved with more than one culture than ever before. Tourists therefore search for global standardised infrastructure and products and locally anchored specific cultures and their products as attractions. Tourist receiving residents 'use' tourism to reconstitute their local identity within a globalising context (e.g. Featherstone 1990).

Shipman (2002) describes localisation as being dialectic to globalisation, a similar position to Waters (2001, p. XIII), who defines the relationship as being 'Janus-faced aspects of the same process'. It is questionable as to whether both processes are opposites or composites. Appadurai (1996), for example, believes that globalisation and localism cannibalise on each other without the elimination of either, which is similar to the argument of Williams (2004, p. 296) that '... globalisation and localisation cannot be separated'. As a consequence, localisation is hard to define as it can be described in various ways (see for example Massey 1991; Appadurai 1996; Murray 2006; as well as literature on tourism and changing places, e.g. Gilbert and Litt 1939; Gilbert 1949; Butler 1980; Shaw and Williams 2004; Williams 2004). Parkins (2000, pp. 1-3), for example, defines it as the use of 'varied solutions suited to local needs' and local self-sufficiency without neglecting international trade, using a model of sustainable development fair trade instead of neo-liberal free trade. It is 'discriminating in terms of the local' (Hines 2000, p. 27), by using local resources of particular places in coordination with networking and local organisations (Cawley, Gaffey and Gilmor 2002). Localisation is thereby not a
static, unidirectional process, but rather a dynamic, complex process (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt and Watts 2000). Even large cooperations such as McDonald’s tried to localise their products by offering a Maharajah Mac and other vegetarian items in India when faced with local opposition to their global products (Srinivas 2002). The relationship between the local and the global is constantly negotiated at the local level, because the global ‘lives’ within the local and the local within the global (Massey 1991, cited in Johnston et al. 2000) ‘The global is constructed from local action – and when we refer to the global process we are usually describing local-to-local flows that have become stretched across space to become global in extent’ (Murray 2006, p. 49). Whatever is happening in politics, culture, economic, environment and technology is therefore locally grounded and fixed in space (Dicken 1998). The process of the interplay between these two forces is called by different names, such as hybridisation (Nederveen-Pieterse 2000), glocalisation (Swyngedouw 1997; Cawley, Gaffey and Gilmor 2002) or the universalisation of particularism (Robertson 1992). Gibson-Graham (2002, cited in Murray 2006, p. 56) argues that there are six ways of conceptualising the interaction between the global and local:

1. They do not exist, they are only frames.
2. They get meaning from what they are not, or opposites.
3. They are different points of view concerning social networks.
4. All global things have local expressions – the global is the local.
5. The global interacts with the surface at the local, the local is the global.
6. The global is constituted by the local and vice versa – all spaces are glocal.

It is argued that all spaces are composed of global and local forces ‘communicating’ with each other. In this sense, the process of globalisation is ‘contested and resisted, or welcomed and fostered in specific local sites’ (Bartlett, Evans and Rowan 1997, p. 3). It has lead to an increasing diversification of livelihoods (de Haan and Zoomers 2003). Today, the boundaries of what is local and what is global are blurred (Evans 1997), making it necessary to construct local identity through what could be termed localisation.
Localisation 'implies a reflexive reconstruction of community in the face of dehumanizing implications of rationalizing and commodifying' (Waters 2001, p. 5). This definition, despite focusing on localisation as a consequence of the development of capitalism, includes two important points. Firstly, it argues that a community is reconstructed as a reaction of a specific local place to the global forces working at it and, secondly, that these reactions of communities reaffirm their identities. The global is undoubtedly interwoven with the local environment and local communities, producing unique results in specific locations (Teo and Lim 2003). This argument is extended by Bush, Moffatt and Dunn (2002) writing about global-local environmental issues in north-east England. Their research results suggest that global issues in all communities are contextualised within the local, and that the local context, including local history, experience, local knowledge and everyday existence, is of utmost importance in the construction and negotiation of meaning (in this case associated with the environment) within communities. Hannerz (1990, p. 237) argues that there is a world culture that 'is created through the increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, as well as through the development of cultures without a clear anchorage in any one territory'. This creates a variety of intersecting mobilities that produce 'networked' patterns of social and economic life (Centre for Mobilities Research 2009) of which tourism remains a valid recipient and contributor. The often cited McDonaldisation (or McDisneyfication in the case of tourism), is therefore only partly true, as globalisation is indeed a force that leads to cultural homogenisation, but at the same time to cultural heterogenisation (Robertson 1997).

Globalisation is changing places (Williams 2004). In the case of tourism, it prepares spaces to be marketed and sold to Western audiences who search for a mix of familiar (global) and unfamiliar (local) tourism products (to different degrees). Cultural diversity or the unfamiliar is in the interest of the tourism industry as it provides one of the main attractions for visitation, even if it could mean to museumise 'living' cultures. Today, most tourists could be described as spectators, who are part of those benefiting from the strictly regulated mobility of globalisation for whom travel is ideally home plus whatever is the purpose of their trip (e.g. home plus sun, home plus elephant and lions) (Hannerz 1990).
Globalisation in tourism is an unequal process that gives access to or invades other cultures (Evans 1997). Localisation seems one logical consequence of this. The forces of homogenisation and universalisation are countered with numerous local expressions of distinction (Young 2002) or localisation and differentiation (Bornmann 2003).
3.12 Overview over approaches to globalisation

Globalization is the most fashionable word of the 1990s, so portentous and wonderfully patient as to puzzle Alice in Wonderland and thrill the Red Queen because it means precisely whatever the user says it means (Barnet and Cavanagh 1994, p. 14).

The approaches to globalisation in the literature are varied, for example Huntington, Fukuyama and Barber. As multilayered, overlapping processes in culture, politics, environment, economy and technology, the term globalisation attracts a wide range of opinions. Theoretical approaches to globalisation, however, can be organised around the perspective of its main features. Those perspectives provide a range of possible approaches. Particularly prominent are models developed by and with the sociologist David Held.

In 1999, Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton published their ideas on different schools of globalisation (see also Bae-Gyoon 2001): the hyperglobalist school, the transformationalist/internationalist school, and the sceptical school. Held, building on his previous work with McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton (1999), extended these into three slightly different positions in 2000 – globalism, traditionalism and transformalism. The works of Fukuyama (globalist), Huntington (traditionalist) and Barber (transformalist/internationalist) are located at the three different positions.

In general, the approaches differ in terms of how much social relations were stretched, flows intensified and global interactions increased, as well as in terms of how far there was a development of a global infrastructure and networks (Held 2000). The main focus is on the changes in the importance of the nation-state and its boundaries. Held (2000) argues that cultural, economic and political processes are stretched beyond the nation-state, thereby creating growing trans-regional interconnectedness (stretched social relations), while flows have intensified to a point that there are social spaces that are distinct from territorial spaces (intensification of flows). Additionally, there is a dramatic
shift in the way humans interact, as distant cultures and societies are coming into contact at local levels leading to increasing cultural diversification and increasing potential velocity of the global diffusion of ideas, goods, information, capital and people (increased global interactions). As a consequence of the growing interconnectedness, systems of regulation and control that regulate outside the boundaries of nation-states need to be created (e.g. the UN) to provide a basic infrastructure for governing the global system (development of global infrastructure and networks) (Held 2000; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton 1999). The general approaches outlined by Held (2000) can be organised along these features:

1. Globalists make the case that nation states are subject to enormous economic and political processes of change that erode and fragment nation-states up to the point where they are no longer decision makers, but decision takers. While positive globalisers see this as a positive development towards a global village, pessimistic globalisers believe that globalisation means the triumph of western values and the capitalist mode of production. Both agree that globalisation is inevitable (hyperglobalist school).

2. Transformationalists/internationalists agree with the globalists that globalisation is creating new economic, political and social circumstances that transform state powers up to a point where politics are no longer based on nation-states. However, the outcome of this process is described as uncertain (transformationalist school).

3. Traditionalists also agree that recent times saw changes such as the intensification of international and social activity. However, these global circumstances are not new. Instead of reducing the power of nation-states, the process increases its power as nation-states create new institutions to react to global challenges (sceptical school).

It is argued that the transformalist/internationalist viewpoint is the most logical position in the current globalisation debate. Within this viewpoint, four main
features can be described in relation to the consequences of globalisation: stretched social relations, intensification of flows, increasing global interaction and the development of a global infrastructure and networks.
3.13 Conclusion

The different ideas about globalisation as a term, a process and its history are widely contested. It is, for example, unclear if the globalisation of the economy overarches the globalisation of culture, politics, technology and environment. There are also other place-specific forces impacting on a specific location, creating specific outcomes on this global-local nexus. Globalisation does not necessarily result in an all-encompassing final state, but rather individual countries, regions and localities interact ‘with the larger-scale general processes of change to produce quite specific outcomes’ (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt and Watts 2000, p. 316).

Organisationally, the process can be looked at as a historical epoch, an economic phenomenon, a triumph of American/Western values, a socio-political and technological revolution and an environmental event. In any case, processes in all these different globalisation areas overlap with one another to create place-specific globalisation results. The works of Huntington, Barber and Fukuyama exemplify the spectrum of opinion of what globalisation could mean. It ranges from the end of history and the triumph of Western capitalism (Fukuyama) to the clash between civilisations (Huntington).

The history of globalisation shows that it is not a new phenomenon: it started with the first humans that moved from one place to another, setting into motion the spread of ideas and capital. Spatial and temporal mobility of people and ideas should therefore provide the basis for a definition of globalisation. The time-specific globalisation development is exemplified by the globalisation processes since the arrival of the idea of nation-state societies and capitalism, where boundaries played a more important role than in earlier human history, making it easier to fix expansion in space. However, the globalisation process has now reached a stage where it reduces the influence of nation-states and disorganises nation-state driven capitalism. This is for example expressed in the decline of state-controlled welfare or the growth of the world-market. Such events, combined with the modifications in the production system from Ford to
post-Fordist, changed and will change the human living environment, including consumption patterns such as tourism consumption.

Therefore, globalisation is a process that is difficult to define. Its meanings can be arranged on a continuum ranging from a globalist position to a transformational position, to a traditionalist position. All three positions have subsequent consequences for local, regional, national and global cultures, economies and politics, overlapping with the environment. Thus, the current globalisation process is no more than one step in the overall globalisation process that has particular consequences for economy, culture, politics, technology and environment at specific locations. It is played out at the local level, where it stretches social relations, intensifies flows, increases global interaction and is part of the development of a global infrastructure and networks.

Research into globalisation and localisation could focus on one of the main agents of these processes such as tourism. The large-scale movement of tourists in particular international tourists, impacts on the way of life of hosts and guests. It changes their economies, alters the view and value of the environment, is facilitated by technology and specific political decisions as well increasing global integration and interconnectedness. Tourism works as a local-global ‘transmission belt’ (Lanfant, Allcock and Brunner 1995). Cohen and Kennedy (2000, p. 214) even argue ‘that tourism may also exercise a cumulative effect that is considerably greater than any other single agent of globalization’.

The term globalisation itself is a creation of the 1980s with no agreed historical starting point. The invention of the term coincides with the rise of a particular form of globalisation determined by economic globalisation, lead by the United States and Western Europe and their form of capitalism, which is often wrongly described as overarching all the other globalisation elements mentioned above.

Capitalism, as the main driver of globalisation since its start in the 15th century, directed Western imperialistic expansion and growing global economic, socio-
cultural, political and technological interconnectedness. Lash and Urry (1987) analyse recent changes in capitalism arguing that humans in Western countries entered the phase of disorganised capitalism with post-modernism and post-Fordism as two of its main characteristics, leading to changes in capitalistic production and consumption. Disorganised capitalism has therefore the United States and Western Europe (and their ideologies) as the principal leaders.

The forces of technology are said to be the ‘movers’ of globalisation, in the same way as imperialism was the ‘mover’ in earlier days. It compresses space and time to an extent that they are rapidly losing in importance. Technology is also believed to be the decisive factor in ‘saving’ the world of capitalism and globalisation from collapse due to the over-exploitation of global resources such as water and air. This over-exploitation of resources could have dire consequences. Global environmental destruction (and its awareness) will therefore be the ‘mover’ of globalisation in the future, because of the environmental consequences of capitalism and its global distribution. It will force the human race to accept global environmental dangers and act globally and locally to save the planet earth.

In summary, it can be said that the process of globalisation as a contested human concept is historically as old as humans moving around the world. It is closely connected to the process of localisation as the local is the place where the global is felt. What is new is the loss of importance of time and space in the global transfer of ideas and capital to localities.

**Working definition of globalisation:**
Globalisation is the process that follows the mobility of people, ideas and capital through space and time. It therefore started with the first human movements and is a continuing process in which humans, ideas and capital compete with each other at local, regional, national, international and global levels (and possibly space). It is unclear if the processes are reversible or irreversible. Key concepts are the stretching of social relations, the intensification of flows, increasing global interaction and the development of a global infrastructure. Globalisation and localisation complement each other. Globalisation therefore impacts upon all spheres of human life, including economy, culture, politics, technology and environment, globalising these spheres to different degrees in different locations at different times. It creates place-specific global interconnectedness and a global interconnectedness in general in all those spheres (glocalisation/hybridisation).
CHAPTER 4: THE MEETING OF TWO FRIENDS?
GLOBALISATION AND TOURISM

... a global approach to what is actually a very complex system [tourism].
A complex approach to a real, complex system which interacts with all
the other systems making up the reality of a society or nation (Sessa

The movement of people, including migration and tourism, is ‘the motor of
history’ (Huntington 1996, p. 198). Tourism, especially international tourism, is
very much connected with globalisation and localisation as historical processes.
These processes overlap and influence each other. In particular, on the demand
side, the relationship between international tourism and globalisation, especially
mobility (Hall and Williams 2002), is unequal. Mobility is geared towards tourists
from selected countries (e.g. West, America, Japan), but excludes immigrants
or vagabonds (e.g. the rest of Africa, parts of Asia, Latin America) (Bauman
1998). At the moment, only every sixth person in the world can afford holidays
and leisure, mainly in the richest countries of Europe, North America, Asia
(Taiwan, Japan), Australia and New Zealand (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003).
This fact does not identify tourism demand as a globalised demand.
Nevertheless, there are now more people on the move than ever before,
producing a global (mainly Western) touristic leisure culture (Rigassi 2000), with
the potential to foster international understanding, while at the same time
damaging local cultures by commodifying them for tourist consumption (George
2005). Globalisation made nearly every corner of the world accessible for those
selected tourists, justifying the argument of a globalised supply in tourism.
Tourism therefore ‘sits’ right at the global-local-nexus.

This chapter deals with the relationship between globalisation, localisation and
tourism, especially international tourism. It will start with the strong historical
connection between them, before moving on to provide a brief definition of
tourism and tourist. This basic definition gives the background for the
consequent section that provides general trends impacting on tourism, as well as describing the relationship between globalisation, localisation and tourism in relation to technology, politics, socio-culture, economy, and the destination.
4.1 Historical relations between tourism and globalisation

A drive to widen one's knowledge of the world characterizes much travel activity from the early modern discoveries (Berghoff, Korte, Schneider and Harvie 2002, p. 4).

The definition of tourism is as contested as the definition of globalisation. Mowforth and Munt (1998, p. 5) point out that the 'meanings attached to it [tourism] are many and varied, and “tourism” and “tourist” have in some quarters become derided and ridiculed'. The consequence is a still-growing number of definitions emerging from the literature (see for example Sharpley 1994; Hall 2003; Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Tourism in its present form is a relatively new event connected with the development of modern capitalism, even when its origins go far back. But researchers in tourism have to be aware of its past in order to understand the present (Leiper 2003) as it can ‘only be from the past that we learn to live in the present’ (Inglis 2000, p. 2).

Travelling in general is part of human culture since its beginnings. Leiper (2003) argues that all human lives were nomadic for a long period in early human history, frequently involving routine travel and thereby contributing to the distribution of ideas. Tourism came later, but was and is one of the accelerating powers of growing worldwide interdependence since antiquity (Rigassi 2000). It can at least be traced back to the Old Testament (Young 1973) or the Romans (Perottet 2002; Feifer 1986).

Consequently, travellers in the 20th century are the latest phase of evolvement (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Casson (1994) provides a very good overview of the ancient history of tourism in his book Travel in the ancient world in which he acknowledges that our knowledge of antiquity (including travel) is quite imperfect. He argues that tourism started in the ancient world at around 3000BC, flourishing particularly in Roman times (Casson 1994; see also Holloway 1998). Weaver and Lawton (2002) agree with the start of pre-modern tourism in Mesopotamia around 3000BC, where the development of agriculture
changed the social structure from hunter and gatherers society to an agricultural society with permanent settlements, as well as the development of money in trade, the inventions of cuneiform writing and the wheel (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). It was followed by tourism in Egypt, where cruises on the Nile were conducted as far back as 5000 years ago (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Ancient Egyptian tourists were also the first to leave known evidence of their pleasure travel by carving inscriptions into a pyramid (Weaver and Lawton 2003), describing, for example, the acquisition of souvenirs from their travels (Casson 1994), possibly influencing (internationalising) the tourist's culture at home.

The Egyptians were followed by the ancient Greeks, whereby the Olympic Games, which started in 776BC (Page, S. J. 2003), are certainly one of the most well-known event inventions of the time. The main reason for tourism and travelling becoming more widespread amongst the elite in Greece include the endorsement of the concept of leisure (Page, S. J. 2003), the calling of a sacred truth during major festivals (Weaver and Lawton 2003; Casson 1994) and the ease of the use of the waterways for travel and trade due to the location of the main cities along the coast (Casson 1994). It certainly increased the cultural exchange of ideas between cultures. Travel, nevertheless, was still dangerous, difficult and strenuous.

All of this changed with the arrival of the Romans as the major power in Europe, the fringes of northern Africa and parts of Asia. The Romans were the first to create the conditions to allow international travel to become important (Holloway 1998). They 'achieved' a level of tourist activity that was not reached again for 1500 years (Weaver and Lawton 2003). Perrottet (2002) even believes that the Roman Empire is therefore the starting point of tourism. The Roman Empire provided political stability, infrastructure and facilities that encouraged the prosperous middle class to travel for leisure and business (Page, S. J. 2003). This situation drastically enhanced the distribution of ideas, capital and people between the different parts of the Roman Empire, and possibly beyond.

Overall, the Roman Empire created conditions that were favourable for travel and tourism, be it for pleasure or business. It also had profound impacts on the
lives of people living within its frontiers and in the bordering areas as a consequence of the cultural exchange. However, when the Roman Empire started to disintegrate in the fourth and fifth centuries, travel and tourism entered the 'Middle Ages', or 'Dark Ages', and feudalism. The travel infrastructure deteriorated, the safety of travel was lost, urban areas declined and the size of the elite class decreased (Weaver and Lawton 2003). To travel between 500 AD and 1450 AD was dangerous and only very adventurous people travelled (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Nevertheless, there were some forms of travel, such as: for festivals and events derived from the activities of the aristocracy and knights (Page, S. J. 2003); Christian pilgrimage as a consequence of the rise of Christianity; the Crusades; business travel; and travel from a sense of obligation (Holloway 1998).

Weaver and Lawton (2003; see also Goeldner and Ritchie 2003) describe the time around 1450 AD as the start of early modern tourism in Europe (Weaver and Lawton 2003; Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Early modern tourism was helped by the experience of the crusades and impacted upon by the great explorations. At that time the balance of power started to shift to continental Europe (Weaver and Lawton 2003) and its new economic system capitalism. This was a consequence of technological developments in Europe, in particular in ocean navigation, superior European military capabilities to conquer discovered lands and their people (Huntington 1996) and the capitalistic drive of Europe to find cheap resources and labour. On the other hand, the Reformation after 1500 AD lead to a decrease of the value of leisure in order to increase the profitability of the economy and a change in the general work ethic that was needed to foster capitalistic ideas. From then, travellers were from the upper classes. This trend continued with the introduction of a noble form of tourism (Page, S. J. 2003), the Grand Tour between the 16th to early 17th centuries and the 18th century.

The Grand Tour was a circuit mainly around key European destinations to pursue culture and education. It was restricted to the wealthy and privileged classes (Page, S. J. 2003) who travelled with a tutor for up to three years or more (Holloway 1998). However, apart from being educational, the Grand Tour
also helped to make important social and business connections amongst the European aristocracy. Furthermore, it facilitated the development of sightseeing facilities and impacted on social structures, as tourists brought back different European ideas and goods as presents and souvenirs (Weaver and Lawton 2003), thereby influencing local fashions and tastes (Page, S. J. 2003).

It was in the late 18th/early 19th century that new middle classes, lead by the European merchants, joined the aristocracy (Davidson 1998). Around that time pleasure travel started to displace educational tours (Holloway 1998). By then, spas were rediscovered and (later) seaside and Alpine resorts (Davidson 1998) developed all over Europe and the United Kingdom to serve the rich, in particular the monarchs (Holloway 1998). The growth of visitor numbers was closely linked to improvements in transportation and roads as well as the expansion of coach services that linked the resorts with a bigger market (Page, S. J. 2003). The seaside was also actively marketed by municipal and private authorities (Williams 2003).

Alpine tourism and sea bathing also experienced increased importance. ‘Coastal scenery, like mountains, was not seen with any great enthusiasm before the eighteenth century’ (Towner 1996, p. 169). This changed, however, with the publication of books about the curing effects of saltwater (e.g. Dr. Russell in 1752 in England), the popularisation of sea bathing by Royal patronage, and the combination of health, pleasure and fashion in connection with a wide range of social and ancillary services in the resorts to meet tourist demands (Page, S. J. 2003). Consequently, seaside resorts appeared first in England (and later in the United States, France and Germany) and were well established by 1800 (Williams 2003). In the second half of the 19th century they were made accessible for the urbanised working classes (Williams 2003) through the connection between urban centres and seaside resorts by steamship and (later) railway links using newly introduced steam engines (Towner 1996; Davidson 1998). Another transport invention around that time, the bicycle, in combination with a new enthusiasm for a healthy outdoor life, also helped the development of tourism.
In general, the tourism infrastructure was greatly improved in the 19th century. Firstly, there were the above mentioned improved transportation modes combined with increasing disposable income and time, creating a demand, followed by the development of appropriate travel facilities and an improvement in public health standards (Holloway 1998). Inventions such as the telegraph also had a substantial impact (Weaver and Lawton 2003) by increasing the communication (particularly the speed of it) between travellers and home and vice versa. Secondly, there was a change in the purpose of excursions from spiritual to sightseeing and pleasure (Weaver and Lawton 2003). Moreover, the level of urbanisation and industrialisation made workers more appreciative of the rural environment and leisure, encouraging people to holiday there. Thirdly, the colonial empires made a wide range of destinations available (Page, S. J. 2003), border checks easier and introduced Western style administration into the colonies. Fourthly, Thomas Cook introduced package tours and traveller checks after 1842 (Leiper 2003), thereby taking away the problems of planning a trip and having to take enough crime-attracting money to last for the appropriate time. Furthermore, photography, an invention of the mid-19th century prompted travellers to 'collect' images and share them with friends, as well as the production of postcards. This in combination with increasing number of guidebooks (e.g. Baedeker) helped tourists to travel (Holloway 1998) and to recollect the gaze once at home. All these developments are part of the current economic globalisation process brought about by changes in capitalistic production and consumption, demand and supply.

Tourism growth was mainly due to improved transport and communication technologies and their distribution around Europe and its colonies as well as changing living conditions in Europe. However, the period between 1880 and 1950 saw two major economic depressions (1890s, 1930s) and two major wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), thus reducing international tourism demand in particular and, to a lesser extent, domestic tourism (Weaver and Lawton 2003). The period of 'early modern tourism' (1500-1950) was subsequently characterised by an uneven development. Inglis (2000, p. 94) summarises the framework in which tourism happened in the 20th century as a story of three systems of technology and symbolism:
1. The technology developed in the two World Wars, and later used for tourism as well as the political economy of war, made capitalism thrive.

2. The 'symbol system of the century, money'.

3. Modern communication beginning 'with the train and the telegraph; enhanced by the bicycle and the telephone', then railways, roads and automobile and the passenger aircraft.

These three developments had a particularly strong influence on globalisation and tourism after the end of the Second World War in the highly industrialised countries. Weaver and Lawton (2003) describe the new tourism era since the 1950s as contemporary modern tourism, with which Stephen J. Page (2003) agrees with respect to international tourism. It started with further growth in income and leisure time as well as increased opportunities for international travel (Page, S. J. 2003) in the Western world that continue until the present day.

Additionally, aircrafts were adopted as a way of mass transporting people (Davidson 1998) using the surplus and the technology of aircraft built during the Second World War (Holloway 1998). Jet airliners were introduced in the 1950s (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003) which made flying more comfortable, safer and faster. Accordingly, the introduction of the Boeing 707 in 1958 symbolises the start of mass air travel and the (temporary) end of the great ocean liners (Holloway 1998). Rising living standards also allowed many more people to buy their own car, whereby surplus and factory capacities from the Second World War were again used to produce and supply them. Domestic trips by car became common in the Western world. The continuing age of mass tourism had begun.

In the 1960s and 1970s tourism expanded widely amongst all classes and members of society in the West because of various political, economic, technological and socio-environmental changes resulting in growing global interconnectedness. Continuing technological improvements, especially the
introduction of the Boeing 747 in 1970 as the first wide-body jet capable of carrying over 400 passengers reduced the unit cost per seat, making long-haul trips cheaper and more affordable for the masses. Moreover, the growing provision of information, especially through television and the internet, but also in guidebooks and newspapers, made more detailed information about a destination accessible and available (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003).

Politically, the liberalisation of air transport regulations worldwide, growing government involvement in the promotion of tourism, consumer protection and regulation of the industry in conjunction with relative stable global political and economical conditions helped the industry to develop very fast (e.g. Holloway 1998). Governments continued to be involved in the provision of the basic tourism infrastructure, for example improved road networks, airports (Hall 2000). Consequently, tourism became of growing political and economical importance (e.g. contribution to GDP, balance of payments).

There was also growing awareness of the impact of tourism. Environmental impacts led to various government responses in different countries, ranging from strong control to laissez-faire policies (or non-policies), but also to the inclusion of tourism as a factor in international agreements (e.g. the Kyoto Protocol) and the need to tackle some problems on a global basis (e.g. aircraft pollution) (World Tourism Organisation 1997; Goeldner and Ritchie 2003; Page, S. J. 2003; Petermann 1999).

On the supply side, changes like the development of increasingly cheaper package tours and all-inclusive tours, the ongoing introduction of new destinations (e.g. Australia, New Zealand, Asia) and new forms of holiday accommodation (e.g. timeshare, self-catering) as well as innovations by tour operators (e.g. marketing efforts in the form of holiday brochures) modified the tourism industry. This was facilitated by a move away from mass tourism towards specialised holidays, with both existing congruently at present since the latter part of the 20th century. Additionally, growing global business and social interconnections increased the importance of business travel and Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) travel (e.g. migrants) (Petermann 1999).
Socio-cultural change included a movement to the sun, from the North to the South, especially in industrialised countries. The tourism industry benefited from this development due to the fact that southern countries were mostly less developed, therefore providing low-cost opportunities for construction of a tourism industry. Moreover, socio-cultural changes in the West such as rising living standards, increased holiday entitlements and holiday pay made second holidays possible and increased car ownership (with a consequent decrease in the use of bus and railway). This increased the travel probability dramatically (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003; Page, S. J. 2003; Leiper 2003; Inglis 2000; Holloway 1998; Davidson 1998).

Tourism mobility, touristic modes of transport, motivations to travel and tourism participation evolved over a long period of time, starting in antiquity. It is constantly changing and evolving. More recently, it can be connected with the event and evolution of capitalism and economic globalisation. Table 4.1 gives an indication of how these elements changed and could change in the future. It is therefore clear how technology influenced the mode of transport and the mobility of travellers, while motivations were and are greatly influenced by economical, socio-political and cultural developments.
### TABLE 4.1 Growth factors in the evolution of Western tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Era</th>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Mobility</th>
<th>Mode of transport</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Start of human mobility</td>
<td>Food gathering</td>
<td>No travellers</td>
<td>Limited spatial movement</td>
<td>On foot</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000 BC (Mesopotamia)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Very few travellers; wealthy? Limited knowledge</td>
<td>Slow but improving - invention of wheel and development of non-nomadic agricultural society</td>
<td>On foot, horse, boat (Nile cruises in Egypt)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-industrial (e.g. Greek, Romans, crusaders)</td>
<td>Exploration and business Pilgrimage/religion Festivals and events (e.g. Olympic Games since 776 BC) Education Health</td>
<td>Few travellers; those involved were wealthy, influential or received permission; dangerous in Middle Ages (500-1450 AD)</td>
<td>Slow and treacherous</td>
<td>On foot, horse, ship, coach, train (domestic), steamship (abroad) (Antiquity-1800)</td>
<td>Business people, sportspeople, pilgrims, sick people, warriors, students, officials, craftsmen, nobility (up to 18th century) members of the new middle class (citizens), poets, writers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>Positive impact of education (e.g. Grand Tour) Print and radio provide information about countries Escape from city Colonial empires ease travel to exotic places</td>
<td>Higher incomes More leisure time Organised tours</td>
<td>Lower transport costs Reliable public transport</td>
<td>Train, car, bus, ship, on horse, on foot (19th century)</td>
<td>Workers, craftsmen, citizens, upperclass, nobility, business people, group travellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer society</td>
<td>Positive impact of visual communication Consumer society Escape from work routine Growing social and economic importance</td>
<td>Shorter working week More discretionary income Mass marketing Package tours</td>
<td>Growth of personal transport Faster and more efficient transport</td>
<td>Car, airplane (scheduled flights, &gt;1946 charter flights), bicycle, motorbike, bus, ship, train (high speed) (20th century)</td>
<td>All classes of society industrialised countries, as individual travellers, package tour traveller, business traveller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Vacation as a right and necessity Combined with business and learning</td>
<td>Self-catering Smaller families Two wage earners per household Demographic trends favour travel groups</td>
<td>Alternative fuels More efficient transport Greater use of public transport and package deals</td>
<td>Fuel-cell car, hypersonic airplanes, bicycle, motorbike, bus, ship, train (high speed), extra-orbital airplanes, computer (virtual travel) (21st century)</td>
<td>The great majority everywhere?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Change, it could be argued, is a companion of human beings all through history; however, the speed of this change is increasing, not only in tourism (Holloway 1998), but also in other areas of human existence. The changes have lead to an increased mobility that Inglis (2000, p. 95) calls 'the industrialisation of mobility', with vacationing as 'a way of keeping up cultural continuity, of reassuring yourself of the familiarity of things, the safety of places, the friendliness of sun and sea'. Tourism within the framework of changes through globalisation and increased mobility is giving people stability within their own culture by reassuring of its difference to other cultures (Inglis 2000). On the other hand, it could be argued that tourism is helping to distribute the Western consumer lifestyle around the world as an agent of Westernisation, or a new form of imperialism (Perkins 2000) as the majority of tourists is still from Western countries. Whichever way one looks at it, tourism is now a global industry with all the attached consequences.

Currently, the globalised tourism industry gives access to most countries across the globe for groups and peoples of non-residents, therefore making it a strong agent of change, especially cultural change. Generally, tourism expanded into a global tourism because of the development of the travel industry (e.g. package tours, marketing strategies), the impact of technology (e.g. in transport, information technology), the impact of economic and political convergence (e.g. political and economic stability) and lifestyle changes (e.g. development leisure lifestyle with multiple holidays, growing interest in healthy lifestyle) (Williams 2003). This expansion into a global industry makes tourism an important agent of globalisation. However, as it is the case with globalisation, tourism and the perception of its history is predominantly a Western-controlled activity.

Sofield (1998, 2003), for example, argues that virtually all writings about the history of tourism are euro-centric, overlooking that the emperors of China had ministers for travel as long as 4000 years ago. In agreement, Towner (1995) points out that the typical view of tourism's history is through the eyes of Western cultural experience. The history of tourism is therefore socially and geographically hierarchical (Towner 1995), spreading from the upper to the lower classes and from the Western Europe and Britain to the 'pleasure
peripheries’ (Turner and Ash 1975). The conventional tourism image is therefore a ‘colonial’ view without knowledge of the leisure history in cultures such as China, India or Japan, or localised or ordinary travel experiences that involved less time and expenditure (Towner 1995). In defence, Dewar (2003) argues that the history of tourism needs to be euro-centric, as early European travellers left notes, letters or diaries, while many other societies that travelled did not. Consequently, statements about non-Western tourism are generally speculative.

Whichever way someone looks at the history of tourism, international tourism in the modern sense did not develop until the 19th century and mass international tourism not until the middle of the 20th century (Weaver and Lawton 2006). Mass international tourism as a phenomenon of human culture is therefore relatively new. Its development started in the 1950s and 1960s, but only in certain countries; before that time, mainly the extremely rich and leisured people in society had the disposable time and income necessary for travel (Davidson 1993), while other travellers included pilgrims travelling for religious reasons or business people travelling for business (Young 1973). In the two decades after the Second World War rising living standards and increased leisure time, advances in transport technology, large periods of political stability, the stimulation of interest in other parts of the world through media such as books, television or movies and the development of a highly professional tourism industry (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 2003) started to occur around the world, starting in the Western world. The time of a mass tourism movement had begun.
4.2 Cleaning the air – defining tourism

The OECD notes that it is very difficult to define or measure tourism with any precision (World Trade Organisation 1998, p. 2).

Today tourism is often recognised as the world’s largest industry (Hall and Page 1999), or at least as one of the fastest growing sectors of the world economy (Pleumaron 2002). However, it is very difficult to measure the importance of tourism or its global dimensions without defining the terms ‘tourist’ and ‘tourism’. Tourism as an ‘industry’, for example, is a conglomerate of various business activity and consequences, and a tourist as a traveller is becoming more and more indistinguishable from recreationists.

In 1937 the League of Nations (later the United Nations), made one of the first attempts to define ‘visitor’ for statistical purposes. It defined it as someone who travels for 24 hours or more outside their normal country of residence (Sharpley 1994). This definition that appeared to be appropriate at the time needed to be redefined around 25 years later, as it excludes, for example, domestic tourists, the purpose of a visit, or travellers travelling for less than 24 hours (e.g. European cross-border tourism), but could theoretically include migrants.

In 1963, the United Nations saw a need to adjust the definition to the changing times. Consequently, the term ‘tourists’ was defined at the UN Conference on International Travel and Tourism in Rome as ‘temporary visitors staying at least 24 hours in the country (or region) visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified as (a) leisure, i.e. recreation, holiday, health, study, religion or sport, or (b) business; (c) family; (d) missions or (e) meeting’ (World Tourism Organisation 1981, p. 89).

Both definitions already have a spatial (outside usual country of residence and country/region visited) and a temporal (at least 24 hours, temporary) element, which make it clear that tourism needs the movement of people between cultures, inherently connecting tourism with globalisation. But as with many
definitions in 'young' fields, these definitions are constantly evolving and changing. Even if such technical definitions for statistical purposes have a number of weaknesses, for example the exclusion or inclusion of cruise ship passengers, transit visitors or soldiers or the exclusion of the new reality of virtual travel, they provide the basis for understanding the phenomenon of tourism. Tourists are the defining element for tourism and the tourism industry because both would not exist without people willing to use their resources to travel outside their living environment. In a very broad sense a tourist is a person that leaves the everyday life mobility area for a short-term stay (less than a year) using the tourism 'industry' and infrastructure in the broadest sense, thereby causing positive and negative impacts. While tourist, visitor and traveller are used interchangeably, the term 'recreationist' is used to describe a resident that travels within his/her everyday mobility area. Tourism studies as such should be part of temporary mobility studies in time and space (Hall 2005). Generally, tourism could be defined as encompassing all consequences of people engaging in being a tourist (as defined by the UN) in the generating region, the transit region(s) and the destination region, including impacts and changes that tourists cause both in these regions and on themselves.

Most definitions of tourism share some common elements (see, e.g., Weaver and Lawton 2006). They incorporate a time element (it is temporary, e.g. stayovers/excursionists), a spatial element (from the origin of tourists through transit routes to the destination or destinations, domestic/ international; outbound/ inbound; long haul/short-haul), a purpose of travel (leisure and recreation, visiting friends and relatives, business, sport, spirituality and health, study or multipurpose) and a variety of impacts on destinations (economical, environmental, socio-cultural, political). Stephen J. Page (2003; see also Burkart and Medlik 1981), for example, characterises definitions of tourism as 'associated with three specific issues: tourism as the movement of people, tourism as a sector of the economy and tourism as a broad system of interacting relationships of people, their needs [sic] to travel outside their communities and services that attempt to respond to these needs by supplying products' (Page, S.J. 2003, p. 9).
In relation to globalisation and tourism, Britton (1979, p. 282) gives an interesting characterisation to tourism which incorporate the flows of people, ideas, capital and goods and therefore globalising tendencies as a defining element:

Tourism is a phenomenon variably distributed in space (and time), and it can thus be approached from a variety of geographical branches. The locations of markets and destinations, and the flow of people, capital, goods and ideas are at the core of tourism. It influences the form, use and protection of the landscape.

Tourism and tourist can accordingly be defined in various ways (e.g. Cohen, E. 1974; MacCannel 1976; Leiper 1979; Smith 1988; Sharpley 1994; Manuel, McElroy and Smith 1996; Collier and Harraway 2001; Hall 2003; Page, S.J. 2003; Leiper 2003; Weaver and Lawton 2006). Consequently, there is no widely recognised and accepted definition of tourism and tourist (Leiper 2003; Hall 2003), rather definitions are produced to suit a purpose: technical definitions for statistical data surveys and their comparison, heuristic concepts and definitions to explore a topic and generic definitions that are broad enough to conform with many people's ideas of what constitutes a tourist or tourism (Leiper 2003). The various definitions are also bound up in different disciplines that relate to tourism in a specific way such as geography, economics or sociology.

Britton's (1979) and Page's (2003) approaches to the definition of tourism provide a close connection to globalisation. They use the flow of people, capital, goods and ideas over space and time as characterising elements of tourism. The history of tourism therefore shows that tourism and these elements changed over time. At the same time, these changes also present the main characteristics of globalisation.
4.3 Organising the relationship between tourism and globalisation

... we may find that a stringent regulation of tourism, which involves a stricter limitation of tourist numbers and a halt to the unlimited spatial expansion of tourism, is better than further promoting tourism growth and hoping that this growth can be handled with 'good management', education of tourists, etc. (Pleumaron 2002, online).

The relationship between tourism and globalisation is interesting. While the particularities of a place are central to the tourism production, consumption, promotion and marketing, a global infrastructure is needed to travel to these places. Tourism is at the intersection between a locality and the global marketplace (Cawley, Gaffey and Gilmor 2002); it is the meeting place of the global and the local (glocalisation) (e.g. Wall 2001; Shade 2000; Robertson 1992, 1995); and is an activity of the co-presence of universalising and particularising tendencies (Raimi 2003). These global-local interactions determine the outcomes for individuals, households, communities and regions (Milne and Ateljevic 2001). They produce unique results at localities (Massey and Allen 1984). A global/local framework should therefore be used to study social phenomena such as tourism in contemporary societies (Teo and Lim 2003).

The following section provides an overview of the connections between globalisation and tourism. It follows Higott and Reich (1998) and Wahab and Cooper (2001), who divide the interrelationships between globalisation and tourism in different categories: technology (e.g. transport technology, communication technology, media), economy (e.g. shifting patterns of production and consumption across the world), politics (e.g. promotion of free movement of labour, removal of trade barriers, development of trading blocs), socio-culture (e.g. the contact between different cultures) and the natural environment. The point is made that those different areas influence and overlap each other. They also develop the argument that the impact of current globalisation on the tourism market (demand side of tourism) with its post-
Fordist consumption and mass tourists is clear, while the impact of globalisation on the tourism industry (supply side of tourism) and the production changes necessary to cater for post-Fordist tourists is less clear-cut (see figure 4.1).

![Diagram showing the relationship between tourism and globalisation](image-url)

**FIGURE 4.1** Organising the relationship between tourism and globalisation (after Freyer 2002; Cooper and Wahab 2001; Petermann 1999)
The following section will start by looking at the development in communication and information technologies. In the consequent sections, the broader issues of tourism and political, environmental, socio-cultural and economic globalisation are evaluated, before outlining the general relationship between globalisation, tourism and the destination as the place where the global meets the local in tourism.

4.3.1 A ‘car’ full of communication and information technology – tourism and technological globalisation

This also suggests that globalisation is about capitalising on the revolutions in telecommunication, finance and transport, all of which has been instrumental in the ‘globalisation’ of tourism (Mowforth and Munt 1998, p. 13).

Technological change is not only driving globalisation, but also tourism, especially to isolated countries like New Zealand. It created the condition to move beyond the spatial limitations of walking as means of travelling from one place to another. ‘The stimulus given to the holiday industry by technological developments in the field of transport for example is clear from the histories of the railways (Great Britain in the nineteenth century), the motor car (widespread ownership after the 1950s) and the wide-bodied jet (post-1960s)’ (Mowforth and Munt 1998, p. 85).

Since the 1980s newly introduced transport technologies have transformed the way people travel, the most significant ones being the speeding-up of transport modes and the growth in the geographic range of travellers while at the same time gradually reducing the cost of foreign travel (Williams 2003). The latest developments in a long list of transport technology include high speed trains and new long-range airplanes with higher passenger loads. Until the later part of the 20th century, tourism and globalisation were dependent on physical communication and transportation.
Besides transportation technology, information and communication technologies (ICTs) are other important elements of the change in the global tourism industry that facilitate its growth since the 1980s (UNESCO 1999). They are thereby building on previous technological introductions such as the wheel, the typewriter (keyboard) or the TV screen (computer screen), underlining the historical relation and combination of various ‘global’ ideas and interventions in the development of new ideas and inventions. ICTs are sometimes described as being responsible for a second industrial revolution that has had a major impact on the competitiveness of tourism products (Cooper, Gilbert, Fletcher and Wanhill 1998). In tourism ICTs increased ‘the [global] availability of information and the speed and convenience with which it is available’ (Williams 2003, p. 77). Particularly important is therefore the interdependence of transportation, customer information and travel distribution systems (World Tourism Organisation 1999).

On the demand and the supply side, access to these information and communication technologies is globally varied between the West (and some highly developed Asian countries), with a high degree of access for the majority of their populations, and the ‘rest’, with a lack of access for the majority of their populations. This uneven access leads to local and global disadvantages for travellers from the ‘rest’ and their tourism industries as service industries are increasingly dependent on access to ICTs. Penetration of internet access in 2006, for example, is very high in Canada and the US (56.1% of total population) and Europe (26.2% of total population), and low in Africa (0.7% of total population) and Asia/Pacific/Middle East (4.9% of total population) (Internet World Stats 2006). This division is often described as producing a digital divide (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2001), which is also one of the main aspect of the social divide between industrialised countries and the ‘rest’ (German Bundestag 2002).

Key factors in the strategic importance of ICTs for tourism are varied. They include the provision of a worldwide information and distribution infrastructure, their accessibility, the ease of global communication between customer and supplier (e.g. global information, increasing prices transparency worldwide; see
Keller 2000), the reduction in transaction costs and the increase in efficiency and flexibility (e.g. global reservation systems, e-commerce) (Petermann 1999). These technologies and access to them are to a high degree controlled by the West, consequently expressing a certain amount of control by the West of ICTs in tourism.

It is sometimes stated that the cultural impacts of tourism are reduced under the conditions of globalisation because ICTs provide access to information about other cultures and virtual contact with them. The receiving populations are believed to already ‘know’ about Western and other travelling cultures through various media. The joint director of the Tourism Authority of Bhutan, Thuji Dorji Nadik (cited in Faizullah 2002, online), for example stated that:

We [Bhutan] wanted to get the maximum benefit from the minimum number of tourists [in the past], minimising the negative impact of tourism. But, now in this era of globalisation I think there are other things that are already impacting on the people, like, satellite television for example.

Socio-cultural tourism impacts are therefore believed to be drastically reduced under globalisation. The questionable argument is put forward that everyone knows about everyone else’s culture, as some people are part of virtual global communities. Arguably, in the non-Western receiving side of tourism access to this information is limited, the cultural contact with Western tourists and their culture often the first such socio-cultural contact. Furthermore, information and communication technologies are instrumentalised by developed, developing and agricultural countries, elites or governments to attract and make profits from tourists. It needs to be acknowledged that they could also be used to democratise, Westernise/Americanise or instrumentalise societies.

In general, the ICTs were firstly used by the airline industry, but are now increasingly important for hotel operators, tour operators, rental car companies or event organisers, especially for the international operating ‘big’ chains. In the accommodation industry, for example, technology is having a profound influence, with around 90 per cent of hotels in the US having a website, some hotels using virtual tours to display their rooms and other attributes, and more
than half of all business travellers wanting internet access in their rooms to communicate with the ‘globe’ (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). In particular computer reservations systems (CRS) used by airlines, hotels and rental car companies, operate worldwide (e.g. Sabre, Worldspan, and Abacus) and provide a very important service for the tourism industry (Freyer 2002). Information technology revolutionised the planning and organisation of travelling, with global thinking and local acting corporations like airlines and hotel chains as leaders (Rigassi 2000).

Rigassi (2000) says that modern tourism as a high-tech business is now the most successful e-commerce product in online sales. In the future the importance of computerised reservation systems (CRS) and global distribution systems (GDS) will increase, as will the convergence of several media – television, telephone and the personal computer into one medium, thereby creating new distribution channels that will aid in reaching the customer directly. Additionally, video conferencing and the creation of virtual reality technologies will allow tourists to travel in the comfort of their home (World Tourism Organisation 1999). Consequently, Castells (1996) suggests that there is a new global landscape which is transformed by this ‘informational society’ where human experiences are separated from the rhythms of nature making tourism that are more important as a way to experience nature. Technology is consequently leading to the final abstraction of time. Harvey (1989), stopping short of this total abstraction of time, describes the process of time-space compression, the noticeable intensification of pace of everyday life and the extraordinary acceleration in the movement of capital and information and people (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 2003) as decisive within the process of current globalisation and tourism. It involves ‘a sense of the shrinking of distances through the dramatic reduction in the time taken, either physically (for instance, via air travel) or representationally (via the transmission of electronically mediated information and images, to cross them’ (Tomlinson 1999, p. 3). This time-space compression is helping increasing numbers of people to travel increasingly further away (Smith, M.K. 2002) or to ‘travel at home’ in front of the computer.
Time-space compression is therefore a consequence of several stages of technological development in the historical context of capitalism. It is leading to a real and perceived shrinking of time and space in history, from coaches and sailing ships in the 16th century to jet planes and virtual travel in the 20th century (Duerrschmidt 2002). Urry (1998a) even suggests that today time and space are 'de-materializing' as new technologies produce 'global times' where distances between times and peoples are dramatically reduced. The process of time-space compression is thus not limited to the production process, but also concerns the compression of material and symbolic consumption and therefore the lifestyle cultures that 'degrade' to increasingly short-term choices (Duerrschmidt 2002). This is one of the characteristics of post-modernity. Going even further, it could be argued that computer communication and tourism are mediums for economic and physical survival that, in a world of massive urbanisation and insecure living conditions (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003), provide security for one's identity, contact with nature, and an escape to 'dream holidays'.

However, it is important that the relationship between technology, globalisation and tourism is not one-way. There are also global innovations that were initiated by tourism. The recent transport technology improvement in the airline industry, especially the Airbus A380 or the Boeing 777, is just one example. In the future, the possibility of virtual travel could even give the airlines problems. It could lead to the dismissal or sharp reduction of the 'real' tourism industry in favour of virtual reality. It could be capable of recreating every place visible from the comfort and security at home more cheaply and safely (risk without consequences) and more sustainably. Flying would no longer be necessary.

In order to make new transport and ICTs work for all human beings, however, new political approaches are needed to secure, for example, access to them (UNDP 2001). This is particular important for the globally competing tourism industry which is using these new technologies. Local, national and supranational governmental institutions are playing a very important part in this and many other developments in tourism.
4.3.2 Globalisation, politics and tourism

In short, tourism cannot be considered in isolation from the global structures of the tourism industry, the global political economy, or indeed the state itself, but is an integral component of globalised neo-liberal spatial practices (Meethan 2001, p. 56).

Current globalisation is determined by neo-liberal spatial practices and the spread of liberal democracy (Fukuyama 1992) or as Barber (1996) puts it, ‘the bloodless economies of profits’. They are politically fostered through the Bretton Woods institutions (the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organisation). These political institutions and their actions are part of the claim that globalisation is nothing else but Americanisation or Westernisation of the rest of the world. Tourism is thereby seen as a globally operating neo-liberal service product (Meethan 2001) that needs stable political conditions provided by liberal democracy and a reduction in the social and digital divide.

In very general terms, globalisation has opened up new destinations for tourists and businesses following political processes and decisions at different spatial levels, for example reduction or removal of entry barriers such as visas. These processes are again disadvantaging the non-Western countries. While they provide easier access for Western tourists to most destinations, Western nations close or control their borderlines more strictly for immigrants from many of those destinations at the same time.

In a more systemic political sense, tourism, especially through the economic pressure it can exert, has the potential to help, for example in the spread of (Western) democratic systems and human rights, unionism and the emancipation of women. These are also conditions needed for Western tourism to thrive. It could even be a force for world peace (Var and Ap 1998), because the ideal conditions for countries to benefit from tourism include ‘political stability, security, a well-defined legal framework, and the essential services and infrastructure (roads, water supplies and suitable environment) that the state is
able to provide’ (Page, S.J. 2003, p. 277). Most tourists will certainly prefer to travel a country with a good human rights record, a well-protected environment and ‘terrorist free’ spaces. At this point in time, these conditions are best met with a democratic governmental system. The general (Western-style) democratisation of countries worldwide leads and will lead to a greater choice of destinations to which tourists are willing to travel and in which businesses are prepared to do business. It is often accompanied by specific tourism public policy such as the provision of infrastructure, the easing of visa restrictions or publicly funded international marketing.

Hall and Jenkins (1995) define tourism public policy as whatever governments choose to do or not do with respect to tourism. Generally, governments are involved with tourism policy at national, regional (e.g. Organization of American States, European Travel Commission) and international (e.g. World Tourism Organisation, WTO, World Bank, International Air and Transport Association) level. Western government policies have therefore changed over the years depending on the state of the capitalistic system, the importance of the tourism industry within it, non-national pressures and globalisation.

Since 1985 governments have changed the focus from the provision of infrastructure and tourism as regional development tools to environmental issues, reduced direct government involvement in the supply of infrastructure, industry self-regulation and greater emphasis in public-private partnerships (Hall 2000). This very much follows the Western economic globalisation logic of capitalistic expansion, reduction of direct involvement and increased provision of former government services by privately, profit oriented businesses. Most efforts of governments are now directed towards promotion and marketing of the national tourism industry, while other government involvement in tourism includes the provision of information, pricing for publicly owned attractions, the control of access (e.g. visas, limitation of flight numbers), land use planning and control, building regulations, market regulation, taxation and research and planning (Cooper et al. 1998).
The broad possible roles of governments in tourism can be summarised as coordination, planning, legislation and regulation, stimulation and promotion of tourism, entrepreneurial involvement, and the provision of social tourism (encouragement of participation of economically weak and disadvantaged people of society through the government) (Hall 2003). Government's involvement in tourism and tourism policy occurs at various spatial levels: in different departments in the local government, different national government agencies, supra-national bodies of several national governments (Swarbrooke 1999), or in global institutions.

One of the impacts of political globalisation on tourism is the increasing number of international agreements and laws in trade, conservation and environment from within global institutions that impact on national tourism policies, such as the World Heritage Convention, the Kyoto Protocol or the introduction of the euro. It can consequently be said that international tourism policies in the last 60 years changed in accordance with the increasing importance of the process of globalisation with a clear focus on economic globalisation. The economic focus needs to change to solve the ‘questions’ that globalisation will ‘ask’ tourism in relation to sustainability.

Politically, a multilateral tourism policy seems to be the only appropriate answer to the actual process of globalisation and its interconnection with tourism (Petermann 1999). A global tourism policy, covering issues that would need to be addressed at a global level such as climate change, global terrorism, health (e.g. Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS)) or global transport issues, could be developed under the auspice of the World Tourism Organisation equipped with new responsibilities and powers. This would be especially important for travel businesses, as it has become much more complicated in recent times because of fear of terror, epidemics and catastrophes (Wenzel 2004) or the potential for the clash of civilisations (Huntington 1996) under ‘the bloody politics of identity’ (Barber 1996).

Until 2003 the World Tourism Organisation was officially consulted by the UN, providing and gathering information on global tourist statistics and tourism
market research, the transfer of tourism know-how to developing countries, human resource development in tourism, the facilitation of world travel through the reduction of governmental measures in relation to international travel, standardisation of travel requirements, as well as being involved in various regional activities (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). It became a UN-specialised body in 2003 (United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) 2007). Currently, it is a ‘global forum for tourism policy issues and a practical source of tourism know-how’ (UNWTO 2007, online). Its mandate and structure needs to be extended further for global tourism to react proactively to the problems ahead. At this point in time, tourism as a global phenomenon needs a tourism policy that is globally coordinated and regulated (Freyer 2002). However, there are currently only a few attempts at an international or global tourism policy.

Tourism and tourism policy are domestic and international activities. The consequences and impacts cross borders, in particular under the condition that ‘territories are less obviously subject to governance by nation states’ (Urry 1998, p. 6). Accordingly, tourism would need an appropriate global political framework that connects the local with the international level. Stakeholders in this process from both the public and the private sector (Page, S.J. 2003) should not only include inter-governmental organisations (e.g. World Tourism Organisation, UN, OECD, World Trade Organisation), but also global tourism organisations (e.g. World Travel and Tourism Council, international associations such as the International Hotel and Restaurant Association), global/regional non-governmental organisations (e.g. World Wildlife Fund for Nature, Friends of the Earth) and local organisations (Petermann 1999; Hall 2001). The basic political paradigm for the use of resources in tourism should be the concept of sustainability as developed in the Brundtland Report (Brundtland 1987). It states that ‘resources must be used in a manner whereby they can be enjoyed today but also conserved and managed for future generations’ (Page, S.J. 2003, p. 291). This political framework for sustainable development of the tourism sector, in particular under the circumstances of tourism being described as a global environmental syndrome with retrospective effect on climate change at destinations (Petermann 1999), is paramount if the tourism industry wants to save its long-term future.
Overall, the global political approach to tourism is more or less uncoordinated. Furthermore, uncontrolled competition between tourism destinations makes the move towards more sustainable development impossible. Nevertheless, tourism is an international and inter-governmental phenomenon (Freyer 2002) with environmental consequences that need to be addressed to secure the long-term future of tourism.

4.3.3 Tourism and environmental globalisation

Globalization is inherently destructive to the natural world because it requires that products [and people] travel thousands of miles around the planet, resulting in staggering environmental costs such as unprecedented levels of sea and air pollution, increased energy consumption, and use of packaging materials. It also requires devastating new infrastructure development: new roads, ports, airports, pipelines, and power grids (Roddick 2001, p. 136).

Current globalisation and the connected capitalistic production (e.g. resource exploitation) have grave environmental consequences. It is fact that the world's environment has been changed by human activity up to a point where it becomes critical to discuss, mediate or solve some of the occurring environmental problems. Recent problems include the depletion of the ozone layer, increased resource depletion because of population growth, capitalistic production and increased urbanisation, and climate change. These environmental developments are making headline news around the world, thereby also increasing the awareness of environmental disasters.

Firstly, population growth, mostly centred in developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, will continue at least for the next 50 years. The pressure on natural resources also used by tourism, in particular water and agricultural land but also national parks, will increase even more. Half of the world's national
parks and protected areas, for example, are in countries with increasing population pressure (Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden 2003).

Secondly, urbanisation, closely related to population growth and capitalistic production, is a development that clearly impacts on the world and tourism, with people living in urban areas increasing from 55 per cent in 1950 to 75 per cent in 2000 in industrialised countries, and from 18 per cent in 1950 to more than 40 per cent in the developing countries (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003). This development is a consequence of capitalistic forms of production being centred around cities. It has consequences for the environment such as increased pressure on urban lands for building and other infrastructure and increased importance of rural lands for recreation and tourism. Crenson (2000) even argues that humans now live at 'The End of Nature', where people experience nature only during their holidays in museum-like remnants. Nature becomes the place for fantasies and needs satisfaction and a counterweight to the deficits of the urban industrial society (Henning 1999).

Thirdly, climate change will profoundly alter the globe. Rising temperature and sea levels, the possible slowing down of the Gulf Stream, changes in flora and fauna around the world or the destruction of marine habitat will transform the global environment (e.g. Jarman 2007; Latif 2007; for the relation between tourism and climate change Becken and Hay 2007; Hall and Higham 2005). Climate change is closely related to the use of fossil fuels for tourist transport or the clear felling of tropical forests as a consequence of population pressure. With the rising temperature will come the destruction or change of complete ecosystems. In many of these ecosystems, fresh water, for example, will become a problem, especially in agricultural and tourist areas where different resource users are competing for less water. Extreme weather patterns will become normal (and destroy harvests), with tourists avoiding high-risk areas already devastated by loss of income from the destruction of agricultural produce. Another exemplary consequence of climate change is coral bleaching through increased sea temperatures, which will destroy coral reefs already struggling with pollution. These reefs, important tourist attractions for several
countries like Australia or Belize, will possibly die (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003).

Fourthly, technological developments such as the internet and satellite technology have raised the level of awareness of global environmental disasters and nearly dissolved the time between environmental events and the global knowledge of them. These information flows are also enhanced by non-governmental environmental organisations such as the World Wildlife Fund, Greenpeace or Friends of the Earth, which help to raise awareness of actual or potential environmental destruction. They sustain high numbers of active members in most parts of the world which can have a strong influence if they mobilise against a tourist destination because of irresponsible environmental behaviour. Consequently, tourists making a holiday decision are now better informed about destinations and their environmental standards and problems.

The World Tourism Organisation (1997) makes the point that environmental problems will stay one of the most urgent items on the international agenda, especially climate change, toxic waste, ozone loss and deforestation. Many of these problems are not well-researched within global frameworks, therefore leaving space for denial or exaggeration. In this context, tourism is one of the industries that symbolises the global paradox of producing environmental destruction, for example through transport related emissions causing climate change, and at the same time depending on an intact environment (including climate) to attract customers. On the one hand, tourism needs the environment as an attraction that is packaged and idealised to be sold (and therefore needs to satisfy customers), but on the other hand it is exploiting the environment through tourism’s industrial activities such as the burning of fossil fuels to travel. Tourism is again ‘sitting’ on a global-local nexus, producing a tourism paradox – the possible self-destruction of the very industrial basis that it needs to protect.

The German Bundestag (2002) argues that there is nothing new in human beings impacting on local ecosystems by using natural resources for industrial and other activities. Yet in the last two centuries the consequences of industrialisation, intensive land use and rapid population growth have
dramatically increased the utilisation and consumption of these natural resources to a dangerous point. Tourism is therefore impacting upon the physical environment like any other form of industrial activity, in particular under the condition that tourists actually have to visit the place of production (Cooper et al. 1998; Page, S.J. 2003). However, more obviously than other industries, it is endangering the bases of its own industry if there is a lasting environmental destruction due to tourism activity (Henning 1999). Tourism is an industry that depends on the environment (Hall 2003) on which it is negatively impacting.

However, it is difficult to isolate the impact of tourism from the impacts of other industrial and non-industrial activities, for example its contribution to climate change or local pollution. This makes it hard to determine whether tourism is the main agent of environmental change or just one amongst other agents of change within a particular destination (Page, S.J. 2003). Nevertheless, there is a growing agreement that humans need to take responsibility for the global environment and change the neo-liberal economic paradigm to avoid extreme consequences for the world population and their industries, including tourism (e.g. the climate change debate, e.g. Becken and Hay 2007; Hall and Higham 2005). As a result, the last 25 years saw an upsurge in environmental assessments of tourism development to counter destructive outcomes.

Since the 1980s the problematic environmental consequences of mass tourism began to be critiqued (Henning 1999) as part of the growing environmental awareness. The discussions include the evident impact of tourism activities on various environments such as the natural environment (e.g. destruction/preservation of caves), the farmed environment (e.g. land-use conflicts, re-planting), the built environment (e.g. preservation or destruction of ancient monuments), natural resources (e.g. protection or destruction of reefs and beaches) and wildlife (e.g. disturbance of normal behavioural patterns, creation of wildlife parks) (Swarbrooke 1999; Cooper et al. 1998). One of the main reasons for critique is that tourists and the tourism industry are often over-using scarce or fragile resources such as energy, water or endangered landscapes and animals in these different environments, often in competition with local residents and industries. In many cases the buying power of Western
tourists and tourism businesses wins such a competition. The growth in global tourism numbers to these local destinations often puts the tourism industry at risk of destroying its environmental base.

The World Trade and Tourism Council (WTTC) (World Tourism Organisation 1993) issued a position statement at the Round Table on Planning for Sustainable Tourism Development in 1993 that included a statement of the five key global environmental areas of concern for tourism which are still valid today: global warming, depletion of the ozone layer, acid rain, depletion and pollution of water resources and depletion and pollution of land resources. In particular the long-term implications of resource depletion and pollution are described as extremely serious, as they could lead to political instability or increased competition for land, loss of landscape and wildlife and higher fuel prices which would all have negative consequences for tourism and tourism destinations (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Tourism transport is one of the best examples in relation to resource depletion and pollution through tourism.

The German Bundestag (1999) thus argues that globalisation and transportation, including for tourism purposes, are very much connected, to a point where they depend and reinforce each other. This is especially the case for air transportation, which is the motor driving globalisation but also one of the main producers of greenhouse gas emissions (e.g. the doubling of air transport emission between 1995 and 2015). It is therefore of great concern for tourism and global sustainable development, particularly as international air transport is not regulated by the Kyoto Protocol (The German Bundestag 1999). The rapid increase in air traffic has therefore made it part of the global environmental crisis (International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) 1999). Tourism is the main contributor to the growth in air traffic, partly rendering its sustainability efforts as something of a 'cover-up'.

Other environmental pressures resulting from transport are the use of non-renewable resources, including fossil fuels (e.g. airports construction, trips by cars, buses or taxis by tourists and staff in the tourism industry), the demands placed on the environment by the development of new transport infrastructure,
noise pollution or the use of agricultural land for tourism transport purposes (Swarbrooke 1999). All of those elements do not fit well with the new global paradigm of sustainable development. However, air travel will stay one of the growth areas in the future and is particularly important for geographically isolated countries such as New Zealand.

Leiper (2003, p. 158) adds another interesting dimension by demonstrating ‘how ‘environment’ is a multi-faceted concept and how [it] is seen subjectively, limited to the sensory preceptors and cultural backgrounds of the observer’. He obviously believes that different cultures have different perceptions of ‘environment’. Arguing in this direction, it could be said that industrialised countries and their (travelling) inhabitants have reached a certain economic status, often by destroying their environments in the process of industrialisation. They can now afford to demand environmental protection from developing countries, which try to better the living conditions of their inhabitants by using and often over-using natural resources. This argument has two main facets: first, the behaviour of the industrialised nations is a form of neo-imperialism if it is not economically supported by them; and second, the behaviour of the industrialising nations is short-sighted in the sense that environmental destruction will lead to the loss of future economic and socio-cultural opportunities.

The conflict between the developing and developed nations at the Rio Summit in 1992 in relation to the question of what is sustainable development is just one expression of the unequal relations in the global environment debate. It symbolises the critique of many developing nations that ‘industrialised countries have continued to protect their own economies against competing developing ones’ (Van der Mere 2002, p. 8). The concept of sustainability is a social construction reflecting the interests of those involved (Mowforth and Munt 1998). While developed nations have the means (e.g. capital, living standards) to ‘afford’ more sustainable production and consumption, even if it reduces ‘some’ profits and living standards, developing nations do not live in an economic situation that would justify sustainable development in favour of short-term economic development. Tourism as an important industry therefore helps
capitalistic economic and Western interests to take precedent over sustainable development, thus causing environmental destruction. Instead of tourism 'living' in conflict with the physical environment, it should try to exist in symbiosis for the benefit of both (Leiper 2003). But Archer and Cooper (1998) paint a bleak picture by arguing that 'the privatization of many public tourist agencies and the deregulation of planning in some Western nations' will reduce the effective introduction of environmentally sound tourism planning and management techniques into the critical relationship between tourism and the environment. On a more positive note, it could be argued that the tourism industry and tourists help to develop a local and a global awareness of environmental problems. They can exert pressure on the tourism industry, governments, residents and tourists to make environmental protection a priority.

However, environmentally, it is questionable whether environmental protection is achievable and sufficient under the condition of globalisation if one thinks about the before-mentioned pressures of urbanisation (and urbanised areas) and population growth. Tourism’s actual development is also not sustainable in the long-term. One only needs to look at China and the possible impact that the acquisition of a Western-lifestyle with its expectations of travelling would have on the environment (Keller 2000). The worldwide generalisation of Western consumption patterns and industrial production would lead to an increase in resource use that is even more damaging to the environment (Deutscher Bundestag 2002).

A possible solution to achieve ‘better’ social and sustainable environmental standards could be the introduction of a World Environment Organisation or a World Organisation for Environment and Development incorporated in the UN. Its tasks would be to develop and protect global environmental standards and to create global environmental policies, including for tourism (in conjunction with the UNWTO). This is sometimes described as one important step in the development of global environmental and social standards (Stiftung Entwicklung and Frieden 2003), helping to protect the environment which is the basis of tourism activities.
In order to make sustainable tourism development work, all forms of tourism, including mass tourism, need to achieve a balance in using environmental resources, providing socio-economic benefits to its stakeholders, as well as respecting the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities (World Tourism Organisation 2004). However, in order for sustainable tourism to become a relevant global concept, a higher degree of sustainable development needs to become a normal way of living and thinking. At the moment, sustainability is often about sustaining profits under the conditions of post-Fordism. It is about sustaining the lifestyles and culture of a new middle class under the conditions of postmodernism, using sustainable politics as one Western power instrument (Mowforth and Munt 1998).

New specialist forms of tourism politically endorsed by governments such as that of New Zealand, with claims to be more sustainable than mass tourism, are actually either only a small part of the industry or just a new marketing tool to attract tourist dollars. Furthermore, the majority of tourists are still mass tourists with all the associated consequences. Mass tourism therefore has to change on a global scale in order to secure tourism’s future. The ‘Golden Hordes’ (Turner and Ash 1975) need to become ‘Green Hordes’. Sustainable tourism itself also needs to change in relation to the power relations it expresses. It is therefore of utmost importance to incorporate the world-views of those other than the industrialised world. At this point in time, sustainability is a concept of the West which is anchored in its economic, cultural and political processes and part of the wider process of Westernisation/Americanisation.

But Westernisation and uneven power relations between the West and the ‘Rest’ go far beyond the concept of sustainable development. Terkenli (2002) argues that tourism under the conditions of globalisation constitutes one of the major contemporary forces of geographical transformation and greatly contributes to the establishment of Western landscape models around the globe. This process started with colonisation, when the colonisers made ‘their’ new lands as much as home as possible. The result is very visible, for example, in New Zealand’s agricultural landscape. This process of Westernising the landscape for tourism purposes is ongoing everywhere in the world.
Current tourism ‘policies and marketing strategies … assign symbolic and aesthetic [Western] value to the material attributes of space’. Such landscapes can be ‘traded and consumed’ (Meethan 2001, p. 37) in what is basically a socio-cultural process (Williams 2003) mediated by the leisure industry (Aitchison, Macleod and Shaw 2000). These spaces are mainly constructed for tourists from the developed world, which means that they are modelled on their expectations and perceptions of what constitutes a space worth consuming. The created landscapes are often dream landscapes manipulated to create a specific experience (AlSayad 2002) for Western tourist consumption.

Places and their environments are, however, ‘continually evolving landscapes with space for resistance, contestation, disruption and transgression of dominant discourses and wider hegemonic social and cultural relations’ (Aitchison, Macleod and Shaw 2000, p. 1). The contest between tourism, destinations and residents often results in landscapes ready to be consumed by mainly Western tourists to create economic benefits. It has clear consequences for the relationship between host and guests.

4.3.4 Tourism and socio-cultural globalisation

Tourism is simultaneously one of the most obvious forms of the globalisation of culture and one of the most difficult to evaluate (Held 1998, p. 360).

Globalisation is inherently connected to the mobility of capital, people and their ideas, and therefore to tourism. Actual international tourism comprises the largest movement of people across borders in human history (Urry 2001). Tourism is therefore described as a socio-cultural global force. It is, however, dominated by Western developed nations and their globe-trotting citizens who explore nearly every corner of the globe (Smith, M.K. 2002), spreading their culture. It is an integral part of tourism that those visiting tourists come into contact with a foreign host population (Cooper et al. 1998) with permanent
consequences for a destination population (Henning 1999). The host-guest relation determines the socio-cultural impact of tourism, which overlaps with other areas such as the political, economic and environmental.

The idea of culture in tourism is about a mobile culture (the traveller, the origin culture) and a place-bound culture (the visited, the destination culture) (Meethan 2001), as well as the symbolic commodified (hence not authentic) value of a culture that is changed, mainly Westernised. This relationship between culture, tourism and globalisation is important because ‘globalization lies at the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie at the heart of globalization’ (Tomlinson 1999, p. 1) and tourism needs specific mixes of global Westernised culture and a local culture to attract tourists. Tourism therefore has various impacts on culture at the destination.

The World Tourism Organisation (1997, p. 234) defines social and cultural impacts as follows:

Social impacts, as a rule, refer to changes in the lives of people who live in destination communities and are associated more with direct contact between residents and tourists. Cultural impacts refer to changes in the arts, artefacts, customs, rituals and architecture of a people, and are longer term changes which result from tourism development.

In general, tourism has the power to impact upon collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, traditional ceremonies and community organisations, creative expressions, value systems, individual behaviour and family relationships (Page, S.J. 2003) at destinations. It also has impacts on the visitors and their place of origin as well as at the transit region. The more global tourism becomes the more cultures are potential hosts and guests, ultimately changing way of lives everywhere.

Inskeep (1991; Douglas and Douglas 1996; Weaver and Lawton 2006) argues that the socio-cultural impact of tourism is determined by the difference in socio-cultural characteristics of host and guests, in particular basic values and logic systems, religious beliefs, traditions, customs, lifestyles, behavioural patterns,
dress codes, sense of time, budgeting and attitudes towards strangers. Furthermore, the relationship is also influenced by at least five major features: it is short-term/transitory, locals and tourists are often segregated, the contact frequently lacks spontaneity and is formalised and planned, and it is regularly determined by unequal and unbalanced material wealth and power (Henning 1999; Page, S.J. 2003 – e.g. see the models of Doxey 1975, Butler 1974, Ap and Crompton 1993 and Dogan 1989 for the relationship between tourists and hosts; and the works of Smith 1977, Plog 1973 and Cohen 1972 for the impact in terms of the kind of tourists visiting). However, under the condition of globalisation the whole relationship between hosts as ‘the other’ to be gazed upon and guests as ‘the other’ that gaze upon becomes increasingly confused. Hosts and guests often know about the other culture through the media. They constantly adopt, borrow and re-interpret their own culture in relation ‘the other’. Travelling and being hosts re-confirm this relationship.

Tourism forms that are often described as less destructive are special interest tourisms. Speciality tourism or special interest tourism is characterised as travelling in which the main trip purpose is centred around a special interest, for example cultural tourism, heritage tourism, rural tourism, educational tourism, indigenous tourism or environmental tourism (Douglas, Douglas and Derret 2001). These tourism forms are particular prominent with the change from modernism to postmodernist consumption, when ‘consumers are first and foremost gatherers of sensations; they are collectors of things only in a secondary and derivative sense’ (Bauman 1998, p. 83). These forms of tourism are therefore rarely seen as being as destructive as mass tourism. However, Macleod (2004), for example, argues that backpacker tourists have higher impacts on the socio-cultural environment of La Gomera than other tourists, as they seek more direct contact and community involvement. Waters (2001) describes these special interest tourists as new age tourists and ecotourists filling the middle-class tourist niche consuming the globe in the fullest sense and opening up the four corners of the world for mass tourism. It could therefore be argued that speciality tourism, even if it appears less damaging, is the forerunner of mass tourism, only used to open up and attract new markets and destinations. The impact is often more severe because special tourism often
happens in fragile environments with hosts who did not previously have much
direct contact with Western cultures.

Speciality tourism could be seen as a tool of the Western world to carry on
travelling under the guise of being less destructive while at the same time
 cementing unequal and uneven global geographical developments. The West
(and elites everywhere) travels internationally to remote places as special
tourists supposedly create minimal impacts while the ‘rest’ is receiving the West
and its cultures. However, this ‘receivership’ is changing in nature.

Petermann (1999) for example identifies a slight trend of globalisation in
touristic demand, because its concentration on a few countries is slowly
decreasing. However, at this point in time the industrialised countries are still
dominating the top generating and receiving countries (Mowforth and Munt
1998). At present, around 80 per cent of worldwide domestic and international
travel originates in the big cities of the West and North America, travelling to six
mega areas: the European Mediterranean countries (25%), the Caribbean
(20%), south-east Asia (15%), Western and Central Europe (20%) and the
American north-east and California (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003).

Yet, the worldwide distribution of tourists is more global than ever before, with
the exception of most parts of Africa. In 1950, the top 15 tourist destinations, all
in North America and Western Europe, drew 97 per cent of the world’s arrivals,
while this had fallen to 62 per cent in 1999 in favour of South-East Asia, Latin
America and Eastern and Central Europe (United Nations Economic and Social
Council 2001). In 2004 the top 15 destinations received 57.8 per cent of all
international arrivals, but they included China (5.5%) and Malaysia (2.1%)
(UNWTO 2006). This diversifying trend is, as globalisation would indicate,
expected to continue. Nevertheless, table 4.2 gives an overview of the still
dominant position of Western countries as top destinations, earners and
spenders in 2005, a dominance that is not reflected in their percentage of world
population.
TABLE 4.2 Top tourist destinations, top tourism earners, top tourism spenders 2005

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 France</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Spain</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>293.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 United States</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 China</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>127.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Italy</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>60.42</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 United Kingdom</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Mexico</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1,298.75</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Germany</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>32.51</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Turkey</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Russian Federation</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>144.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Austria</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>16.32</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other countries from top destination and top earners categories and their world population share

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>10.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>68.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>105.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>6,379.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: UNWTO 2006; Central Intelligence Agency 2004

Tourism is therefore sometimes described as cultural imperialism (Mackay 2000), where one global culture as reflected in global consumerism, normally based on US lifestyles (Mowforth and Munt 1998) emerges as the global cultural globaliser. It is distributed through tourists from the West. Meethan (2001, p. 119) argues that ‘tourism may appear to be a prime mechanism by which cultural influences are diffused and assimilated as it involves the large-scale movement of people [and objects] from place to place, often involving the crossing of national boundaries’, and therefore involving some level of cultural contact. The result of this contact, however, is far more complex than a simple process of Westernisation/ Americanisation. Cultural change in a globalised world is, first, a consequence of external (global) as well as internal (local) changes, second, not uni-directional, and therefore, third, creating more differences and similarities between cultures, fourth, uneven in heterogeneous communities and, fifth, hard to research in relation to changes caused by other factors (Meethan 2001). Accordingly, cultural homogenisation or
Westernisation/Americanisation through increased cultural contact between hosts and guests is not yet proven. Even so, cultural globalisation is about growing worldwide cultural interconnections experienced in everyday lives (Mackay 2000). It follows the higher mobility of people and objects (Meethan 2001), which in the case of tourism is in most cases determined by Western tourists and will be so for some time (Smith, M.K. 2002). The cultural impact of tourism in the future is suspected to be determined by three main groups of tourists and their behaviour: ‘experienced’ mass tourists and two new groups that recently appeared the post-tourists and the newcomers (Feige 2002).

Post-tourist, post-Fordist tourists (Urry 1990), postmodern tourists (Nuryanti 1996) or new tourists (Poon 1989; Faulkner and Walmsley 1998, Mowforth and Munt 1998) are the well-travelled citizens of the developed nations with high travel intensity, short-term decision-making patterns who are searching for the perfect trip that includes all different types of holidays in one experience (Petermann 1999). These tourists have ‘no such thing as a homogenous identity; all are multiple or hybridised in this postmodern, postcolonial, global world of fragmentation and disorientation’ (Smith, M. K. 2002, p. 5). They are ‘new’ tourists in a sense that they try to distinguish themselves from mainstream/conventional (mass) or ‘old’ tourists, often by travelling as special interest tourists. There is also a connection between them and new types of consumers (the new middle class), political movements (new socio-environmental movements) and new forms of economic organisation (post-Fordism) (Mowforth and Munt 2003). Under the conditions of globalisation this post-tourist could be equated with the change from ‘Homo touristicus’ to the ‘Homo touristicus globalis’ (Freyer 2002), travelling all over the globe for their holidays. Post-tourists therefore follow the changes in the way goods and services are produced and consumed (post-Fordism) (Mowforth and Munt 1998; Lash and Urry 1994; see also the previous chapter on post-Fordism and capitalism). Figure 4.2 indicates the value systems and lifestyles, competencies and demographic conditions of these new tourists, reflecting so-called postmodernist cultures.
The new tourist

- travelling as social norm
- adventure oriented
- more pleasure oriented
- environmentally sensitive
- tendency towards contrasts
- emotionality 'High Touch'
- desire for naturalness and authenticity
- health conscious
- shorter, more frequent and further trips
- desire for culture and education

Value systems and lifestyles

- competencies
- individuality
- consumptive behaviour
- demographic conditions

hybrid, paradox, multioptional consumer
- high tech oriented
- changed booking behaviour (last minute)
- spontaneous and flexible

more flexible working hours
- higher incomes
- more holiday time
- overaged population
- smaller households
- more singles and couples without children
- new consumer groups ('new olds', 'young consumers etc.)

FIGURE 4.2 The new (Western) post-tourist (after Petermann 1999, p. 55)

The second group – the newcomers – are the first-time travellers from Eastern Europe, the Far East, China etc. who will start to explore the world, initially in groups (Feige 2002). The newcomers are developing along the lines of the existing mass tourists seeking comfort within same cultural groups and travel styles. This behaviour is related to the Fordist style of production and the modernist culture which are still prevalent in the originating countries. This mass tourism could have severe impacts on destinations.
This argument contradicts to some extent Petermann's (1999) belief that there is a global 'world tourist' with increasingly similar travel behaviour travelling in a global 'travel-village' (see also Keller 2000, 2002). Instead, there are several different groups travelling the world, some looking for specific, individualised experiences, others looking for unspecific, mass produced experiences and others who combine both. They all have different socio-cultural consequences dependent on specific characteristics of hosts and guests.

The socio-cultural changes caused by tourism normally occur slowly, over time and in an unspectacular fashion. They are usually invisible, intangible and permanent (Swarbrooke 1999) and therefore hard to measure. Generally, the process of socio-cultural change is not new, but rather part of the evolvement of human cultures that always adapted and borrowed from other cultures (Meethan 2001). The speed in the process of cultural adaptation, however, has constantly changed with globalisation and its growth in information and people flows across cultures. At this point in time, the process is very uneven and demonstrates a power relationship between world regions centred on models from the Western world. In Fukuyama's (1998) world, this is not unusual, as the most advanced American capitalist value system of neo-liberalism and liberal democracy are best suited for human beings, its worldwide distribution therefore being a logical consequence. The majority of non-travelling publics of non-Western countries have 'just to wait' for the establishment of this system before they can travel everywhere.

Tourism in general, according to Bauman (1998, p. 87), sets 'apart those for whose convenience and whose ease of travel the visas have been abolished from those who should stay put – not meant to travel in the first place'. Consequent changes are often described as the Westernisation of non-Western culture (Meethan 2001), where Westerners travel to exotic locations like Western culture 'missionaries', a process that is closely connected with globalisation, but also the opposite force of localisation as a response. However, Huntington (1993) argues that this penetration of the world by American/Western values is only superficial, as there are basic differences in various concepts of civilisations
There is therefore no doubt that tourism ‘sits’ right at the critical global-local nexus. Tourism needs globalisation (e.g. standardisation, new destinations, new tourists), but also localisation to differentiate tourism products. It helps to produce Disneyland and Babel, McWorld and Jihad, Americanisation and Lebanonisation at the same time at the same place (Barber 1992, 1996). The consequences of global tourism are therefore that most cultures are increasingly homogenised and Westernised, but that they also increasingly differentiate and reassert their culture at the local level, reinforcing the peculiarity of places and cultures (Meethan 2001). As a service industry, tourism is guided by symbolic exchanges which globalise, while political changes internationalise (as they are normally between states) and material exchanges localise (Waters 2001). Tourism is by far not the only and strongest mediating force of global culture; rather, constant television viewing (Held 2000) of Western/American style productions.

The outcomes of the process of cultural globalisation are glocalised cultures, where the local is arranged with the global or the other way around. These glocalised cultures serve ‘domestic purposes as much as tourist consumption’ (Meethan 2001, p. 115). Culture was always dynamic and not static, however, with tourism as a force that fostered an abundance of cultural diversity, thereby constantly helping to create new, cosmopolitan cultural forms (Smith, M.K. 2002). Local cultures are based on differences in language, religion, construction style, cuisine, dance or literature that make them attractive for tourism consumption. Localisation is therefore the ‘other active side’ of globalising tourism developments at destinations. Globalisation and localisation interact to create hybridised or glocalised localities.

Globalisation in tourism and tourism in a globalised world lead to glocalised cultures (Nederveen Pieterse 1995) at all levels of the touristic cultural model as a consequence of the inevitable meeting of people from different cultures. However, it cannot be stressed enough that culture is a dynamic living idea (Swarbrooke 1999) and that tourism on all spatial levels (global, regional, national, and local) is not the only agent of cultural external change, let alone
internal change deriving from internal pressures within cultures (Meethan 2001). The socio-cultural impacts of the interplay of tourism, localisation and globalisation need to be evaluated in their special character at specific destinations, acknowledging the risk that it is maybe impossible to isolate single forces (e.g. tourism, the internet) and their impacts on different areas of human life (e.g. socio-cultural, economic, political).

The relationship between tourism and globalisation can be described as ‘a continuous process of negotiation and renegotiation which involves the global movement of people and tourists on the one hand, and the dynamics of localities on the other’ (Meethan 2001, p. 151). These processes of negotiation and renegotiation of culture incorporate not only the destination culture, but also the culture at the origin of the tourist as well as the culture in the transit region. It is about constant cultural exchange. In many respects, this relationship between tourism, localisation and globalisation is currently seen as an overarching economic one where economic advantage is the main power that drives tourism development (Cooper et al. 1998).

4.3.5 Tourism and economic globalisation

The vagabond, when rich, is called a tourist (Richard unknown, cited in Thinkexist.com 2007, online).

Current globalisation is centred on a particular capitalistic economic model that overarches everything else. Economic globalisation in general is described as the process in which national economies are connected with each other, while at the same time some economic activities function outside these economies on a global scale. The consequence is increasing international economic integration and dependency on the ‘leaders’ of this economic model – America and the West.

The characteristics of economic globalisation include amongst others new economies of time and space (time-space-compression, e.g. money transfers
around the globe without time delay), a new international division of labour (e.g. production in the most profitable part of the globe), new alliances of capital (e.g. Star Alliance and One World Alliance in the airline industry), timeless financial markets and the increasing reduction of nation-states to control their economy (e.g. companies operating outside national economies) (Waters 2001). Tourism is part of this economic globalisation process. Economic globalisation is changing tourism and is also changed by tourism activities.

A very good example of a local economic event that had a global impact on the world economy and tourism is the Asian Financial (Economic) Crisis in 1997/1998 (e.g. Prideaux 1999). It started in Thailand in 1997 when excessive real estate speculation led to a drop in the Thai stock market and Thailand’s currency, the baht. Other East Asian stock markets, currencies and asset prices also dropped because Western investors lost the confidence in these economies, leading to serious economic and social consequences in those countries (Prideaux 1999). Later, other non-Asian countries were drawn into the crisis. The Brazilian currency, for example, was floated in January 1999 and Russia was near economic collapse in late 1999 (Thompson 2000). It had also consequences for international tourism such as the reduced international travel activities of Asians to New Zealand.

Asian tourists to New Zealand decreased by one-third between December 1996 and December 1998 as a direct consequence of the Asian Financial Crisis (Statistics New Zealand 2004). Visitor numbers from South Korea, for example, fell by 86 per cent between 1996 and 1998, from Taiwan 38 per cent between 1995 and 1998 and from Japan by 11 per cent between 1996 and 1999 (Statistics New Zealand 2005). This shows the global interconnections between national economies and tourism. However, tourism is not only a globalised economic force, but also a globalising economic force.

In general at least, international tourism has always been an economic globalising force, as it needs tourists to cross borderlines with their ‘cultural baggage’ to spend money for services. Its economic impact is therefore inherently connected with globalisation as it is a major service industry and a
foreign exchange earner in many countries. It is the basis of growth for many trans-national corporations that in the majority originate in the West.

Tourism also creates jobs and income, often in regions suffering from agricultural restructuring, thereby fostering regional development (e.g. Ireland) and potentially reducing global inequalities. At the moment tourism is fulfilling these core economic impacts, but it is not redistributing income globally, because most receiving and generating countries are still from the industrialised world (see for example Weaver and Lawton 2003; Goeldner and Ritchie 2003; Swarbrooke 1999; Cooper et al. 1998). Economies, including tourism economies, are driven by Western states, corporations and individuals privatising the (short-term) profits and socialising the local, national and global risks (Chomsky 2001, cited in Rao Jr 2001 ). Huntington (1993) outlines that the process of economic globalisation in general is a politically-driven one that could direct the world to a clash of civilisations of economically disadvantaged against advantaged groups. Tourism is certainly one of the main players in this 'game'.

In the same direction, Henning (1999) argues that statements about the positive economic consequences of tourism are on on shaky ground, as for example the inflation tendencies of tourism development for local residents or the cost for the provision of infrastructure are ignored. Furthermore, tourism’s influence on national or local economies is often exaggerated to ‘prove’ its economic importance and receive appropriate attention. Reasoning is that in capitalistic societies perceived benefits of economic activities as expressed by high income and employment produced by tourism is at least one, if not the most, important element that drives societies and their politicians to make favourable decisions in relation to tourism development.

On the demand side of tourism, globalisation is expressed in the homogenisation of world-wide demand in the low budget market of the industry, namely mass tourists, including the newcomers of industrialising countries. At the same time there is a heterogenisation of demand amongst the appearing post-tourists from the industrialised countries (Petermann 1999). It seems that
the appearance of the newcomers and the post-tourists follows particular phases in the capitalistic production – newcomers from modern societies with capitalistic Fordist production and post-tourists from postmodern societies with post-Fordist production.

A comparison of postmodern tourism to ‘old’ tourism shows that ‘new’ tourism is consumer-led instead of production-led. Tourism companies try to reduce the cost of their input instead of raising the value of their output. The production is low-volume, flexible and customised instead of high-volume, inflexible and mass packaged. Postmodernity is thereby the cultural equivalent to post-Fordism. It challenges everything modernity stands for – standardisation, differentiation and hierarchical notions of taste and judgement (Meethan 2001) – and there are ‘no rules only choices’ (Featherstone 1992, p. 48) in postmodernism. However, some authors such as Waters (2001) disagree with the discussion on postmodernism and modernism by describing postmodernism as nothing more than Americanisation. On the other hand, Fukuyama’s (1992, 2002) ideas suggest that economic globalisation needs to be defined as Americanisation, because America is the most developed capitalistic country, proving that it has the best socio-political value system for humans. According to this logic, non-American countries and their tourists will follow the same way as the American tourists, becoming ‘new’ postmodern tourists in the future.

Whichever approach one uses, it appears to be clear that there are shifts in the way people travel that are clearly related to the changes in production and consumption from old/Fordist economies to new/postmodern ones. The shifts include a change in the main power brokers from merchants to socio-environmental organisations and lending organisations. It is clear that this shift has to do with the consequences of the over-exploitation of resources within the capitalistic model and the consequent increasing importance of the consequences of resource depletion. Additionally, work has gradually lost its great importance in the life of Westerners. Life ethics changed from being centred on work, to being centred on leisure and, more recently, conservation. Consequently, irresponsible mass tourism, inauthentic experiences and packaged tourism products, often rightly or wrongly accused of being
environmentally and socially destructive, are slowly abandoned for individual, responsible, non-mass forms of tourism that are booked in a flexible, individual manner to create 'real' experiences. This has and will have global consequences for tourism and the connected economies. The general economic shifts in contemporary tourism, indicating the main changes from ‘old’/Fordist tourism to ‘transitional’ tourism to ‘new’/postmodern tourism are summarised in table 4.3.

### TABLE 4.3 Economic shifts in contemporary tourism from ‘old’ to ‘new’ tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of production</th>
<th>‘Old’/Fordist tourism</th>
<th>‘Transitional’ tourism</th>
<th>‘New’/postmodern tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main economic trend</td>
<td>Economic trend Fordist</td>
<td>Economic trend post-Fordist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural trend</td>
<td>Cultural trend modernism</td>
<td>Cultural trend postmodernism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main power stakeholders</td>
<td>Power with merchants and new service providers</td>
<td>Power with transnational corporations and lending organisations</td>
<td>Power with socio-environmental organisations and lending organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production orientation</td>
<td>Producer-orientation</td>
<td>Consumer-orientation and growth of consumer movements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption orientation</td>
<td>Consumption functional, tourism differentiated from leisure, culture, retailing, education and hobbies</td>
<td>Consumption aestheticised, tourism ‘de-differentiated’ from leisure, culture, retailing, education and hobbies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism products life span</td>
<td>Tourism products with long life spans</td>
<td>Many new tourism products with shorter life spans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life ethics</td>
<td>Work ethic</td>
<td>Leisure ethic</td>
<td>Conservation ethic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main tourism forms</td>
<td>Mass</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual with increased preferences for non-mass forms of tourism and increased market segmentation based on lifestyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main tourism products</td>
<td>Packaged</td>
<td>Package, exploration, adventure</td>
<td>Unpackaged/flexible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main tourist motivation</td>
<td>Ss (sun, sea, sand, sex)</td>
<td>Ts (Travelling, trekking, trucking)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience sought</td>
<td>Unreal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Real</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural orientation</td>
<td>Irresponsible (socially, culturally, environmentally)</td>
<td>Responsible (nature and conservation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mowforth and Munt 1998; Lash and Urry 1994

The economic shifts in tourism are an idealised form of development. They impact on a variety of sectors in the tourism industry and will continue to do so. It is questionable as to how far these changes will become mainstream, as mass tourism appears to remain the main form of travel for a majority of
tourists. One area that already changed dramatically is the travel distribution chain.

One supply area where these demand-side shifts are impacting amongst others is the travel distribution chain. In the last two decades, the travel distribution chain has experienced many globalising changes such as the introduction of computer technology. As a system the travel distribution chain can be divided into direct suppliers that supply direct services to customers like hotels, restaurant and airlines, and indirect suppliers that supply the products of the direct provider to the customer in various forms like travel agents, tour operators and tour wholesalers (World Tourism Organisation 1999). Petermann (1999) details the development of these channels under the conditions of globalisation at different levels. He analyses the relationship between globalisation and different tourism supply industry activities, namely the transport sector, the hospitality industry (direct providers) and travel agents (indirect provider).

The travel agent market is not greatly internationalised, as there are only a few international players, who operate mainly in the business travel sector (Petermann 1999; Freyer 2002). The main customers – private customers – are still favouring national travel agents, which are mainly small and medium businesses. Travel agents are therefore geographically located in the generating zone (Swarbrooke 1999; Freyer 2002). Word-of-mouth and repeat customers are the main marketing tools for this intermediary (World Tourism Organisation 1996); air transportation is the main type of travel arrangement (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). The main threat, but also opportunity, is the internet and its growing global use. On one hand, there is a danger that online bookings (e.g. flights) and information search will reduce or eliminate travel agents as intermediaries. On the other hand, the internet offers new opportunities to contact global customers, search for information about worldwide destinations (a process that would be time consuming for potential customers) as well as using Central Reservation Systems for easy global booking (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Nevertheless, there is a growing tendency towards ‘global’ travel agencies, which are set up by ‘big’ travel suppliers and trade enterprises (Petermann 1999) in many different countries such as the Flight Centre.
The transport sector shows even stronger concentration processes in some areas. It can be described as one of the most important sectors in tourism that is influenced by and has influences on globalisation processes. Tourists have to be taken to the tourism products; they require some form of transport (Swarbrooke 1999). Historically, developments in transport technology made new destinations accessible and affordable for the mass tourist, first domestic and regional areas by rail and car, later international destinations by airplane. They also improved the standards of many local bus services and urban services used by tourists and residents alike. Modes of transport used to travel to and at the destination today include road, rail, water and air (Cooper et al. 1998; see also Goeldner and Ritchie 2003, p. 123, for the passenger transportation structure). The transport sector, particularly air traffic, shows strong globalisation tendencies, while rail and bus are still very much nationally oriented (Freyer 2002). A further important aspect of the globalisation of tourism transport is the globalisation of the cruise ship industry (Bull 1995), marked by global concentration processes, with three companies controlling almost two-thirds of the cruise market to global destinations focusing on the Caribbean, Europe, the Far East, Australasia and the Pacific, and with increasingly bigger vessels (Page, S.J. 2003).

Globalisation and the transport sector are closely interconnected. In particular air transport could be described as one of the motors of globalisation that compresses time and space and leads to increased contact between peoples from different cultures by faster and more far-reaching aircrafts (Deutscher Bundestag 2002). The airline sector is a global business where the pace of change is very quick (Page, S. J. 2003). Horizontal integration within the airline industry is accompanied by vertical integration. Vertical integration is thereby a good example of the leading role of this industry in the globalisation of tourism. Pan Am started its own hotel group in 1946. Today the airline industry integrates hotels, tour operators/travel agents, rental car companies, theme parks and other attractions, events and global reservation systems into their operations (Freyer 2002).
Within the aviation industry there is a clear tendency towards a few 'mega carriers' leading the way into the future, with these airline-systems controlling the global market. Regional markets are serviced by small regional airlines (e.g. transport of passengers to hubs/mega-airports), often operating in niche markets. Additionally, the air traffic market of the future will possibly experience a concentration and selection process in the airport sector, with the prospect of mega-airport enterprises controlling up to 50 airports (Petermann 1999). Mega-airports (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003) will may also have to cope with larger aircraft sizes (e.g. 600-seater aircraft) (Page, S.J. 2003) and the provision of the expensive infrastructure needed. Future prognosis is varied, but it is expected that air traffic volume will grow by about five per cent yearly in the coming years, paralleled by continued liberalisation/deregulation and internationalisation of international air traffic. It will be accompanied by consistent competition policies and better environmental, consumer protection standards (Freyer 2002), the removal of trade barriers through international and regional trade agreements (Deutscher Bundestag 2002), the selling-off of airlines by governments and a consequent growth in global ownership of airlines (Page, S.J. 2003), concentration processes around international alliances and code sharing agreements. There are also growing concerns and consequent measures for safety and security at airports and in airplanes worldwide following the September 11 attacks. These measures include electronic fingerprinting and digitalised iris pictures at US airports.

However, the rapid increase in air traffic is also part of the global environmental crisis, as it releases harmful emissions into the atmosphere (i.e. contributing to global warming). Tourism faces the dilemma of increasing global air traffic volumes endangering the environmental future of tourism, particularly if, as expected, air traffic volumes will continue to grow. It could be said that tourism's economic success could also be its environmental downfall.

As with the need to transport tourists to the tourist product, most tourists also require accommodation within a transit or a tourist destination (Cooper et al. 1998). The accommodation sector is a very heterogeneous sector, ranging from small to big providers, basic to luxury accommodation, private to multi-national
operated, mobile or non-mobile or non-serviced to fully-serviced (e.g. Collier and Harraway 2001; Goeldner and Ritchie 2003). Generally, the sector is dominated by small and medium family-owned and operated businesses, especially in the hotel sector (WTTC, International Federation of Tour Operators (IFTO), International Hotel & Restaurant Association (IH&RA) and International Council of Cruise Lines (ICCL) 2002; Knowles, Diamantis and El-Mourhabi 2001), which is the most significant sub-sector of the accommodation industry (Cooper et al. 1998). Yet, there are obvious globalisation processes in the worldwide spread of hotel chains such as Holiday Inn, Sheraton or Novotel (Freyer 2002; Page, S.J. 2003). These hotel chains offer accommodation at most price levels (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003) in various places on the globe. As with the airline industry, there is also an increasing trend towards mergers, strategic alliances, multi-brand strategies (differentiation) and vertical integration, particularly with airlines and tour operators (Freyer 2002). Goeldner and Ritchie (2003) believe that such mergers and acquisitions will continue, but not to the extent of the last decade. Overall, the dynamic of growth, concentration and standardisation in the hospitality industry has reached a new quality since the 1990s. Hotel bed capacities increased dramatically worldwide, hotel chains are growing and with them the global standardisation of products offered (e.g. Go and Pine 1995; Knowles et al. 2001).

Economic globalisation, referring to the growing interdependencies between national economies and the growth in economic activities outside these national economies, clearly impacts on tourism as tourism influences it. In particular, the fact that tourists need to travel to the place of service consumption makes tourism one of the prime examples of an economic and socio-cultural globalising force. The demand side of tourism is mainly determined by two parallel developments: the homogenisation in worldwide demand by mass tourists including the newcomers, and the heterogenisation of demand by post-tourists. Both groups (newcomers travelling as mass tourists and post-tourists travelling as special interest tourists) are closely connected to two different phases in capitalistic production and consumption. The first phase is characterised by the Fordist-mode of production in modern societies and ‘old’ tourism, often predominant in newly industrialised and industrialising countries.
The second phase is characterised by the post-Fordist mode of production in postmodern societies and 'new' tourism, predominant in highly industrialised Western countries. Both groups help tourism to globalise the globe by travelling to many international destinations.

Another element of the tourism industry, the travel distribution chain, is mainly responsible for catering and satisfying tourism demand. Often, travel agents (even if it seems that their influence is decreasing as the internet becomes more dominant) are the connection between the customer and the supply chain. Their business, apart from a few big chains not yet internationalised, is influenced by global information communication technologies (e.g. Central Reservation Systems, internet as information and marketing source), global events (e.g. terrorism, epidemics), global competition in other travel sectors (e.g. reduction of travel agent commissions by airlines) and from vertically diversifying non-tourism businesses (e.g. German supermarket chains entering the travel agency market).

The travel agents package and buy their products from (direct or indirect) suppliers, a market which is determined by vertical and horizontal concentration and the necessity to form bigger units in order to survive in a globally competitive market. These concentration processes put pressure on direct suppliers in the transport and accommodation sector that also lead, especially in the airline and cruise ship industry, to growing concentration processes. The rapidly growing airline industry is thereby described as the 'motor' of globalisation, while railway and bus are still very much domestic players.

However, increased global environmental awareness is putting some pressure on the airline industry to reduce its environmental impacts. Similar pressure is directing 'big' global hotel chains to reiterate their environmental behaviour. In general, though, the accommodation sector is apart from the high value accommodation dominated by small, family owned businesses. Their potential to be more or less environmentally friendly depends very much on the individual owner.
Generally, the process of globalisation in tourism has to be central in tourism research because tourism is a driver and a recipient of the process of globalisation (Freyer 2002). This is even more so for the complementary process of localisation and tourism, where ‘a more informed approach is required’ (Meethan 2001, p. 161). The lack of such an approach means that tourism is moving between two poles of a continuum ranging from the politics of identity to the economies of profits (Barber 1996) without yet having found the socio-political ‘sustainable centre point’. The future of tourism as an industry is uncertain (e.g. fuel shortages or rising fuel prices). What appears to be obvious is that globalisation, localisation and tourism are strong forces at every destination.

4.3.6 Localisation, globalisation and tourist destinations

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any (Mahatma Gandhi, unknown).

Globalisation is said to replace the ‘space of places’ by the ‘spaces of flow’ (Castells 1996), seemingly creating places in constant flow. Social processes and human activity are permanently glocalised at the local level. It is therefore important to add the rather less-examined relationship between the destination (local place) and globalisation into the discussion (Freyer 2002). The tourist destination is a complex phenomenon operating at different geographical levels and involving many different stakeholders (Swarbrooke 1999); it is where tourism has its heaviest impacts (Leiper 2003). ‘A tourism destination, in its simplest terms, is a particular geographic region within which the visitor enjoys various types of travel experience’ (Goeldner and Ritchie 2003, p. 415). Such destinations are incorporated into the globalisation process in general, and global tourism flows in particular.
Under the condition of increased global competition or ‘hypercompetition’ (Keller 2000) between destinations (new, established, destination-like products) and under over-supply (Cooper et al. 1998), the touristic infra- and supra-structure experience is of growing importance as tourists look at the ‘total’ tourist destination – the special and the general elements – in their decision-making process. One of the main consequences of this process is the growing global standardisation of the touristic infrastructure, often also expressed in the use of hallmarks for certain quality standards (e.g. Blue Flag) or destination attributes (e.g. Art Cities of Europe), but also in the pressure to develop unique products at the level of the individual destination (Keller 2000) with global common infrastructural elements to gain a competitive advantage.

The local destination is a decisive element in a globalised tourism, as the combination of international (e.g. infra- and supra-structure, political stability), national (e.g. visa requirements, climate) and local conditions (e.g. accommodation, attractions) foster a competitive advantage (Porter 1990). It provides both the common and the specific elements that tourists are looking for. These local cultural expressions are why tourists visit places; it is the key in the marketing and promotion of destinations as well as in tourism production and consumption (Cawley et al. 2002). It could therefore be argued that a place is globally constructed by the tourism industry and the tourist as a special local place, while it is locally conceptualised by the visited population. In this process, local residents are not passive recipients of the forces of globalisation and tourism, but active creators of the local in relation to the global.

Research into globalisation and localisation forces in tourism often focuses on economic aspects. Milne and Ateljevic (2001), for example, theorise about the increasing connection between the global tourism industry and the way it influences processes of local economic development and local everyday life. They summarise that tourism, the production and consumption of moments, ‘is essentially a global process, which manifests itself locally and regionally and explicitly involves the construction of place.’ (Milne and Ateljevic 2001, p. 386) The creation of tourist places is accordingly a mix of global and local elements. Consequently, tourism depends on a mixture of local assets with international
markets and their demand (Cawley, Gaffey and Gillmor 2002). It is therefore argued that the local and the global form a dialectical process in tourism (Teo and Lim 2003), not counterforces as Keller (2002) argues, but as complementary elements within the tourism system. While tourism demand is to a significant degree globalised, supply is highly influenced by local conditions (Keller 2003). The socio-cultural, environmental and historical local environments are place-specific, while other areas are highly globalised, particularly in the areas of transport, infrastructure and competition.

New Zealand, for example, depends on global airline connections and infrastructure to be able to attract the majority of international tourists. These tourists come to see the local expression of New Zealand’s ‘green and clean’ environment and its unusual landscapes, wildlife and culture. On a smaller spatial scale, international tourists visit smaller places for their specific attributes such as unique wildlife or ease of travelling. A combination of local factors such as access, uniqueness or infrastructure provides the competitive advantage to attract international visitors to a tourist space. It is there where the global meets the local.

Recently, localisation has been emphasised by some sectors of the tourism industry, such as ecotourism operators, as a necessity in developing sustainable products that do not jeopardise tourism’s future. Localisation is building on local people, local businesses and local resources, thereby decreasing resource waste and increasing local benefits, two key ingredients of sustainable development. Interestingly, localisation does not seem to receive heightened attention in tourism, which is praising itself as fostering sustainable development and being more sustainable than other industries. The term localisation, for example, does not appear in the index of two books on tourism and globalisation, Mowforth and Munt’s (1997, 2003) Tourism and sustainability and Meethan’s (2001) Tourism in global society, and is only described as a by-product of other elements of the described globalisation process. However, localisation is an important element in globalisation, tourism and rural communities.
In relation to rural tourism, Cawley, Gaffey and Gilmor (2002, p. 63) define localisation as ‘capitalizing on the cultural, economic, social and physical resources of particular places, coupled with local organization and networking’, a process that ‘is receiving considerable attention as a method of enabling rural economies to survive the various challenges posed by the increased internationalization of investment’. Accordingly, they describe rural tourism as especially interesting for researching the links between the global and the local in tourism. In the rural context, New Zealand is in a very similar situation to the one described for Ireland by Cawley et al. (2002). There was a dramatic increase in international visitors to Ireland in the last two decades, an increase in the integration of the country into the global system with tourism marketing focusing on the countryside, whereby tourism was and still is utilised as a supporting industry for rural economies negatively affected by agricultural restructuring.

As a consequence of globalisation and increased cultural contact, local destinations are, to a greater or lesser extent, hybridised in all spheres of life, not only because of tourism, but also because of the media or the travel experiences of its inhabitants abroad etc. Globalisation and localisation therefore provide a particular destination identity tourists want to see. Local tourism industries therefore need to link the local with the global to be able to effectively develop their tourism economy, in a process that is sometimes called glocalisation (Cawley et al. 2002) or tourism industry glocalisation. However, identity and a competitive advantage could be destroyed if globalisation is the sole driving force for tourism, creating very similar destinations managed by global conglomerates to cater for the mass tourists. Such a development cannot be expected under post-Fordism consumption patterns.

Both tourism and globalisation need localisation to decentralise resources and decision making to lower levels than national governments (World Bank 1999) and to build on local concepts and resources while at the same time including external forces to develop solutions (Leisa Magazin 2001). Wahab and Cooper (2001) describe tourism as a new power for competitive advantage between nations that can effectively bridge the gap between globalisation and
It is therefore important to look at the outcomes that the interactions between the global and local have for regions, communities, households and individuals, especially because the community ‘is of vital importance as an intermediate level of social life between the personal (individual/family) and impersonal (global/institutional)’ (Milne and Ateljevic 2001, p. 374) and tourism. The forces of globalisation and localisation that work simultaneously at the destination level create a world that is more homogenous in some aspects, but more heterogeneous in others, forming a dialectical process (Teo and Lim 2003) and creating destination specific outcomes.

The mix of globalisation and localisation at the economic, socio-cultural, environmental, political and technological level of destinations (glocalisation) is exemplified by the development that the ‘centralised nation-state is giving way to both supra-national and sub-national institutions’ (Aiyar 2002, p. 62) or in more general terms the co-presence of particularising and universalising forces and standardised and specific products and services and promotions at the same time (Robertson 1997). Supra-national institutions are thereby needed to cope with the consequences of globalisation that ignore national borderlines, while sub-national actors exert pressure to be allowed to make decisions that directly impact on their local region, especially if they feel helpless to the decision regime of globalisation.

Glocalisation is a reaction of the local being set in relation to the global, but also a reaction of the global in relation to the local. The process includes the intertwined processes of localisation and globalisation operating out of and between different social stages, reinforcing the cultural identity at the level of the local community (Shade 2000). ‘In recognizing the limitations of the globalization rhetoric, a global/local framework has been increasingly used to study social phenomena in contemporary societies’ (Teo and Lim 2003, p. 289). Tourism as arguably the world’s largest industry is a social phenomena that
makes an appropriate case for conceptual discussions on the implications of globalisation and localisation (see figure 4.3). The following sections develop such a framework where the consequences of globalisation, localisation and tourism at destination level, namely the Otago Peninsula in New Zealand, are examined to close a gap in research – the impact of glocalisation and tourism on a tourist destination.

Localization is still an experiment in progress. We know less about it than about globalisation. But we cannot go back either, since both represent empowerment. The future lies with glocalisation. (Aiyar 2002, p. 66).

FIGURE 4.3 General overview of globalisation, localisation and tourism
4.4 Conclusion

Globalisation and tourism are both processes of the temporal and spatial movement of people, ideas and capital. In particular, growing access through the distribution of new technology to an increasing number of destinations is instrumental in this relationship. Tourism is one of the reasons that there are now more people on the move than ever before. The traveling population is therefore mainly from the West, accessing exotic culture through global infrastructure. Tourism sits right at the global-local nexus.

Technology is an important intersection for tourism and globalisation. It facilitates the faster transport of people (including tourists), goods, ideas and capital through time and space, leading to the shrinking of distance and time-space compression. Railways, motor cars (domestically and regionally), the wide-bodied jet or the internet (internationally) are just a few examples.

Politically, globalisation depends on the opening-up of national borderlines for trade and the movement of people. It is closely linked to the provision of infrastructure such as international airports and the signing of bi- and multilateral contracts to allow access (e.g. visa, free trade agreements). Additionally, there is a growing number of global agreements that regulate the reaction to global threats (e.g. the Kyoto Protocol) as well as the relations between governments (e.g. the World Heritage Convention). However, there is no coordinated global approach to the way in which tourism is organised.

It can be expected that in particular global threats such as climate change will have a strong impact on tourism in the future. Tourism is part of and influenced by global environmental problems. In particular mass tourism is seen as part of the problem created by tourism. It also incorporates the relationship of tourism with population growth and land pressure, urbanisation and access to natural areas and climate change and the burning of fossil fuels. At this point in time, global tourism is part of a destructive production and consumption network that is determined by the Western model of capitalism. It thereby endangers its own basis. Instead tourism could be part of a more sustainable lifestyle by reducing
its impact on the natural environment and its resources as well as on the socio-cultural environment.

As globalisation and tourism are built on mobilities and movements, they increase the contact between human beings of different cultural backgrounds. This process, however, is still very uneven, with mobile cultures mainly from the West visiting globally place-bound cultures, including developing countries, leading to the commodification and Westernisation of cultures and lifestyles. It could therefore be said that at least some tourism is Western cultural imperialism where Westerners enter into transitory, unbalanced and unequal contact with non-Westerners. The question appears again to centre around how negative is mass tourism (modern or old tourists) in comparison to special interest tourism (postmodern or new tourists), particularly as changes often appear slowly, over long periods of time. What is clear is that tourism and globalisation glocalise the cultures of the visited and the visitor to varying degrees as the relationship between the global, tourism and the local is constantly negotiated and re-negotiated at the local level.

The local and national economies are therefore ever closer connected to other economies being pressured to follow a particular model of Western capitalism that overarches everything else. In this context, tourism is a foreign exchange earner that creates jobs and income, can help regional development, and influences the balance of payments, but it can also impact on local economies through higher inflation, higher house prices or an over-reliance on tourism and trans-national organisations, especially in the developing world.
CHAPTER 5: Research methodology

What is needed ... is a more sophisticated approach to the problem, one that acknowledges the complexities of cultural contact in a globalised world and, one that does not isolate tourism from other forms of external and internal change (Meethan 2001, p. 162).

The present research has its basis in the disciplines of the social sciences as well as in the field of tourism. It connects the theoretical ideas of ‘globalisation’ and ‘tourism’ and their implications with the historical development and changes of a locality, a tourist destination and its community. Such community research to establish social and cultural impacts arises from tourism impinging on the living conditions of communities (Jennings 2001). As there is little known about the consequences of globalisation, localisation and tourism on particular places, an inductive case study approach is utilised, starting with few assumptions and broad concepts to develop theory while gathering and analysing data (Neumann 2000). The qualitative case study methodology is therefore the best option for small-scale research like this, as it puts a spotlight on one instance to focus on relationships and processes within the natural setting (Denscombe 1998; Phillimore and Goodson 2004a). It also allows the examination of the process of change (Edwards and Talbot 1994). In general, such case studies lean towards qualitative methods, which are not only well-established within tourism and hospitality research amongst anthropologists and sociologists (e.g. Boorstin 1964; Cohen 1972, 1973; MacCannell 1973, 1976; Graburn 1976 and Smith 1977) (Decrop 1999; Riley and Love 2000), but have also grown more widely in the last two decades (Davies 2003; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004).

The qualitative methods selected are participant observation with field notes, and various documentary research methods, including newspaper content analysis, photographic time comparisons and literature reviews. These two methods provide
primary and secondary data for analysis. Generally, accessibility and non-intrusiveness in relation to the natural social setting are the main arguments for the methodological selection. Access was 'given' through the fact that the researcher was a member of the local community. This also meant that the research did not affect the situation or behaviour within the natural setting as the researcher did not intrude into the lives of locals. Non-intrusiveness of the research methods, in particular participant observation, was also important in order to preserve reactions or behaviour of the observed in the 'natural' setting. Accordingly, ethical approval was not sought as no individual is identifiable from the research, no participant was put at risk, there was no conflict between the activities of the researcher as private individual and as researcher and no physical and psychological stress was exerted on any participant (University of Otago 2009). Table 5.1 summarises the elements of the research.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research</th>
<th>Selected approach</th>
<th>Brief description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paradigms that inform research</td>
<td>various</td>
<td>Interpretive Social Sciences (multiple realities, subjective, qualitative methods), postmodernism (world is complex, constantly changing, infinite interpretations, subjective, qualitative methods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description main paradigm (philosophical/theoretical paradigm)</td>
<td>Interpretivism</td>
<td>Ontology (nature of being): no direct access to real world, no single external reality Epistemology (relationship between reality and research): focus on specific and concrete, seeking to understand specific context Methodology: focus on understanding and interpretation, researcher wants to experience what they are studying, allows feelings and reason to govern actions, partially created what is studied, use of pre-understanding important, distinction fact/value judgement less clear, accept influence from both science and personal experience, grounded in a range of philosophical and sociological ideas (hermeneutics, relativism, humanism, phenomenology and naturalism) Techniques: primarily qualitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique used (qualitative or quantitative)</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Inductive, multiple realities, grounded in real world, subjective, emic situatedness of researcher (insider), unstructured and emergent research design, study specific, exploratory, constructs are messy and research questions are developed, focus on themes, non-random selection of participants, textual representation of data, searching for themes and motifs in analysis, findings represented as narrative, active voice of researcher, reflects a 'slice' of the real world Ethnographic methodology: description of the day-to-day events on the Otago Peninsula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>Case study</td>
<td>Studies the particularity and complexity of a single case to understand activities within important circumstances, often used in small-scale research, in-depth study, focus on relationship and processes within the natural setting, multiple sources and methods Methods used: Documentary research, participant observation, photographic interpretation Data: primary and secondary data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data used</td>
<td>Primary data</td>
<td>Data collected for the specific purpose of the research, in this study participant observation, actual photographic images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data used</td>
<td>Secondary data</td>
<td>Data collected for another purpose, in this study books and journals, newspaper articles, web site pages and the internet, official statistics and local government publications, historic photographic images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>Documentary research</td>
<td>Books and journals: Used for the literature reviews on globalisation and the Otago Peninsula Historic newspaper articles: Used as data source for the history of the Otago Peninsula, three main newspaper sources are the Otago Witness (1851-1932), the Evening Star (1863-1979) and the Otago Daily Times (since 1861) Current newspaper articles: Used as a supplement to the participant observation, the main newspaper source is the Otago Daily Times Web sites/Internet: Used as supplement for research on globalisation, tourism and the Otago Peninsula Official statistics and local government publications: Used Statistics New Zealand and local libraries to establish statistical long-term data sets as well as local government publications (e.g. Otago Peninsula Community Board minutes) to supplement information ‘Litter’ of popular culture: tourist brochures and flyers delivered to local households to supplement information on community events and tourism Historic photographic images: Used to evaluate visual changes in the Otago Peninsula landscape, with focus on Broad Bay and Portobello, because of the availability of images for these areas (in connection with actual images)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>Participant observation</td>
<td>The observer participates in the daily life of people under study, either openly or covertly, observing the things that happen, listening to what is said and questioning people over some length of time. In this study, events on the Otago Peninsula are observed. The participants were in many cases aware of the research of the participating researcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>Photographic images</td>
<td>Historic photographic images: Used to evaluate visual changes in the Otago Peninsula landscape, with focus on Broad Bay and Portobello, because of the availability of images for these areas (in connection with actual images) Actual photographic images: Used to evaluate changes in the Otago Peninsula landscape, with focus on Broad Bay and Portobello, because of the availability of images for these areas (in connection with historic images)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Within the research, multiple methods were used for the different development stages on the Otago Peninsula (OP). Documentary research covered all of the stages, with the exception of stage 1 Maori and stage 2 Sealers and whalers, in particular books, newspaper articles (1851 to 2006), official statistics (Statistics New Zealand) and photographic images (first image from 1867). Stages 1 and 2 were only described in books and a few additional materials. For stages 5 (Domestic tourists) and 6 (International tourists) participant observation and two interviews/recordings were added to the analysis. One interview was recorded for the purpose of producing a case study for an Otago Polytechnic lecturer in film on the individual history of the OP. It described the period between 1930s and today. The second recording was taped by a local resident out of fear of the loss of part of the OP’s history between the 1920s and the 1970s after his generation would have died. The interviews were particularly helpful for the period between 1930 and 1960 when there was not much information recorded in documents. The information in stage 6 (International tourists) was supplemented by participant observation, litter of popular culture and websites that covered the latest phase in the development of the OP (2001-2006).

Hence the researcher relied on the availability of documents. To acquire a general overview of the historical development of the OP, publications about the OP were searched for and available books read. The literature found included historical books and university theses about the Peninsula (e.g. Read 2005; Knight 1979; Entwisle 1976; Huggett 1966), government publications (e.g. DCC 2002; 2003; Duder 1976), local publications (e.g. Broad Bay Community Centre 1999; Otago Peninsula Trust 1998; Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1991) and the OP part of travel books about Dunedin (e.g. Hayward 2004; Peat and Patrick 1995; Shaw 1992; Morris and Forsyth 1986). They covered the development since the start of human settlement by the Maori. Nevertheless, the knowledge of the history of the Maori settlement and movement is difficult to reconstruct as these publications only cover this period in a very basic manner. Additionally, general literature on New Zealand history was utilised to frame the OP development within the NZ context.
(e.g. Bateman New Zealand Encyclopedia 2000; Hutching 1998; McLauchlan et al. 1986). For stage 6 (International tourism) participant observation, two interviews/recordings (also covering stage 5 Domestic tourism) and the litter of popular culture were added to assess the change that globalisation had brought.

Historically, scientific research using the term 'globalisation' is relatively new as the term itself 'was coined in the 1980s' (BBC News 2000, p. 2), but rarely used before 1990 (e.g. Giddens 1999; Deutscher Bundestag 2001). In Western societies the term is often related to the development of capitalism, the development of nation states and limited to economic globalisation impacting upon other areas of daily life such as politics. Tourism research in the areas is also limited. Previous research on the topics globalisation, localisation and tourism focuses on a limited number of topics such as:

- the impacts of globalisation on developing countries, globalisation and sustainable tourism (e.g. Mowforth and Munt 1998)
- globalisation from an industry/government viewpoint (e.g. Wahab and Cooper 2001; Knowles, Diamantis and El-Mourhabi 2001)
- the connection between telecommunications and tourism in shaping space (e.g. Holmes 2001)
- macro-regions, globalisation and tourism (e.g. Teo, Chang and Ho 2001)
- tourism as an economic development tool in the context of globalisation (e.g. Scheyvens 2002).

The lack of research in the actual historical development and connections of globalisation, localisation and tourism at destination level is evident. However, Macleod (2004) published a book *Tourism, globalisation and cultural change* that analyses this relationship in Valle Gran Rey, on La Gomera, Canary Island, to some extent. He focuses very specifically on the influence of the type and motivation of tourists and on work and property, power and conflict, social identity and family, beliefs and values. Unfortunately, the history of the destination comes
Globalisation, localisation and tourism are changing everyday human life. In order to research such changes the researcher needs to observe and learn about this everyday life through, for example, its description in newspapers, participant observation and other local literature. This is vital in order to be able to answer the question of how historically appropriate these relatively new terms/concepts are in the development of New Zealand, particularly the Otago Peninsula. It is also suggested that the connection between globalisation, localisation and tourism is a two-way process, by which tourism needs globalisation and localisation and vice versa. Tourism has to balance the opposing forces of localisation and globalisation in order to attract tourists to a particular place such as the Otago Peninsula using its unique features as well as the global infrastructure. By limiting the area under investigation to the Otago Peninsula, it is possible to develop a framework of interconnections and changes, which can possibly be adjusted to other places in New Zealand.

In general, research is about finding out; it involves analysis and seeks to find explanations, relationships, predictions, generalisations and theories (Phillips and Pugh 2000; Phillimore and Goodson 2004). Research in tourism is consequently an analysis with the means to find explanations and develop theories in tourism, and as tourism as a discipline is growing so is the literature on research in tourism (e.g. Veal 1992, 2006; Brunt 1997; Jennings 2001; Lennon 2003; Phillimore and Goodson 2004). Tourism research includes amongst other results the provision of information for planning, policies and management at the local level, and the social, environmental and economic impacts of tourism, the generation of temporal
views of the past, present and future and the evaluation of tourism and its outcomes in a variety of contexts (Jennings 2001).

Specific topics in the relationship between globalisation and tourism are well researched. Research into the topic concentrates, as outlined above, mostly on globalisation and tourism in developing countries or the business side of tourism and the impacts of globalisation on it, with localisation being far less prominent in most research despite the fact that scientists know far less about localisation than about globalisation (Aiyar 2002). It is also mainly descriptive, often focusing on a geographical macro-level. The focus of this research is on the actual consequences and historical changes of globalisation, localisation and tourism at the destination level especially from the viewpoint of locals and ‘their’ media.

Globalisation, localisation and tourism are intertwined with each other, and they work together at a destination at the same time. The history of a place thereby shapes the presence and the presence is the sum of the collective historical experiences of the place – places are historically constructed in space (Milne and Ateljevic 2001). It is hoped that this research helps to determine some aspects of general importance concerning the changes that globalisation, localisation and tourism brought, bring and will bring to tourist destinations. To be able to do this for an area like the Otago Peninsula, it needs to be examined how residents actually describe and experience changes in their narratives. This is best done by using an interpretivistic qualitative case study approach (Maykut and Morehouse 1994).

Ontologically, interpretivism has the premise that there is no access to the real world, partly because there is no single external reality, but many. In the instance of the case study area Otago Peninsula, it follows that there are, for example, different groups with different perceptions of the external reality such as farmers, non-farming residents and tourists. The researcher’s focus therefore has to be on the specific and concrete, seeking to understand the specific context of the perceived realities (epistemology) of farmers, non-farming residents and tourists,
by concentrating on understanding of the realities and interpreting them (methodology) (Carson, Gilmore, Perry and Gronhaug 2001). Such philosophy lends itself to qualitative case study research conducted in the field.

As a qualitative case study, the research has advantages and disadvantages (see table 5.2) that overlap with qualitative research in general. The specific elements of a case study approach include the in-depth focus on a single case (Otago Peninsula) grounded in a complex social setting where the researcher has little control over events (e.g. Tharenou, Donohue and Cooper 2007, pp. 73-87). It encourages the use of a variety of methods to develop a focus of enquiry and to uncover the subtleties of relationships and social processes in the OP. The selection of a case study approach is grounded in the uniqueness of the expected outcome of the analysed mediation process between globalisation and local forces in every specific locality (Teo and Lim 2003). This method is used to research unusual, complex events (globalisation) that involve change and time (since the beginning of human settlement), affecting the 'culture in which they are embedded' (Otago Peninsula) (Tharenou, Donohue and Cooper 2007, p. 75). In essence, it is expected that answers are found in response to the question of how the OP changed over time as a consequence of globalisation with a particular focus on tourism.

The ‘problems’ with a case study include the subjectivity of the research, for example what sources to include in the research. Additionally, reproduction and generalisations are problematic, as the findings are specific to the case study (see, e.g., Denscombe 1998). These problems overlap with qualitative research in general and are dealt with in the following section.
TABLE 5.2 Case study advantages and disadvantages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permits the collection of in-depth data on a single case</td>
<td>Emergence of case study focus could extend the time and money needed for the study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence is grounded in the social setting that is studied</td>
<td>The research process is subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allows the researcher to deal with subtleties of complex social situations</td>
<td>Findings are specific to the case study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The holistic approach makes it possible to analyse relationships and social processes</td>
<td>Reproduction is difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It encourages the use of a variety of research methods to capture the complex reality of social settings</td>
<td>Generalisation to other cases not possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fits well with small-scale research as the effort is concentrated on one research site</td>
<td>Often perceived as producing “soft” data lacking the degree of rigour needed in research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularly suitable where the researcher has little control over events, especially naturally occurring events</td>
<td>It is difficult to decide what sources of data to incorporate into the research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Possible ethical problems and bias with covert data collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There is a possibility of an effect arising from the researcher presence (observer effect)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Denscombe 1998; Jennings 2001; Veal 2006

Qualitative research in tourism is not new, as ‘much of the seminal work in tourism was initiated through qualitative research (Boorstin 1964; Cohen, E. 1972, 1973, 1979; Graburn 1976; MacCannell 1973, 1976; Smith 1977’) (Riley and Love 2000, p. 163; see also Decrop 1999). Since the end of the 1980s and the start of the 1990s, there was a phenomenal expansion of qualitative inquiry in general (Miles and Huberman 1994), including in tourism.

Qualitative research ‘works’ from the premise that there are multiple realities within the same human phenomenon (Maykut and Morehouse 1995; Hollinshead 2004). It is therefore best that the people personally involved in a tourism setting under research describe it in their own words (Veal 2006) to uncover specific (tourism) realities. In order to do this the researcher needs to be immersed in the situation (emic situatedness) to be able to reflect a ‘slice’ of the ‘real worlds’ present in a tourist place like the Otago Peninsula, by using non-intrusive research methods such as literature analysis, participant observation, newspaper content analysis and photographic comparisons. In the sense of combining a number of methods, the approach is ethnographic in the use of the four research methods, because they are ‘particularly suited for micro-level analysis especially in teasing out the
complexities involved in localised forms of practice and knowledge and contextualising these in terms of transformation (Cohen, E. 1984; Graburn and Moore 1994; Nash 1996; Selwyn 1994)’ (Meethan 2001, p. 172). From the start of the inquiry to the end design the process is exploratory, trying to uncover themes within the relation of globalisation, localisation and tourism in the research area. Accordingly, the selection of participants is non-random, reflecting the movements and limitations of the subjective researcher to uncover the history and the day-to-day events on the Otago Peninsula.

The qualitative approach selected – documentary research for the assessment of the past combined with long-term participant observation and observation for the present – is hardly ever used as it has the basic condition of the researcher living in the case study area over a long period of time. This is, under normal circumstances, rarely possible, but it eases access and openness of observed residents. Generally, participant observation is a form of data collection which has the advantage of ‘only’ needing the researcher as ‘equipment’ to do the first-hand data collection. But more importantly, participant observation makes it possible to examine interactions and behaviours within the lived everyday life of the Otago Peninsula over an extended period of time without interference, thereby giving insights into its complex realities and social processes. It makes it possible to describe changes in the participants’ lives in relation to the global, the local and tourism.

On the other hand, it emerges that this type of data collection also has clear disadvantages. The main problems include the limitation in access possibilities for the researcher, the exclusion of the voices of certain groups living on the Otago Peninsula, and the difficulties of being a resident, a participant and a researching observer at the same time. It can be expected that the movements and data collection locations were limited to observe certain people and visiting certain sites in the research area. That sets boundaries to the research result concerning representativeness. Furthermore, the lack of verifiable data through the use of field
notes, the closeness of the researcher to the place and people under investigation and the 'voices' excluded, made objectivity impossible. Other typical disadvantages often mentioned for participant observation that also occur include the difficulty of generalising from the results, the possibility of interpreter bias in the selection of events worth noting down, and the impossibility of replicating the research (e.g. Jennings 2001; Denscombe 1998).

In order to mitigate against the disadvantages, various documentary research methods are used to counter the problems of lack of representativeness. Newspaper article and the 'litter' of popular culture (e.g. flyers delivered to local households, tourist brochures published about the Otago Peninsula, brochures published by individual businesses) content analysis, and photographic comparisons counteract some of the disadvantages of participant observation such as the verification of observed events or the exclusion of certain groups or 'voices'. The lack of objectivity, one of the basic 'problems' of qualitative data gathering and analysis, is not seen as a problem, but as an advantage, 'helping' to avoid the fruitless goal of a subjective individual trying to do objective research within a small-scale research project. Objectivity was neither sought nor attempted. Furthermore, generalising from the research result could be possible, but only to a limited extent. As with most case studies, similar research needs to be conducted, results need to be compared to be able to extract similarities and differences, and to possibly develop a theoretical model. This is certainly beyond the scope of the research. Table 5.3 provides a broad overview over the advantages and disadvantages of participant observation.
TABLE 5.3 Participant observation advantages and disadvantages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only basic equipment needed, the researcher's self (cost efficient)</td>
<td>There are often limited access possibilities for the researcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no association with complicated data collection method</td>
<td>It does not provide temporal comparability as it focuses on the present, and past and future settings cannot be observed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It provides first-hand information</td>
<td>There is a possibility that the researcher is not capable of gathering a complete information set; some events are possibly taboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It examines the interactions and behaviours in real world settings</td>
<td>It is not appropriate for opinions and attitudes as the researcher cannot observe them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not interfere with the natural setting, therefore better in retaining naturalness of social setting</td>
<td>It is very demanding concerning time commitment and personal resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gives insights into social processes and can deal with complex realities</td>
<td>The dependence on the self of the researcher and field notes leads to a lack of verifiable data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It offers holistic explanations as it incorporates the relationships between various factors</td>
<td>It is problematic to generalise from the research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It takes the subject's point of view, getting the actor's meaning</td>
<td>Ethical problems can arise from the absence of consent from those observed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The researcher is able to become aware of the participants construct and describe their world</td>
<td>Does not work with large groups as the researcher can only be in one setting at one time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It enables the collection of a wide range of data, because the researcher is in the field for an extended period of time</td>
<td>It has no control over researcher bias as the researcher may lose his objectivity by being a participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There is a possibility for observer bias (selective observations and misinterpretations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is associated with subjective interpretations by observers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There is a possibility of behavioural change due to the researcher presence in the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The replication is impossible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Denscombe 1998; Jennings 2001; Veal 2006

The participant observation of the case study took place between May 2001 and September 2005, and involved writing a field notes diary. Observations were made during the everyday life of the researcher within the community. This included talking to members of the local community (e.g. the local badminton club, the local market, conversations), tourists visiting the area (e.g. friends visiting, people met during work at the local backpacker) and recreationists from Dunedin. The anonymity of those observed was protected by changing the original names. Additional observations were made during the drive to and from work, during jogging and walking and wherever possible. The more than 30,000-word notes were read and searched for recurring themes. These themes were compared with the results of the literature search and documentary research.
Other research methods employed are documentary. They include newspaper content analysis, 'litter' of popular culture content analysis and photographic comparisons. In general, apart from being cost-effective and (in most cases) easy to access, documentary research has two main advantages within the research setting. Documentary research (and participant observation) is non-intrusive, and does therefore not interfere with the natural setting (e.g. Seale, Gobo, Gubrium and Silverman 2004; Jennings 2001). It also helps to study past events that cannot be covered by participant observation but which provide the basis for the current events being observed.

However, documents are normally written by different authors for different purposes, looking at events from an outside (etic) position and recording the past. Furthermore, the credibility of the sources used is often difficult to evaluate, as possible biases are not obvious to the researcher (Jennings 2001) (see table 5.4). These research methods were, however, selected to complement participant observation, with its insider (emic) position recording only the present in order to develop the story of the Otago Peninsula through time.

**TABLE 5.4 Documentary research advantages and disadvantages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It uses non-intrusive research processes</td>
<td>It contains an outsider (etic) position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is possible to study the past and the present</td>
<td>The data only records the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data access is relatively easy and inexpensive</td>
<td>The researcher and most authors of the texts are separated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The research is therefore normally cost-effective</td>
<td>Different readings of texts will produce different interpretations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Credibility of source difficult to evaluate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The material is produced for another purpose than the actual research</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Denscombe 1998; Jennings 2001; Veal 2006

The documentary research consisted of a number of different elements. The most substantial parts were the collection of newspaper articles and photographic images referring to the OP. Originally, the researcher started with reviewing the *Otago Witness* (1851-1909, 3055 issues) and the *Evening Star* (1863-1978) and
the *Otago Daily Times* (1861-today) on microfiche, issue by issue. However, to review the first 15 years of the *Otago Witness* took more than two months. It was therefore decided to review the catalogue of newspaper articles at the public library in Dunedin which was organised in terms of local districts, including the OP as one. The research yielded 1362 articles. In the next stage, the articles were read and summarised in a table, before the main themes were determined and compared with the historical literature.

For the participant observation period, the researcher read the *Otago Daily Times* and the local community newspaper, the *Star* (also published by the owner of the *Otago Daily Times*, Allied Press), as well as collecting other materials delivered to his mail box and at the Dunedin and Portobello visitor information centres (the litter of popular culture). Overall, 721 newspaper articles (the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Star*) that are connected to the OP were collected between May 2001 and September 2005. They were read and summarised in a table format. The results were compared with the main themes of the participant observation to extract overlapping and contrasting topics. Whenever possible, the material was supplemented by litter of popular culture (e.g. a tourist map of the arts trail).

Additional documents utilised include still photographs and two interviews. Still photographs were added as an adjunct to participant observation and the main themes distilled from the newspapers. The images were obtained from a variety of sources, including the Otago Peninsula Historical Society (museum and archives), two local exhibitions about the history of Broad Bay and Portobello, and local people. Nearly 1000 images were photographed (digitally) and searched in order to help to communicate simple research results.

During the research period, a recording and an historical interview were given to the researcher. A member of the local badminton club supplied two 90-minute tapes that his grandfather recorded in the 1970s. The grandfather was worried that the knowledge of the history of the OP would be lost. He therefore taped his
memories. The recordings that cover the period between 1920 and 1970 were transcribed and analysed. They provided further input into the historical events that shaped the OP. A second interview was provided by a local resident working at the Otago Polytechnic. He had interviewed a local identity about her life on the OP between the 1930s and 2004 as a case study for his students. This interview was also transcribed and analysed. Both interviews were very valuable for the period between 1930 and 1960, as neither the Otago Daily Times nor the Evening Star contained much information about the OP.

Generally, it is expected that the closeness of the researcher with the area unravels aspects that would not have come to light had the researcher only spent a specific period of time in the field. It allows the in-depth examination of the process of change within the natural setting, thereby capturing the complexities of the locality and bringing them alive by focusing on local understandings (Edwards and Talbot 1994; Denscombe 1998; Davies 2003). In general, the historical changes analysed within the thesis therefore lean towards qualitative research methods, as they allow for an emic (insider) understanding of the interpretations and inside knowledge of local people as well as an etic (outsider) understanding of the past of the Otago Peninsula.

The development of the Otago Peninsula as settlement and tourist destination has a history that goes back to the first people of Polynesian origin settling in the area, the Maori, followed by white settlers, and later short-term visitors such as international tourists. In order to understand the impacts these peoples had on the place the researcher needs to use various qualitative methods to develop a comparative, processual, contextual and emic (Cohen 1979) picture of the occurring changes. As outlined above, this research follows an interpretivistic approach and its general ontological (nature of reality), epistemological (relationship reality/researcher) and methodological research philosophy (Jennings 2001).
The research took place continuously from May 2001 to September 2005. It includes documentary research, primarily newspaper analysis and literature analysis, participant observation, image analysis and other material available to the author such as flyers, historical description of the area by residents, Dunedin City Council (DCC) publications and tourist brochures.

The researcher can be described as methodologically pragmatic, using a range of different methods that are best suited to explore the issues at hand. It is suggested that the methods and resources available to develop a comprehensive history of the Otago Peninsula with particular focus on change as a consequence of globalisation, localisation and tourism lead to documentary research for the past (pre-2001), while documentary analysis supplemented by participant observation is able to uncover issues of the more recent past (post-2001).

Generally, the research did not proceed as expected by the researcher; it was a constant process of development and evolvement. At the start, for example, the researcher intended to write about sustainable tourism and the Otago Peninsula, then about ecotourism on the Otago Peninsula, before deciding to look at the actual topic as a consequence of the experiences of the first months of research. There were wrong leads and uncertainties, there were issues related to being part of a community enjoying everyday life while at the same time remembering to write down the observations, but there were also 'Aha' moments. However, such experiences can be expected from qualitative research (Hollinshead 1996). In the end, the research methods selected seemed appropriate to answer the question at hand in the research area Otago Peninsula. In the following section the reasons for the selection of the Otago Peninsula as research area as well as a brief summary of the area are provided.
5.1 Selecting a tourist destination- the Otago Peninsula

The land area of the Peninsula is small, but within that area the landscape and seascape are of a great variety and often of the highest quality. These endow the Peninsula with a strong regional character, unique within Otago, and of national value (Dunedin Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority 1968, p. 4).

New Zealand received around 0.3 per cent of all international global tourist arrivals, and 1.8 per cent or 2.104 million of all international visitors to the Asia Pacific region in 2003 (World Tourism Organisation 2004a). In 2007, there were 2,465,680 international tourist arrivals to New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2008a). Such tourists visit to experience adventure, relaxation and revitalisation and to connect with nature (Ministry of Tourism 2005). Globally, the country is a 'small' player within the international tourism industry. Nevertheless, the economic contribution of tourism to the country’s economy is, with 5.9 per cent of total employment and 4.9 per cent of New Zealand’s total industry contribution to GDP in 2004, very high (Statistics New Zealand 2005). But even more important, it was the highest primary export earner in 2004, with 18.5 per cent of all exports (NZ$7.4 billion) – ahead of the dairy industry, the ‘traditional’ top export earner with 14.3 per cent (NZ$5.7 billion) (Statistic New Zealand 2005). Tourism therefore plays ‘a key role in the growth of our [New Zealand’s] economy through employment, foreign exchange earnings, investment and regional development’, contributing nearly 10 per cent to New Zealand’s GDP (Ministry of Tourism 2005, online). This statement by the Ministry of Tourism in New Zealand provides the framework for the relationship between tourism, globalisation and localisation in a long-haul niche destination ‘plagued’ by the tyranny of distance such as New Zealand. While tourism, for example, provides valued foreign exchange earnings from international tourists who use a global infrastructure to travel to New Zealand, it can also help to foster regional development such as retaining local tradition for tourists and employment
and income generation. Nevertheless, it can also have negative localised consequences for localities, such as limiting access to natural attractions for residents in favour of paying tourists, high traffic numbers during peak tourist periods slowing down commuter travel, or natural destruction following inappropriate tourism numbers.

Significant numbers of international and domestic tourists are attracted to the Otago region in the South Island of New Zealand. Overall, 4.220 million tourists (913,000 international and 3.306 million domestic tourists) visited the area in 2003, spending NZ$1.344 million (NZ$709 million international and NZ$635 million domestic tourist spending) (Tourism Research Council 2005a). The main attractions include the 'extensive' recreation infrastructure, scenery and mountains, business travel, education travel as well as VFR and leisure visitors to destination like Queenstown and Dunedin (Tourism Research Council 2005a, online).

Dunedin is a university city of around 121,000 (DCC 2005a), located on the south-eastern coast of New Zealand's South Island. It has a well-developed transport infrastructure, including an extensive road network, a large domestic and a small international airport (that is currently under reconstruction to cater for more domestic and international flights) as well as a seaport that attracts large cruise ships (Tourism Research Council 2005). In 2003, the city received 1.711 million tourists (525 international and 1.187 million domestic tourists) spending NZ$431 million (NZ$248 million international and NZ$183 million domestic tourist spending) (Tourism Research Council 2005), making it the second biggest tourist centre in Otago after Queenstown-Lakes (Otago Regional Council 2005). The city's attractions include its Scottish heritage and its wildlife.

The Otago Peninsula, located on the urban fringe of Dunedin, is therefore the main area for wildlife viewing by domestic and international tourists. It includes the only mainland albatross colony in the world (located on its tip), the 'rarest' penguin – the yellow-eyed penguin, and the rare Hooker sea lion visible on its beaches, as well
as seals, little blue penguins and various species of birds. As a consequence, Dunedin is described as ‘New Zealand’s wildlife capital’ (Peat and Patrick 1995). It is therefore one of the most important attractions for tourists to come to Dunedin, but is also a local recreational resource for activities such as walking or rural relaxation.

The Otago Peninsula signifies a rural wildlife tourist attraction located at the urban fringe of one of New Zealand’s main population centres. Like other rural areas in New Zealand, it attracts recreationists, domestic and international tourists sharing the resources with local residents. The area signifies both representative and unique characteristics. Historically, for example, the settlement of the Otago Peninsula progressed in a similar fashion (with local alterations) to many rural maritime locations such as Akaroa near Christchurch, e.g. Maori, sealers and whalers, but also had its specific patterns. Settlers, for example, had a specific background (Scottish Presbyterians), the goldrush happened at a specific time (the 1860s) and made Dunedin the biggest city in NZ where the first newspaper and the first university were founded, and tourism therefore started there earlier than in other places.

For most rural communities in New Zealand, tourism is a recent event. This is different for the OP, as it attracted recreationists and domestic tourists from the 1860s onwards because of its location on the urban fringe of the-then biggest city in New Zealand (following the gold rush in 1861). The location of a rural area within the city boundaries is rather rare, but made the place an important recreational and tourist destination long before most other places in New Zealand.

The close location of rural and urban area also attracted a great diversity of ratepayers, including Dunedin recreationists owning a second home, lifestyle migrants enjoying nature in close proximity to an urban service centre (e.g. artists, alternative lifestyles), daily commuters working in Dunedin and historical long-term residents, particularly farmers with ancestry going back to the first two shiploads of
Scottish settlers. It also impacted and still impacts on the settlement pattern. The Peninsula itself can be divided into two distinct settlement regions: the inner Peninsula, sheltered from the forces of nature and the open sea by rugged hills and therefore including all the major settlements; and the ocean-facing outer Peninsula that is still predominantly agricultural.

In addition to the reasoning above, there were also personal motives in the decision to research the Otago Peninsula. As a resident the researcher was interested in the place and its history, present and future. This commitment started with a dissertation written in 2000 on the question of the opinion of farmers on public access to private lands for recreational purposes in the area (Reiser 2000). It was further enhanced by the experience of having been a tourist, a short-term resident (four months in 1997) and a resident (for more than seven years).

The differences and similarities between the Otago Peninsula and other rural areas, as well as personal interest, made the Otago Peninsula an appealing research area. Additionally, the specific circumstances of the researcher having an interest and knowledge (e.g. a dissertation on public access to private places on the OP) and being resident in the area made it possible to observe behaviours and events over a long period of time (four years) without interfering in the life of the observed. The emerging research design and research methods are thus determined by the search of the researcher to find out more about the changes on the Otago Peninsula since human settlement that can be attributed to globalisation, localisation and/or tourism. The initial and following data collection and analysis helped to develop a research model referring to clearly identifiable stages of human movement in the development of the research area. These stages partly overlap with a discourse model developed by Read (2005) relating to landscape changes on the Otago Peninsula. In detail, Read’s landscape discourses are the Mana Whenua (stage 1 Maori), agricultural (stage 3 Settlers), environmental (stage 4 recreationists and commuters), neo-liberal (stage 6 international tourists), gardening (stages 3 and 4 Settlers and Recreationists/commuters), heritage
(stages 5 and 6 Domestic and International tourists) and picturesque discourses (stages 5 and 6). Read’s (2005) research shows that human movement created change, in this case on the landscape. This thesis extends her discourses to include not only the landscape (the environment), but also socio-politics, culture, economy and technology active within the Otago Peninsula. There is also a stronger focus on the connection between the Otago Peninsula and national, regional, international and global influences through history.

Initial stages of human settlement resulted from the literature review. These stages determined to a large extent the methods used to research the changes. Figure 5.1 indicates the stages and the data collection methods used.
FIGURE 5.1 Overview of research methods used for different historical stages
The figure above details the multiple research methods used to research the different stages on the OP. Documentary research in particular books, newspapers and photographic images provided the basis for all stages with the exception of the time prior to 1844–48. There is a clear lack of documents going back to the pre-white settlement time (stage 1 Maori and stage 2 sealers and whalers). In stages 3 (settlers/goldminers) and 4 (recreationists/weekend cribbies/commuters) photographic images obtained from the museum and two local historical exhibitions were added to help to establish changes. In stage 5 (domestic tourists) and 6 (international tourists) two interviews/recordings helped to establish an overall image in conjunction with documents and photographic images. The last stage (stage 6 international tourists) received the most attention with the addition of extensive participant observation and the collection of popular litter of culture. In general, the research methods were dictated by the availability of, and access to, particular data and people. In particular, the historical research was more documentary, while the contemporary research also included the collection of primary data through participant observation.
5.2 Historical and contemporary research

Although the peninsula lies on the threshold of a major city and has a long history of human modification, it remains wild and remote in character, a place where weather and sea hold sway (Judd 2001, p. 22).

The background of the research is the search for the major historical changes on the Otago Peninsula with a particular focus on the area between Broad Bay and Taiaroa Head since the beginning of human settlement. In order to do this a range of documentary sources, including literature, photographs, guidebooks, locally distributed flyers and tourist brochures, as well as newspaper analysis, historical interviews collected for a different purpose and participant observation, are applied. To explore the historic and actual perception of the changes at the tourist destination and to apply these methods, it is practical to be at the research location, even to live there.

There are several literature accounts of the history of the Otago Peninsula, but none focus specifically on the changes as a consequence of human movement. The two most prominent examples are the books of Peter Entwisle (The Otago Peninsula 1976) and Hardwicke Knight (Otago Peninsula: A local history 1979). From the literature and the previous research on the Otago Peninsula, a historical model (see figure 4.1 above) was developed to be further evaluated with other research material.

The research for stages 1 (Maori) and 2 (sealers and whalers) relied solely on history books and historical newspapers (Otago Daily Times since 1861, the Evening Star 1863-1979 and the Otago Witness 1851-1932) to establish major changes. This is also valid for stages 3 (European settlement) and 4 (recreationists), which were, however, supplemented with photographs. Photographic images, and to a lesser extent paintings and drawings, of Dunedin
and the Otago Peninsula, which first appeared in the 1850s, were utilised to
demonstrate some of the changes from then to now.

If possible, historical published accounts by newspapers and books were double-
checked as they are often second- or third-hand information: the 'stories' told
there were changed by time, the re-telling of the story or biased reporting. One of
the main newspapers used, the *Otago Witness*, for example, ‘took a high moral
stand. However it was actually insulting, vindictive and highly biased in the way
that it helped William Cargill (leader of the Otago Association, the branch of the
New Zealand Company responsible for the initial settlement of Otago), fight his
political opponents’ (National Library of New Zealand 2002, online). Their
reporting is therefore representing one possible reality. However, in the case of
stages 1 and 2, double-checking was often not possible, and this reliance on
published accounts is certainly a limitation, even if it is unavoidable.

The photographic images used from the third stage onwards mainly stem from
three local exhibitions: ‘Rolling back the past’ (1998 for Portobello’s A & P Show)
and ‘Broad Bay’s past’ (1996 for the 50th anniversary of the second Broad Bay
Community Hall and 1998 to commemorate 150 years of organised European
settlement in Otago). The selection of the images for the exhibitions relied on
what local and former local residents made available to the committees of the
various exhibitions. They may therefore not reflect the history of all people of the
area, but provide an additional source of information to evaluate some of the
arguments made. Fortunately, a local resident re-took some of the old images
(taken between 1867 and 1930s) from the same positions again for the 1996
exhibition in Broad Bay. These 'shots' were taken again in 2005 to analyse the
visible changes over an extended period in time. Other photographic images
were taken from the *Otago Witness*, which published them between 1900 and
1932, and the local Peninsula Museum and Historical Society, as well as the
archives of the Settlers Museum in Dunedin, to supplement other documentary
sources.
In stages 5 and 6 'litter of popular culture' was added to the analysis. This included promotional material, flyers delivered to private Broad Bay households and tourist brochures about the Otago Peninsula collected from the Dunedin Visitor Centre, the Portobello Store and visiting friends.

Finally, in stage 6, newspaper articles from the *Otago Daily Times* and the flyers delivered to Broad Bay residents for the period December 2000 and August 2005 were thoroughly collected and analysed. For this purpose the researcher subscribed and read the *Otago Daily Times* daily, except for the time between July 2003 and June 2004. This period, however, was partly covered in the archives of the Public Library in Dunedin. Furthermore, participant observation was brought into the assessment of the changes in this most recent stage. Observations were made and later transcribed in the form of field notes. They include change visible for the researcher during many hours of running along Portobello Road, Highcliff Road and the roads around the inlets, driving home from university and talking to residents at local events, during badminton practice or at informal meetings. It was conducted between December 2002 and July 2005 with several months of interruption between July 2003 and June 2004 due to work commitments overseas. The interruption is certainly a minor limitation of the research.
5.3 The researcher's role

As a participant living in the area for seven years the researcher had the ability to experience the developments first-hand, as well as having been a German tourist visiting New Zealand in 1995 and a short-term resident in Portobello (nearly four months) in 1997. It must be acknowledged that the observations caused some problems as it turned out to be difficult to participate and at the same time impersonally observe and transcribe events (see chapter 5.4 Research Limitations).

Nevertheless, the set-up of the researcher being a local resident made it possible to be in a trusted position concerning telling historical or recent stories. Some stories were deliberately excluded as they would have betrayed this trust. In many cases, the observed were aware of the research. In some instances, material was deliberately given to be included in the research. One member of the local badminton club, for example, provided two tapes of his grandfather being interviewed about the history of the Portobello region in the first half of the 20th century, while a member of the Portobello Museum provided tapes about the local oral history of the Otago Peninsula.

The researcher also deliberately engaged in other activities that were thought to help in researching the more recent changes; for example, asking overseas visitors to describe their experiences while visiting the Peninsula, visiting attractions with them or walking various tracks or other attractions where tourists and locals were present. However, contact was only possible with some section of the local population, and the inclusion of the missing voices was not possible.

Being a member of the local badminton club and participating in local events such as the plant fair were especially helpful in observing and learning about the way local residents experienced changes. The main limitation was again the
exclusion of certain voices to assess the processes of changes on the Otago Peninsula.
5.4 Research limitations

Generally, the disadvantages of qualitative case study research apply to the study. Participant observation is, for example, highly subjective in the selection of events worth noting down or in the people spoken to. Consequently, not all realities present on the Peninsula are represented. However, the goal of achieving the representation of all realities in social settings could be as impossible as achieving objectivity. Nevertheless, certain groups and their opinion are excluded, partly following selection processes by the researcher and partly following the lack of access to certain groups such as farmers. The results are therefore a partial representation of realities on the Otago Peninsula.

In staying with the interpretivistic approach selected, the researcher’s role is determined by the objective that the researcher wants to experience what he is studying, incorporating feelings and reason within the selected actions. It is obvious that the distinction between facts and value judgements are less clear-cut than with positivistic, quantitative research, especially because of the acceptance that the researcher is not only influenced by science, but also by personal experience (Carson, Gilmore, Perry and Gronhaug 2001).

Participant observation proved very difficult. Arguments and points got lost in the researcher’s double role of being a resident and participant and observing as a researcher at the same time. It was also difficult to decide what should be written down. The researcher also felt sometimes like he was betraying his friends and neighbours, or just wanted to have an enjoyable time without thinking about the research.

Similarly, the documentary research is excluding certain voices. The historic newspaper analysis using the *Otago Witness* is, for example, biased because of its ‘abuse’ for political gain by Cargill, thereby representing a subjective and
biased opinion. This points to the reality that all documents used were produced for a purpose other than the research representing one specific reality.

Furthermore, the *Otago Witness* provided the researcher with a challenge of managing the time in relation to the results. While the first issue of the newspaper on 8 February 1851 consisted of four pages in small font sizes, it grew to 89 pages in November 1909, and finished with the last issue on 28 June 1932 consisting of 76 pages. The task of reading through all issues proved too time intensive, as the first 17 years (1851–1868) took two months’ research time. However, as the *Otago Witness* is an important element of the overall strategy, it was decided to use the newspaper indexes on the Otago Peninsula provided by the Dunedin Public Library. Consequently, articles could be missing and hence excluded from the analysis.

The documentary sources also suffer from a lack of information about the first humans to arrive on the Peninsula, the Maori. Their history and viewpoint is certainly under-represented. This is exemplified in the historical books used within the thesis as they are written by white people within their own cultural backgrounds.

Nevertheless, the historical research provides crucial insights into the way in which the Otago Peninsula has developed into a tourist destination, beginning with the consequences of general human movements, and moving to those of recreationists, domestic and international tourists. However, there are gaps, as some opinions and interest groups are not reported.

Furthermore, even though the surviving newspaper documents are nearly complete, they are not necessarily representative of all historical practices. It is expected that certain historical practices such as those of the middle-classes are especially over-represented in stages 1 to 3. Nevertheless, subjectivity is not seen as a negative element in qualitative research if various methods are utilised.
to counteract the extremes. Overall, the qualitative case study research, divided into a contemporary and a historic research process using various unobtrusive methods, balances out some these limitations.
CHAPTER 6: The story of mobility and the Otago Peninsula

You know, it all started with whales... then it was cows, next sheep, and now tourists (Fossicker 1968, n.p.).

Globalisation and localisation are forces that impact on different locations in various ways depending on the mobility of humans, their ideas and capital. Human mobility and the following distribution of ideas are therefore built on earlier movements and creating glocalised cultures depending on the degree of integration into global flows. The more integrated societies become, the quicker they glocalise. One human activity that encourages this integration is tourism.

Tourism mixes local assets with international market demand (Cawley, Gaffey and Gillmor 2002). It is therefore a process that is happening at the community level between the personal (local, individual) and the impersonal (global, institutional) (Milne and Ateljevic 2001), homogenising the world but at the same time heterogenising local expressions of uniqueness (Teo and Lim 2003). This constant flux makes it virtually impossible to develop anything other than a snapshot of a location in relation to the global, especially under the conditions of increased interconnectedness.

In this chapter the already briefly outlined stage model of the history of the movements of people on the Otago Peninsula is explained. Historically, human movement and mobility are seen as the main element driving globalisation and localisation, impacting on the outcome of new ideas arriving on the Otago Peninsula from other parts of the world and also reaffirming the identity of its inhabitants.

Despite the lack of academic proof, it is argued that the Maori (stage 1) were the first people settling the area between 1200 and 1300AD (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Their impact was limited to the area around Taiaroa Head (Higham 1998), at the tip of the Otago Peninsula. There they changed the environment
e.g. cutting down trees, hunting seals), used 'new' technology (e.g. bait-hook) and introduced a human tribal structure. They utilised their cultural knowledge accumulated through time and transported through space to adapt their lives to the local conditions.

These conditions were dramatically altered during stage 1 sealers and whalers. They followed James Cook's description of New Zealand as a good resource for the-then important whale oil (Robbins 1992). Locally, the Maori connected with these groups for trade, leading to the start of enormous changes (e.g. reduction of Maori numbers as a consequence of diseases such as measles). The Otago Peninsula and its people were drawn into the capitalistic-oriented movements of the British Empire and its consequences, and became British subjects with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (King 2003). Most of the sealers and whalers only stayed temporarily and left as soon as the whale oil and seal skin resources could no longer be harvested due to the local extinction of the animals (Entwisle 1976).

The sealers and whalers were followed by white settlers, mainly Scottish Presbyterians starting in 1844 (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998). They were all instrumental in changing the Otago Peninsula depending on their cultural background and accompanying values and norms. Suddenly, the area was dependent on the occasional visit of immigrant ships to provide information and goods sold according to capitalist principles. The Otago Peninsula became part of the periphery of the centre, Great Britain, clearly influenced by events that happened at this centre (e.g. a recession).

After the area was settled, a basic infrastructure constructed (e.g. ferry services) and the Western model of trade and international relationship established, residents begun to have time available to enjoy recreation. Recreationists – stage 4 – started to visit the Peninsula’s resorts in Portobello, Broad Bay, Hoopers Inlet and MacAndrew Bay in growing numbers in the 1890s and thereafter (Knight 1979). This stage was built on the 'achievements' of earlier groups providing the conditions for recreation. In general, the
development of New Zealand was still closely tied up with the fortune of the colonising power Great Britain.

In the 1920s, the global capitalistic development progressed to a stage where technology (e.g. the car) and socio-cultural achievements (e.g. increasing amounts of disposable time and income, increasing urbanisation) (see for example McLauchlan et al. 1986) provided the framework for a new movement in New Zealand, domestic tourists (stage 5). It was facilitated by the growing sense of New Zealand as an independent nation and a desire to discover the country. Locally, the infrastructure development on the Otago Peninsula was nearly completed. It signals the beginning of tourism being perceived as an income earner, as promotion by a local bus operator Peninsula Motor Service or text in a 1939 guidebook would suggest (Otago Peninsula 1940). However, the overall development was hindered by the consequences of three global events, two world wars (1914-18 and 1939-1945) and the Great Depression (1928-1935).

International tourism began in the 1960s after the Western economies had recovered from the consequences of the Second World War. At that stage, New Zealand was tied-up with the Western industrialised world and major economic events such as the world oil crises (1973 and 1979) (Smith and Callan 1999), but started to diversify their export and import partners away from the United Kingdom, Australia, Japan and the US (Statistics New Zealand 2004). Nevertheless, economic difficulties appeared in New Zealand in the early 1980s, leading to a dramatic change: the opening-up of New Zealand to global forces in 1984, popularly known as 'Rogernomics' (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Up til then New Zealand was highly reliant on its protected agricultural production, but had to diversify into new economic activities such as international tourism. Global transport and communication developments (e.g. the introduction of the jumbo jet 1970, the development of the internet) increased physical and non-physical access, reduced the 'tyranny of distance' (Blainey 1966) under which New Zealand had suffered for most of its development. The Otago Peninsula followed that lead and from the 1960s slowly expanded its touristic infrastructure. By 2006, international and domestic tourism was one of its main...
economic activities. It is built on local resources and their historical evolution, such as wildlife and heritage, to attract international tourists travelling on an international and national transport network to access the remote destination, the Otago Peninsula.
6.1 General baseline Otago Peninsula

The Otago Peninsula is a place prominent in the history and traditions of our forefathers – a natural heritage in which we can find the beauties of nature, the architecture of wind and wave and rock formation, and the evidence of man’s early settlements (Bayfield Jaycees 1968, p. 1).

Many places in settler societies such as New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the US have similar human histories of exploration and discovery. Whilst they share basic elements, however, they also have place-dependent peculiarities. The place-dependent elements are an expression of human beings with particular backgrounds connecting with each other and reacting/adjusting to their specific local environment. These elements – basic and place-dependent – mix with each other to create a place-specific history at every place that could be called a ‘constantly hybridised’ (Nederveen Pieterse 2000) or glocalised history. The outcomes of these glocalisation processes can be identified at the local level, where they find their expression in human behaviours in relation to the economy, the environment, politics, culture and use of technology. Recent developments subsumed under the term ‘globalisation’ thereby glocalise places by increasingly drawing the global into the regional, national and local elements of places. The Otago Peninsula is therefore a place where culture is constantly glocalised by outside ‘elements’. These elements are incorporated into the local throughout the history of human settlement, producing a specific local outcome that can be researched. However, as soon as this outcome is understood it has already ‘moved on’ to another glocalised state. Even though, as is argued in the thesis, globalisation is built on earlier events and developments, it has reached a new stage through the speed of technological inventions and their geographical distribution.
6.2 The stage model of human mobility on the Otago Peninsula

For tourist, city dweller and Peninsula dweller, the Otago Peninsula offers a quality of serenity and peacefulness that is related to the atmospheric conditions of cloud and sky, sunrise and sunset, green slopes and distant hills, and the indefinable pleasantness of views across water (Duder 1976, p. 115).

The historical human mobility on the Otago Peninsula provides the most important factor in the changes induced by humans. In very broad terms, these movements can be divided into different stages. While some movements were short-lived because of the limitation of the resource used (or exploited) — for example sealer and whalers, and gold miners — others are still happening in the context of constantly changing external conditions — for example Maori, settlers (both as residents and recreationists), and Dunedin recreationists. These external conditions include economical, socio-cultural, political, environmental and technological developments.

The most important movements can be summarised in a model of human mobility developed from the initial literature review of various historical sources on the Otago Peninsula. Historic human movement to the Otago Peninsula started with the Maori settlement around 1100AD (stage 1). It was followed by the sealers and whalers (1792-1844, stage 2), settlers and goldminers (1844 to today, stage 3), recreationists, weekend cribbies and commuters (1890 to today, stage 4), domestic tourists (1920s to today, stage 5) and international tourists (1960s to today, stage 6).

These movements partly overlap with a landscape discourse model developed by Read (2005) relating to landscape changes on the Otago Peninsula. Read (2005) describes the different modes of local groups ‘communicating’ and using the landscape, assigning different values and ethics to the land. In detail, these landscape discourses are the Mana Whenua (stage 1 Maori), agricultural (stage 3 settlers), environmental (stage 4 recreationists and commuters), neo-liberal
In all the different periods, various changes initiated by new mobilities in relationship with the outcomes of previous mobilities impacted on the Otago Peninsula. These changes were again influenced by regional, national, international and global events creating what is today the Otago Peninsula. A particular focus of this research is on the four main features of globalisation: stretched social relations, intensification of flows, increasing global interactions, and the development of global infrastructure and networks (Held 2000). From the model provided it will become clear that the overall outcome of the movements in relation to the specific environment and its reaction to external events created place-specific human living conditions that are in constant flux. The researcher provides a snapshot that expresses the past before the first line is written, but also provides clues for the future.
6.2.1 The start of human mobility: Stage 1 Maori

The Polynesians (known locally as Maori) arrived nearly 800-1200 years ago, bringing with them a transportable economy just as they had done throughout the Pacific. A transportable economy is a collection of plants and animals that Polynesians knowingly transported with them to new islands in order to support their way of life (Kirch 2002, p. 109).

Generally, there are three competing hypotheses about the arrival of the first people, the Maori, in Aotearoa (New Zealand). Historians claim that there is either a long prehistory of 2000 years, an orthodox prehistory starting 1200-1000 AD or a short prehistory starting 600-800 AD (Anderson 2002). None of these theories can be proven without any doubt at this point in time, but it is generally accepted that the main period of Maori migration to New Zealand occurred between 800 and 1200 AD.

The Maori are believed to have come from East Polynesia (Nile and Clerk 1995) where they were accustomed to a tropical environment that was very different to New Zealand. The new colonists brought animals (e.g. the Pacific rat, dogs) and cultivated plants (e.g. kumara, taro, yams, paper mulberry) from their home (Mc Lauchlan et al. 1986; King 2003), but these food sources struggled in the colder climate of New Zealand. ‘Easy’ food sources in the new environment, especially the flightless and easy to hunt Moa, consequently became scarce on the North Island due to over-hunting. This is believed to be one of the main reasons that the Maori had to extend to the South Island, particularly to the eastern coastal region, including the Otago Peninsula with its plentiful marine food sources including fish, sea lions and seals (Nile and Clerk 1995; for the Maori mythology of the settlement of Aotearoa see Walker 1990; Sinclair 1991).

Much of the history of the local Maori on the Otago Peninsula is buried within the stories told about the land and its people, within the Maori mythology. It is not written down, as the Maori had no written language until the time of European settlement (Sinclair 1991), and is therefore difficult to access for non-Maori. Due to the difficulty of access, Maori history is reconstructed by using
various publications, mainly written by white people within their own cultural backgrounds and limitations, including their belief in scientific methods and the discharging of Maori mythology as storytelling (and non-scientific). Consequently, there are still many gaps and contested theories about the history of the Maori in Aotearoa and on the Otago Peninsula.

It is unclear whether the first people that arrived in New Zealand and on the Otago Peninsula, the so-called ‘Moa Hunters’ (Teviotdale 1932; Entwisle 1976), were Maori or a separate group of earlier settlers. In the early days of European settlement, the Otago Witness (20 September 1851, p. 3) took a stand by writing about The Aborigines of New Zealand and their history: ‘we never hear that the first immigrants from Hawaiki found the land inhabited; and, on the other hand, there is no tradition among any, professing to be the original occupier, to the effect that such a colony once reached them’. In this work it is instead accepted that the Maori were the first inhabitants of the Otago Peninsula (Shaw 1992) and that the Moa Hunters are possibly an earlier Maori group, as there is no conclusive historical Maori tradition or archaeological evidence (except the existence of the Polynesian rat in New Zealand before 800 AD) that supports the idea of an unconnected earlier group settling anywhere in New Zealand (Anderson 2002).

There is much uncertainty about the pre-history and the history of Maori on the Otago Peninsula. For this reason, it is difficult to establish specific changes. It is, for example, not clear when the first people landed in the area, because ‘as much of the pre-history of the Maori is based on tradition it is difficult to be precise about facts or time’ (Huggett 1966, p. 15), but at around 1200 AD (or 1300 AD; Statistics New Zealand 1998) all settlements in Otago and Southland were occupied (McLauchlan et al. 1986) with the peak of Polynesian occupation possibly being in the 15th century (Knight 2001, cited in Judd 2001).

The Otago Peninsula has probably been inhabited for between six centuries (Holland and Wearing 2001) and a millennium by several Maori tribes such as the Rapuwai, Waitaha, Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu (Otago Peninsula. A Brief Survey of the History and Development 1940). Entwisle (1976) puts the
settlement date of southern New Zealand (including the Otago Peninsula) by Maori as occurring at least by about 950 AD, while Shaw (1992) writes that archaeological evidence indicates that there was a regular settlement by the harbour from around 1100 AD. Archaeology suggests that the Maori possibly occupied the area during the so-called Moa Hunter period (9th-11th centuries) at such sites as Papanui Inlet, Little Papanui and Harwood (Anderson 1998). ‘There are said to be more than 200 sites of Polynesian activity on the Peninsula and a high proportion of these are Moa Hunter’ (Entwisle 1976, p. 7). Occupation by the Maori tribes Kai Tahu and Kati Mamoe continued at Little Papanui through to the period of 1150-1300 AD, with other sites at Sandfly Bay, Pipikaretu and Taiaroa Head also in use (Anderson 1983). One of the sites, Sandfly Bay (the eastern end of the bay), for example, was first identified as containing archaeological remains by David Teviotdale in 1930, when he excavated adzes, fishhooks, sinkers, a drill point, a pounamu (greenstone) chisel, bone needles and sandstone polishing tools (Symon 2001), but organised excavation never occurred. These Peninsula sites and the material that was excavated there are an important part of New Zealand’s archaeological record. They play a key role in the understanding of Maori prehistory in the south. However, they provide little scientific information on the activities of the people inhabiting this area.

At the time of the Maori settlement, the Otago Peninsula was covered with ‘a temperate rainforest from summit to waterline’ except for some sand drifts (Huggett 1966, p. 9). The Maori presence changed this. First, there was substantial environmental impact, which was limited to the local area of settlement, mainly around Taiaroa Head or Pukekura (Higham 1998), at the tip of the Peninsula. As there is no data specifically on the Otago Peninsula, it is argued that certain events happened within similar timeframes all over New Zealand, with the South Island being settled at a later date than the North Island. Maori hunted, for example, the Moa as an easy food source. Consequently, it probably became extinct in the early 14th century because of over-hunting (Shaw 1992; or at around 1800: McLauchlan et al. 1986), thereby affecting the ecological balance. They also hunted other birds, fish and seals. Seals were becoming rare on most parts of the settled coastline during the 16th
century (McLauchlan et al. 1986) and other animals became extinct during the time of pre-European Maori settlement. Anderson (2002) writes about the extinction of three to five species of frogs, an unknown number of lizard taxa, nearly 40 species of birds, and a bat. Their extinction came about not only by hunting, but also habitat destruction (e.g. burning). Second, further disturbance of this balance happened through the introduction of plant and animals species which the Polynesian colonists brought with them on their canoes from the South Pacific, such as dogs and rats and a number of cultivated plants (McLauchlan et al. 1986, p. 1). Third, 'Trees had been cut down either for building or to clear land; fire had been used to prepare ground for cultivation' (McLauchlan et al. 1986, p. 366), leading to deforestation in some areas such as Otakou. Fourth, other than travelling the harbour by canoe, the Maori created overland tracks 'along the high backbone of the peninsula used by hunters and traders as a means of moving around in search of food or custom' (Broad Bay School 2002, p. 1) thereby influencing small parts of the local environment. Environmental changes were accompanied by social changes.

The first human social structure was introduced in the form of the tribal Maori society centred on life as communal experience (Sinclair 1991), with contact with other tribes for bartering and in warfare. Consequently, in around 1200 AD, when the exploration of Aotearoa (New Zealand) was completed, simple networks of communication linked small communities with each other as well as with more distant locations in New Zealand for important raw materials such as greenstone (McLauchlan et al. 1986). While barter trade equates to the introduction of an economic exchange structure, warfare was used to define the political relations and territorial boundaries between tribes (Walker 1990) and to forge alliances.

These new hunters and gatherers and the 'new' technological products they brought put them at the top of the food chain. 'Much of the tropical Polynesian technology was able to be transferred directly into exploitation of the New Zealand environment'; for example, bait-hooks, trolling lure kits, fowling spears, lures and snares, the prolonged cooking and soaking of karaka and tawa kernels to remove their poisons or the production of sugar from ti (Anderson
Additionally, as there were no other land mammals (except for bats), Maori faced no competition for food sources.

The initial phase of Maori settlement shows important changes that are related to the impact of new ideas on the Otago Peninsula, including the introduction of new, especially environmental, but also social, technological, political (tribal authority) and economic practices from their Polynesian culture. This Polynesian culture included elements that relate to earlier mobilities from other Polynesian islands, as well as from Asia and possibly other parts of the world, that developed through time and human immigration, signifying further intra-regional and global influences. However, not much changed culturally within the Otago Peninsula after that initial settlement phase until the first white people arrived, as contact with other Maori tribes was mainly limited to barter trade within a New Zealand that was possibly disconnected from its Polynesian homelands. The impact of the Polynesian movement was therefore more localised than nationalised, but included the local introduction of ideas going back to Polynesia and beyond and a national barter trade network, especially for greenstone.

Polynesia’s influence is still present on the Otago Peninsula. The Maori have till this day an attachment to land by kin. Land is treated with the respect accorded to a Maori ancestor (tupuna). The consequences of treating the land as an ancestor are expressed in the intent to treat the land gently, a responsibility to the land that is not extinguishable, the use of alternative forms of legal ownership and the significance of the ability to interact with the landscape (Read 2005).

The lives of the Maori in New Zealand and New Zealand in general changed dramatically with the first recorded contact between Maori and white people in 1642, when Abel Tasman anchored in Golden Bay (at the north-west tip of the South Island) (McLauchlan et al. 1986). These changes became more pronounced with the first visit by the British explorer James Cook, who took possession of New Zealand in the name of the English Crown in 1769 (Statistics New Zealand 1998). His reports of whales and seals, important
resources at the time, and essential food and water (McLauchlan et al. 1986), set off the movement of European and American whalers and sealers to New Zealand in search of economic gain.

In general, it can be assumed that international social relations were only stretched through the original arrival of Maori, while there was a small-scale stretching of social relations for trading purposes. Flows in trade and communication remained local; global infrastructure and networks did not develop. Global interaction was therefore non-existent (see table 5.1). The impact of globalising forces was minimal on a global scale, but had some impact on the local scale when the Maori arrived on the Otago Peninsula.
### TABLE 6.1 Four main features of globalisation process: Stage 1 Maori

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature of globalisation</th>
<th>Stage 1 Maori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensification of flows</td>
<td>One-off flow between South Pacific and New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing global interactions</td>
<td>Interaction only local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development global infrastructure and networks</td>
<td>No global infrastructure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.2 Exploiting resources: Stage 2 Sealers and Whalers

The first Europeans to stay in New Zealand were not permanent settlers, or explorers such as Cook who arrived in the late 18th century, it was sealers, whalers and traders that began locating semi-permanent settlements along the coastlines (Tennant 2005, online).

Following the sea voyages of James Cook, sealers and whalers arrived in New Zealand, including the Otago Peninsula. At that point in time, the Otago Peninsula had a well-established social group, the Maori, whose political, environmental, economic, technological and political development derived from the Polynesian ancestry. The new arrivals had European ancestry with different values. It was therefore unavoidable that competition between the two societal systems developed. The outcome of the competition was a new socio-cultural mix.

6.2.2.1 General developments in New Zealand: Stage 2

The second stage (sealers and whalers), a mainly temporary movement, followed the ‘rediscovery’ of New Zealand by James Cook on his Polynesian voyage between 1768 and 1770 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Cook not only took possession of the country in the name of King George III (Statistics New Zealand 1998), he also started the introduction of new species into the New Zealand environment during his second (1773) and third visit (1777). This had enormous natural consequences. The introduced species included the Norway rat (unknowingly) (Hutching 1998; McAloon 2002) and goats as a food resource for visiting seamen (McLauchlan 1986). It was followed by the introduction of pigs by Captain Furneaux in 1773 (McLauchlan 1986), sheep, cattle, horses and poultry by Samuel Marsden in 1814 (Statistics New Zealand 1998) and feral cats and rabbits in the 1830s (Hutching 1998).

In the search for new resources, sealers, whalers and traders and, later, missionaries followed Cook’s description of New Zealand as a land full of seals.
and whales. In particular whale oil, used to fuel lamps, varnish manufacturing, soap, painting, for heating and lubrication, varnish manufacturing, paint and to process textiles and ropes were important resources (Robbins 1992) for the capitalistic industrial production before the discovery of petroleum. These primary industries drew New Zealand into the global capitalistic economy built on resource exploitation. Other materials that were exported from New Zealand include flax for rope (from 1818), timber (from 1820), kauri gum (from the 1830s), pickled oysters (from 1831) and wool (from 1835) (Hutching 1998; McLauchlan et al. 1986; Stokes 2002). The Maori were also pulled into the world of capitalism. The global dimension of capitalism was therefore ‘fundamental to environmental change in New Zealand after 1769, change that amounts to an ecological revolution’, with New Zealand importing pigs from Shanghai, livestock and plants from the Cape (South Africa) and migrants, money and merino sheep from Europe, as well as exporting whale produce to New England and seal skins and wool to London (McAloon 2002, p. 52). Crosby (1989) calls the period from 1769 to 1870 ‘ecological imperialism’ to produce a neo-Europe in New Zealand.

McLauchlan et al. (1986) state that much of the detailed exploration of the New Zealand coastline and the offshore islands was done by those sealers and whalers searching for more seals. Normally, the American (from 1797), British (from 1792) and French (1830s) whaling and sealing vessels were operating from Sydney, from where they sailed to New Zealand and put sealing gangs ashore for up to one year, before returning to collect the catch which was to be sold on the Chinese market (Whitmore 2005; Tennant 2005). The sealing and ‘whaling ships brought men from all over the world, many of which stayed in New Zealand and took Maori wives (who supposedly preferred Native Americans) and took many Maori around the world’ (Tennant 2005). They helped to introduce a new economic system, new forms of agricultural production for trading and many more elements of the Western world, but they also transferred some Maori and their traditions (e.g. tattooing) to other locations with different cultures. Later some sealers, as well as whalers, started to found permanent settlements (McLauchlan et al. 1986). The first gang of sealers in New Zealand arrived at Dusky Sound on the Britannia in 1792.
(McLauchlan et al. 1986; Hutching 1998), and the first whaling ship the William Ann visited Doubtless Bay in January 1792 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). However, within 30 years the seals became almost extinct and within 50 years the hunting of whales close to shore declined dramatically (Bateman New Zealand Encyclopaedia 2000). The boom was over and the sealers and whalers either stayed permanently or moved on.

6.2.2.2 Otago Peninsula development: Stage 2

On 24 February 1770, James Cook sailed past the Otago Peninsula, naming the highest point Mount Charles and Cape Saunders in honour of Sir Charles Saunders, who commanded the English fleet in Quebec in 1759 (Knight 1979; see also Entwisle 1976, and Morris and Forsyth 1986). However, he failed to find the entrance to Otago Harbour (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998). The date that the first Europeans finally entered Otago Harbour is uncertain, but there is evidence that Daniel Cooper on the schooner Unity entered the harbour in 1809 as it was briefly called Port Daniel (Entwisle 1976).

The Otago Peninsula was also influenced by the sealing and whaling boom while it was inhabited by the Maori. Several villages were reported in the region of Otago Heads by European visitors during the 1820s-1830s (Anderson 1983). Two sealing booms lasting from 1792 to 1810 and from 1820 to 1830 dramatically reduced the number of seals, which were also an important food source for the local tribe on the Peninsula (Entwisle 1976) until they became extinct in the region (Lalas and Harcourt 1995).

The first of the sealers and whalers who settled semi-permanently in and around Otakou are estimated to have reached the Otago Peninsula in 1810 (Judd 2001). Otakou, the oldest and largest of these settlements, with a mixed population of 200-400 people in the early 19th century (Anderson 1998), was the main meeting place between Maori and Pakeha in Dunedin at this time. The shore whalers and the occupants at the whaling station at Wellers Rock (1831-1848) in Otakou were the first Europeans ‘to make any impact on the Peninsula’ (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998, p. 4), despite sporadic contact with
other Europeans and Americans and other sealers and whalers (Morris and Forsyth 1986). They established a settlement, which was ‘until 1840... perhaps the largest settlement in New Zealand after Kororareka [later Russell in the Bay of Islands] in the north’ (Entwisle 1976, p. 22) and is today ‘the oldest surviving area of European settlement in the South Island’ (Holland and Wearing 2001, p. 13). As shore-whaling was seasonal, the whalers worked as merchants and shippers or farmed land in the off-season (Bateman New Zealand Encyclopaedia 2000). In the process they used other local resources to develop farmland and to construct and maintain their settlement, thus impacting on the immediate environment, especially Otakou. Cockle shells, for example, were burned at Lime Burners Bay (now part of Portobello) to obtain lime to white-wash the huts (Otago Maritime Heritage Group n.d). However, the relative remoteness of the Otago Peninsula from the main European markets, as well as the small size of the settlement, made it only marginally connected to the global economy, mainly as a peripheral resource supplier for the centre, the United Kingdom.

The whaling station employed up to 120 men and consisted of 80 cottages, a ‘big house’ for the resident partner, warehouses and a store (Entwisle 1975). Maori people on the Peninsula were quick to take advantage of the whalers’ demand for provisions, becoming major producers of potatoes (Dacker 1990), which were traded for industrial goods (Holland and Wearing 2001). They rather welcomed the European traders due to the benefit of exchanging goods for muskets that were advantageous in the fight with other tribes. There were, however, rather negative impacts that the ‘new arrivals’ had on the local Maori population (see, for example, Goessling and Hall (2006) for the relationship between tourism and environmental change). First, an epidemic of influenza greatly reduced the number of Maoris living in the area in the 1820s (Entwisle 1976), which was further reduced by a measles epidemic in 1835 (Morris and Forsyth 1986), the use of new weapons in warfare (e.g. muskets and gunpowder) (McLauchlan et al. 1986) as well as alcohol and prostitution (in exchange for blankets and drinks) (Judd 2001). Second, during the sealing booms the Maori changed their settlement structures, abandoned the area around the head of the harbour (now Dunedin) and moved to areas just inside
the harbour (Little Papanui and Te Rauone Beach) in order to trade with the European sealers (Entwisle 1976), thereby increasing the dependency on this trade and the cultural impact of the European cultures. This dependency increased after 1826 with the introduction of the potato originating from South America (Huggett 1966) and the rising demand for this new product. It lead the Maori to clear land and produce potatoes for trading purposes with arriving ships, but also changed their diet away from local foodstuff. In 1836-37, when whaling started to decline, small-scale farming grew in importance and land was cleared throughout the decade (Entwisle 1976).

By 1840 the catches declined to such an extent that the Weller brothers who had founded the shore whaling station on the Otago Peninsula went into bankruptcy and most Europeans left the area (Entwisle 1976). Huggett (1966) points out that the profits made by the Weller brothers returned to Sydney and only a few material benefits were evident for Otakou, while some of the cost for local Maori became obvious. This provides an early example of a core-periphery economic relationship. After that time 'some few Europeans, principally whalers, with a few storekeepers' (Otago Witness 5 November 1853, p. 2) remained on the Otago Peninsula (see figure 6.1).

FIGURE 6.1 Sketch of the ‘Big House’ and Wellers’ old store already partly abandoned (Otago Witness 5 November 1853, p. 2)

Socio-culturally, English, Australian and Lascar sailors and the Maori knew little about each other’s ethics and conduct (Huggett 1966), but the more dominant European culture affected the pre-European tribal organisation and the way of life of the Maori more than the other way around. Consequently, the government of Great Britain tried to ‘organise’ the relationship between Maori
and Europeans. On 6 February 1840 Great Britain declared its sovereignty over New Zealand with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi by 46 northern Maori chiefs in Waitangi in the Bay of Islands (King 2003; New Zealand Oxford Pocket Dictionary 1998; McLauchlan et al. 1986). There were English and Maori versions of the Treaty that are said to be different in their meaning. This point is still generating problems today. Nevertheless the Treaty gave the Maori ‘the rights and privileges of British subjects’ and ‘full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties’, but also British sovereignty over New Zealand and the promise to ‘offer first to the Crown any land they [the Maori] wished to sell’ (McLauchlan et al. 1986, p. 246). To allow more remote Maori chiefs who did not attend the meeting in Waitangi to sign the Treaty, it was carried around the country and finally signed by 500 chiefs.

The local Otago Peninsula chiefs Karetai and Korako signed the Treaty of Waitangi on 13 June 1840 in Otakou, which ‘marked the end of the Otago Peninsula’s greatest importance to the rest of New Zealand. Its European population dropped to about 20 by 1842’, while other towns like Auckland, Wellington and Nelson were founded and prospered (Entwisle 1976, pp. 22-23; Huggett 1966 puts the number of Europeans in 1844 at about 25-35). Nevertheless, Captain Smith surveyed Broad Bay in 1842, describing Broad Bay as a suitable site to develop the proposed Otago settlement (Knight 1979) as the population was expected to grow in the near future.

Historically, it was not until 1844 that the period of early European exploitation ended and the period of organised settlement started; the year (1844) ‘marks the end of Otakou and the beginnings of Otago’ (Huggett 1966, p. 26; see also Cumberland 1962 for a category of phases of occupancy). European impacts were particularly obvious in the area around Otakou which had already had a long period of human settlement, while the European impact in other areas was small. The communication patterns, for example, remained very simple, with little external movement, as the concentration of the settlement made travelling unnecessary; even so the Maori sometimes used well-defined tracks, but
preferred to travel by canoe, while European movement was nearly exclusively by whaleboat (Huggett 1966).

At that point in time, the Maori were exposed to superior tools, weapons and technical methods and the introduction of new sets of values, in particular Christianity and the individualistic outlook of the capitalistic monetary system. Consequently, the tribal authority of chiefs was undermined, traditional Maori society lost its communal organisational structure, and the interpretation of the forest and traditional food sources changed through, for example, the introduction of potatoes. Additionally, the number of Maori in the area was decreasing as European diseases and liquor previously unknown to them caused hardship and fatalities. The relationship between Europeans and the Maori was limited to trading and intermarriage. Many Europeans married Maori women since there was a lack of European women (Otago Peninsula. A Brief Survey of its History & Development 1940).

Today, this stage is mainly represented in the heritage of the Otago Peninsula, as most sealers and whalers left when the resource they used to create an income became extinct. However, some of them remained and had considerable influence, especially in the Otakou area. They laid the basis for the local capitalistic system and its resource exploitation that would become more prominent in the years following. Accordingly, social relations were stretched, at least temporarily. Events happening in the United Kingdom impacted only marginally on New Zealand. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 signalled British sovereignty over New Zealand, making it part of the global network of the imperialistic British Empire. Sealers and whalers from a variety of countries were dropped off and picked up, as were their catches (e.g. skins, whale oil). The catches were traded in a variety of international locations, flows intensified and global interactions increased marginally (see table 6.2). At this point in time, the Otago Peninsula was only marginally connected to the global economy through trade. The new arrivals certainly had an impact on the local Maori and their social and economic structure.
### TABLE 6.2 Four main features of globalisation process: Stage 2 Sealers and whalers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature of globalisation</th>
<th>Staqe 2 Sealers and whalers</th>
<th>Otago Peninsula</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stretched social relations</strong></td>
<td>Nation-state does not exist. The land is proclaimed to be part of the United Kingdom (centre-periphery relationship). This relationship was institutionalised with the native Maori population through the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 Feb. 1840. Events happening in the UK impact only marginally on NZ. There is a limited increase in trans-regional interconnectedness through trade and the necessity to transport goods from the place of production to the markets as well as goods to NZ to the whaling and sealing gangs.</td>
<td>Maori connected to sealers and whalers near Otakou since 1810. The sovereignty of the British Crown over New Zealand was signed in Otakou on 13 June 1840 by the local chiefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intensification of flows</strong></td>
<td>As the nation-state does not yet exist, there are no flows that ignore boundaries. There is a very limited increase of mainly temporary flows in humans to NZ to work in the resource exploiting industries whaling and sealing. These humans are from a variety of nations. They need to be picked up and dropped-off by ships from a variety of Western countries, mainly British, but also the US and others. Some individuals stayed.</td>
<td>People from a variety of backgrounds arrived on the Otago Peninsula to work at the shore whaling station (200-400 people depending on season). One of the 'negative' flows includes diseases such as measles and influenza, which had severe impacts on the native Maori.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Increasing global interactions</strong></td>
<td>This period signifies the beginning of changing interactions. The connections are rudimentary. There is contact between distant cultures and societies (e.g. Maori and British) with a limited exchange of ideas (e.g. new weaponry from Britain, Tattooing from Maori). The diversity of the society is increasing.</td>
<td>There are new residents from a variety of countries at the shore whaling station at Otakou. Sporadic contact between Maori, new local residents at whaling stations and other ships with sealers and whalers. Tourism was no issue on the Otago Peninsula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature of globalisation</td>
<td>Stage 2 Sealers and whalers (cont.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>New Zealand</strong></td>
<td><strong>Otago Peninsula</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of global infrastructure</td>
<td>The inclusion in the British Empire is an earlier form of an increasingly interconnected world that introduced a system of regulation and control based on the United Kingdom that operated beyond the nation-state. There is no global governing system and global communication is slow (by sailing ship).</td>
<td>Due to its remoteness and its small size of the settlement, the Otago Peninsula was only marginally connected to the global economy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.3 ‘White men’ taking over the land: Stage 3 Settlers

The first two generations of European settlers converted much of the land to pastoral farming. They drained wetlands, cleared bush and scrub, built houses and barns, erected fences and built stone walls, planted macrocarpa trees to shelter homes and outbuildings, and converted rough to improved grazing by planting European grasses and clovers (Holland and Wearing 2001, p. 10).

The year 1844 signifies the start of a new movement, the European migration to New Zealand, with the main immigration period lasting until the 1890s. It changed the Peninsula dramatically, especially after the local Maori tribe ‘Ngai Tahu sold the Otago Block to the New Zealand Company for £2,400’ (Knight 1979, p. 14). White people, in the majority with Anglo-Saxon backgrounds, arrived in New Zealand, driven away from Europe not by choice, but by poverty and inequality. In those early days in New Zealand, it was believed that there was ‘a field for the formation of the most perfect society’ in contrast to the one in Great Britain with its ‘poverty, ignorance, degradation, and crime’ (Otago Witness 18 February 1854). At that time, industrialisation had started in Europe, driven mainly by steam engines and railways (1830 and 1900) and by electricity and industrial complexes (1900 and 1950) (Hauchler et al. 2001), but also by the capitalistic expansion into the new markets of the colonies, including New Zealand. Nevertheless, the main task of the new settlers was to make a living from the land.

6.2.3.1 General developments in New Zealand: Stage 3

Globally, stage 3 signifies the systematic tying-in of New Zealand into the centre-periphery relationship between Europe and its colonies ‘from whence she [Great Britain] may draw the raw materials of her manufactures’ to ‘add most materially to the wealth, power and stability of Great Britain’ (Otago Witness 26 March 1853, p. 4) and the augmentation of its wealth with desirable consumers (Otago Witness 19 May 1855, p. 4). Great Britain, New Zealand’s ‘motherland’, and its main religion Protestantism, were portrayed in the local
newspaper ‘as the first political and moral Power in the world’ encouraging free trade (Otago Witness 10 December 1853, p. 4). This specific relationship with Great Britain drew New Zealand into any conflict in which the ‘motherland’ was involved until well into the 20th century. More importantly, it put New Zealand on European maps as part of an imperialistic movement that cemented the global power relationships through the movement of capital, global centre-periphery affiliation and transport. English capitalism and its free trade agenda was actively encouraged in New Zealand and Dunedin as it was believed that ‘a country wanting people, and people too crowded in a country, shall tend to advance free trade’ (Otago Witness 25 June 1853, p. 3). Hopkins (2002, p. 231) gives an overview of the relationship between movement, globalisation and transport within this period of capitalistic expansion, stating that:

In the Americas, Australia and New Zealand, territory was first claimed and then populated by white settlers. The series of migrations that took place in the nineteenth century provide one of the best examples of the globalization at the time. These movements took Europeans in vast numbers to all corners of the world, especially after 1850, when better transport facilities and improved information became available.

New Zealand’s international communication needed to improve. The connection of the new arrivals with their home country, especially Great Britain, as well as internal connections, increased the access of rural areas and their produce to town markets and ports. In 1853, for example, despite being ‘a maritime country, they [settlers in New Zealand] are to this day without steam communication, nor do they possess an inland road to connect the settlements’ (Otago Witness 25 June 1853, p. 3). One of the first consequences of this urge for communication was the introduction of postage stamps in Auckland and Wellington (printed in Great Britain) in 1855 and the opening of additional post facilities all over New Zealand from 1831 onwards, with a co-ordinated national postal service inaugurated with the Post Office Act of 1858 (Richardson 2000). Internationally, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 (Neues Grosses Lexikon, in Farbe 1994) reduced the time needed to immigrate or travel to New Zealand as well as newspaper, magazine and mail delivery times. A direct steamer link between New Zealand and Great Britain was finally established in 1883 (Statistics New Zealand 1998). Furthermore, mail services were contracted to
the Pacific Steamship and Co. to deliver mail from New Zealand to Great Britain via Honolulu and San Francisco, using the rail across America to reduce the delivery time from around 65 days via the Suez Canal to 45 days via America in 1876, and 33 days in 1893 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). These delivery times are much faster than in 1851 when post by sailing vessel took 257 days to arrive in New Zealand (Otago Witness 08 November 1851). In conjunction, New Zealand started to be a tourist destination for a few wealthy travellers, as the 1870s saw the beginnings of a tourist industry (McClure 2004).

But not only international access time to and from New Zealand was reduced, but also internal connections. One of the main reasons for this development was the importance of access for rural areas and their produce to towns and ports. Generally, New Zealand, including the Otago Peninsula, followed the European inventions and used proposals for new transport and communication technologies very thoroughly right from the start. This signifies the importance of these technologies in connecting New Zealand with the imperialistic capitalistic world, especially Great Britain. Steam and its application, for example, feature prominently in the Otago Witness as a means of faster and safer domestic and international transport (e.g. Otago Witness 22 March 1851, p. 1; 8 November 1851, pp. 1 and 4) when the ‘question as to the necessity of the shortest and most economical steam route to Australia … [was] felt every day to assume increased importance’ (Otago Witness 22 March 1851, p. 1).

Another issue of great importance at the time were the ‘Wings of Wire’, described as a ‘simple secret of the electric telegraph’ (Otago Witness 6 September 1851, p. 4) that ‘do more to advance intelligence, true liberty, and the interests of people, than anything hitherto achieved in the way of “obliterating time and space” ’ (Otago Witness 10 April 1852, p. 4).

Consequently, a further reduction in time and space happened through communication technology; first domestically, including the first electric telegraph line between Christchurch and Lyttleton in 1862, military and private Morse telegraph lines in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin in 1862, the first submarine cable crossing Cook Strait in 1866, telegraph line links between Auckland, Wellington and the Southern Provinces in 1872; then internationally, with the first trans-Tasman cable basically connecting New Zealand with Europe.
and Britain in 1876 (Statistics New Zealand 1998; McLauchlan et al. 1986). Domestic transport also improved dramatically, with railway lines and steam engines in the 1870s partly replacing the earlier horse mail coaches. In 1879, for example, the railway link between Christchurch, Dunedin and Invercargill was completed (Statistics New Zealand 1998), reducing the time to travel between Christchurch and Dunedin from six days on horseback in 1852 (Otago Witness 12 June 1852) to 10 hours and 55 minutes on the regular express service in 1878 (Churchman and Hurst 1991; see also Otago Witness 14 September 1878).

The European movement to New Zealand was determined by immigrants from the British Isles and regulated by the British government. Until 1852, when the second New Zealand Constitution Act gave New Zealand limited self-government, Great Britain ruled politically. This Act gave New Zealand a bicameral assembly (elected House of Representatives and an appointed Legislative Council). It established six provinces within a united colony and gave powers in internal affairs, except for native policy which remained with the Governor General, and foreign policy which remained with the British Government (McLauchlan et al. 1986; see also Otago Witness 7 February 1852). In the next 50 years the political power slowly moved from Great Britain to the New Zealand General Assembly, with its democratic constitution only subject to British interference in ‘extreme’ cases from its early days (Otago Witness 31 January 1857). The first General Assembly was held in Auckland in 1854 (then moved to Wellington in 1865), following the elections in the previous year (Statistics New Zealand 2005). The important political decisions made between 1854 and 1890 clearly point towards a maturing country with a strong capitalistic European background. They include improvements in domestic and international communication and transport. Examples are the Local Posts Act 1856 ‘to enable Local Posts to be established within the several provinces of New Zealand’ (Otago Witness 13 September 1856, p. 5), improving the connections of immigrants with their home countries and within New Zealand, improving domestic communication through the National Railway construction programme in the 1870s as well as the encouragement of further European immigration by programmes providing free passage for European immigrants.
starting in 1873. At the same time immigration from non-European countries was made more difficult, for example the introduction of a £10 poll tax on Chinese immigrants to reduce their immigration numbers (McLauchlan et al. 1986). There were also developments in other areas such as adjustments to capitalistic production by providing necessary skills and discipline. The introduction of compulsory, free and secular education (Education Act 1877), the recognition and protection of trade unions (Trade Union Act 1878) or the registration of Maori land titles in the capitalistic tradition to individual Maori instead of the traditional communal landownership in the Maori system (Native Land Acts 1862) to facilitate land sales are just some examples. A significant aspect in relation to land ownership and tourism is the declaration of New Zealand’s first National Park, Tongariro National Park, after it was gifted to New Zealand by local Maori chiefs in 1887 (Statistics New Zealand 1998), gladly taken up as the land was seen as useless for grazing, but having economic potential for tourism if protected (Star and Lochhead 2002).

In this third stage, some other more dramatic New Zealand-wide environmental changes were set in motion. The new settlers started to alter the environment by recreating parts of their home environment, including an agricultural landscape like that of Great Britain. Consequently, they altered the landscape and introduced exotic flora and fauna into the New Zealand environment that became pests, partly with drastic impacts. Gorse, for example, was introduced as a ‘civilising’ hedge by the early settlers (Hutching 1998). It is now accepted to be a pest and an invader that dominates large areas of the countryside and leads to a loss of biodiversity (Isern 2002) including within parts of the Otago Peninsula. The new immigrants even formed acclimatisation societies in most centres to foster the introduction of mainly European animals for sport, sentimental or ecological reasons, often in conflict with native species (e.g. trout, ducks, sparrows) and with consequences reaching into the present. They were supported by Acts of Parliament, including the Protection of Certain Animals Act 1861, the Act for the Encouragement of Acclimatisation Societies in New Zealand 1867 (Hutching 1998) and the Salmon and Trout Act 1867 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Introduced flora and fauna in this period include possums (1848, initially for fur trade), radiata pine (1850s), red deer (1851),
hares (1851), brown trout (1867), salmon (1868), ferrets (1879, legally protected until 1903 to control the 1838 introduction of rabbits), rainbow trout (1883) and stoats (1884 to control rabbits) (Isem 2002; Hutching 1998; McLauchlan et al. 1986). This 'imposition of alien agricultures and exotic biota on indigenous ecosystems causes problems in time and space that have spread beyond the point of initial introduction' (Dann 2002, p. 276). One of the main reasons for this behaviour was the creation of a settler capitalism closely connected with Great Britain and Australia (McAlloon 2002) as 'the prosperity and extent of productive efforts in the real of work of colonization [was] the subduing of the wilderness.' (Otago Daily Times 29 March 1856, p. 3) The subordination of nature for capitalistic production and the founding of a new town different to the British towns were described among the first tasks of the Dunedin settlers in 1851:

There, where yet scarce four years since all was resigned to the peaceful and majestic hand of Nature, has arisen a prosperous town with its busy hum; but yet not the noise of the larger city of our native home with its vices and virtues; its magnificent wealth and squalid poverty contrasted; but the happy, peaceful content of a rural town not yet deprived of its rustic beauty... (Otago Witness 3 January 1851, p. 2).

6.2.3.2 Otago Peninsula developments: Stage 3

The first (unsuccessful) attempt at full-time farming started on Maori land behind Te Rauone Beach when the farm of 'Kelvin Grove' was established in 1845 (Holland and Wearing 2001; Entwisle 1976; Huggett 1966). But it was not until the first settlers arrived in 1848, organised by the New Zealand Company and the Free Church of Scotland (Presbyterians) that Dunedin and the Otago Peninsula were settled. Religious affiliation to the Scottish Presbyterian church stayed an important element of social life amongst the arrivals, not only on the Otago Peninsula, but in the whole province of Otago. It was a point of reference and identification for the not-yet-developed sense of national identity. On 31 March 1850 more than two-thirds of the population of Otago (867 out of 1149) were counted as Scotch Presbyterian (Otago Witness 8 February 1850). Then the land on the Peninsula was divided into farms of about 50 acres (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998).
At that time, the Peninsula farming and other Otago communities outside Dunedin lacked the basic services, such as schools. In a discussion at the Dunedin school house in March 1851, education was made a topic by Reverend Thomas Burns who stated that ‘in all, 100 children [are] in actual attendance at school, whilst there ought to be three times as many’ (*Otago Witness* 8 March 1851, p. 4). In total there were 36 children living (out of a total population of 238) in ‘The Harbour, including Port Chalmers and the Heads’ and 23 children (out of a total population of 87) in the Anderson’s Bay District in 1851. Interestingly, Anderson’s Bay is described in these statistics as part of Dunedin, because the people there lived in ‘Church-going distance of Dunedin’ (*Otago Witness* 8 March 1851, p. 4). It took until 1856 for public education to start in Otago, with the Portobello school opening in 1857 (Croot 1982; see also *Otago Witness* 6 September 1856, p. 3 for the estimated cost of £405 for the Portobello School) and Broad Bay school in 1877 (Broad Bay School. The First One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years 2002). Such basic facilities were, however, not one of the immediate priorities for the pioneer farmers.

First, the settlers needed to alter the land from a natural landscape to an agricultural landscape, ‘tuning the wilderness into fertile gardens and fields’ (*Otago Witness* 4 March 1865, p. 22) thereby altering the biodiversity of the Otago Peninsula dramatically. In this respect, Alf (Interview 2, date unknown) remarking on the pre-European times vegetation cover and the impact of Europeans, reflects on the loss, but also on the waste of resources:

> The Peninsula must have been a great sight when it was covered with bush, water to water both sides. Then unfortunately, they decided they would burn it off and start the farms... the wastage of timber from clearing fires, was a crying shame (Alf, Interview 2, Tape 1).

This statement is confirmed in relation to land clearage by the *Otago Witness* (4 March 1865, p. 22), writing that ‘the axe and the lucifer match had been busy, cutting down and burning off; and now the whole surface is dotted with clearings’. At the same time, the new settlers established exotic flora and fauna that became pests, such as gorse, radiata pine, rabbits or stoats. With the new arrivals having little farming background in an unfamiliar environment (Huggett
1966), they cleared the bush cover of the Peninsula (e.g. *Otago Witness* 20 August 1853) and founded townships like Portobello and Broad Bay (Entwisle 1976). The names of some of these early farmers survive to the present day as place and street names: Macandrew, Greig, Seaton, and Clearwater. ‘Such men cleared the land of its forest, with a thoroughness which gave the land the long settled look which it wears today’ (Morris and Forsyth 1986, p. 5; see also *Otago Witness* 01 April 1882). They changed the Peninsula landscape ‘beyond recognition, destroying wide tracts of the flora and driving away the fauna’ (Knight 1979, p. 107), replacing ‘broad leaf, pines, eini-eini, mapu and the unusual run of smaller trees and underwood’ (*Otago Witness* 4 March 1865, p. 22) ‘with exotic grasses and crops and introducing farm animals. But the landscape they created has remained... little altered’ (Knight 1979, p. 107) since then. After the most valuable trees were milled and other local timber used for fence building, housing and barn building, the land was burned, large volcanic boulders taken away (especially in the Highcliff-Sandymount-Harbour Cone area) and tree stumps removed without any financial return for the farmers (Huggett 1966). Large numbers of rimu and matai trees were felled and sold during the gold rush in the 1860s, especially in the Sandymount/Cape Saunders area to provide building material for the fast-growing town Dunedin that quickly became the largest settlement in the country at the time (Judd 2001). Other wood was sold in town as firewood to offset parts of the cost of clearing the land (*Otago Witness* 4 March 1865; Otago Peninsula. A Brief Survey of its History & Development 1940) Today less than 500 hectares of native woody vegetation is left over, with Taiaroa Bush (42ha) and the slopes of Harbour cone (10ha Kanuka and 60 rimu trees) the largest remaining areas, providing a poor indication of the area’s native vegetation (Holland and Wearing 2001). Amongst the creations of this time are the dry stone walls that are particular to the Peninsula. The farmers used the stones that covered their land to build them. Their removal was part of the land clearance process. They also constructed fences without any wiring as iron wire fencing was not introduced until at least 1858, when a report in the *Otago Witness* (13 March 1858, p. 3) described that ‘enterprising stockowners to the southward [of Sydney] are about attempting to enclose their land with iron fencing’.
The next step after the subordination of nature seemed to be free trade, ‘the most successful commercial policy for a nation’ (Otago Witness 21 August 1852, p. 3). Nevertheless, in the early days of the new movement, Dunedin township and the Province of Otago were ‘dependant entirely upon the casual visit of an emigrant ship’ (Otago Witness 25 June 1853) from Great Britain. Three months without any arrivals led to old stock of goods being exhausted and storekeepers and merchants having nothing to sell with economic stagnation following, while the effect on the country settlers was small, as they were hard at work to meet the demand for cattle and sheep (Otago Witness 31 July 1852).

Economically, basic capitalistic institutions and regulations were in the process of being established, such as banks (e.g. Dunedin Savings Bank in 1864, Bank of Australasia branch in Auckland in 1864) and coinage (e.g. foreign coins no longer accepted at government offices from 1847) (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Such introductions were, at least partly, connected with the first of the two major economic events for New Zealand, Dunedin and the Otago Peninsula, the gold rush. When the gold rush ‘arrived’ everything changed, including the economy. In 1862, for example, 60 per cent of New Zealand exports were from gold (McLauchlan et al. 1986). The gold rush, lasting through the 1860s, brought not only money, but gave the Dunedin settlement a great ‘drive’, with 15,341 men, 489 women and 349 children mainly from Melbourne landing in Dunedin between 1 July and 20 October 1861. It followed the discovery of gold by Gabriel Read in Gabriel’s Gully in Dunedin’s hinterland (Irving 1961). The second major economic event was the long Depression with its high unemployment rate lasting from the 1880s through the 1890s, leading to ‘the exodus’ of people from New Zealand, mainly to Victoria (Richardson 2000), including the booming Melbourne, and reduced population growth. Between 1862 and 1892 200,000 people left the country (Smith and Callan 1999). Economic events, reported in and from other countries, therefore led to dramatic population and social changes in Dunedin, especially during the gold rush and the Depression.
The population of New Zealand grew slowly between 1858 and 1871 from 115,462 to 256,393 (Statistics New Zealand, various yearbooks) as a consequence of the gold rush despite strong emigration across to Australia. However, as the country became established more immigrants arrived to settle in the country, and between 1871 and 1881 the population more than doubled to 534,030, reaching 668,651 in 1891 (Statistics New Zealand, various yearbooks). On the Otago Peninsula, the population increase was even higher between 1853 and 1881, when the population increased more than fivefold from 127 (Harbour, Upper and Lower Harbour) in 1853 (Otago Witness 31 March 1853) to 709 in 1881, before it dropped to 650 in 1891, reaching 4,050 in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, various yearbooks) (see table 5.3). The increase shows a movement to the Peninsula as a consequence of the gold rush and the consequent population growth. New income and labour opportunities for the farmers followed the high demand for agricultural products in the markets of the growing city from the now cleared and settled Peninsula. Later, when the gold rush was over and the population decreased, there was a movement away from the Peninsula to 'Taieri, Gore and further south, moving to rural sections vacated' as 'there was little land suitable for pasture [on the Otago Peninsula] that had not been taken up.' (Knight 1979, p. 105) Furthermore, the Depression lasting from the 1880s to the 1890s, a global event, made it impossible for New Zealand primary products to be sold profitably on the British and European markets (Huggett 1966), making it more difficult to live off the land.
TABLE 6.3 Population of Otago Peninsula 1853-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>127</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>709</td>
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<td>1891</td>
<td>660</td>
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<td>1901</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>4023</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>4131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>4050</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Statistics New Zealand various years

Socially, the new wealth helped Dunedin and the Otago Province reach the highest population number in New Zealand in 1861, to be the first city to have a daily newspaper in 1861 (*Otago Daily Times*) and to found the first New Zealand university in 1869 (University of Otago). Other events also followed the gold rush, such as Dunedin being the first city where streets were lit by gas (1863) (McLauchlan et al. 1986) or the improvement of local transport starting with the first Cobb & Co. coach connecting Dunedin with the goldfields at Gabriel’s Gully (1861) (Irving 1961). Due to these dramatic population changes and the national importance of Dunedin for New Zealand, it was made a city council in 1865 (DCC 2005a).

However, the social connections with the rest of the world, especially Britain, also led to several epidemics, including influenza in 1852-53 and a measles epidemic in 1854 which were partly responsible for the drastic reduction of the native New Zealand Maori population. This population shrunk to around 60,000 in 1857-58 (McLauchlan et al. 1986) and 45,000 in 1890, possibly only 25 per cent of the Maori population that existed when Europeans first arrived in New Zealand.
Zealand (Walker 1990). For Otago and the Otago Peninsula an 'old settler' already recounted in the 1850s that in 1840 'the native population of Otago was much more numerous than at present, and that they had not at the time experienced those benefits from missionary labour which has since been exerted amongst them' (Otago Witness 5 November 1853). Nevertheless, newspaper articles referring to the Otago Peninsula, its native population, its farmers and their relationships were uncommon in the 1850s.

This lack of reporting on the social situation on the Otago Peninsula in the first 5 years of the Otago Witness is a consequence of the concentration on international events happening in Great Britain, the Commonwealth and its relationship with the rest of the world and newly-founded Dunedin. The Otago Witness on 14 February 1857 (p. 5), for example, has a section on 'European Intelligence' in India, Turkey and the East, Naples, Austria, England and Persia, Russia, Rome, China and the United States, but nothing about the Otago Peninsula. Most early Peninsula 'articles' are classified advertisements for land sales (e.g. Otago Witness 20 March 1852, p. 2; 6 November 1852, p. 2; 2 January 1858, p. 4), the inclusion of population numbers in population statistics (e.g. Otago Witness 8 March 1851, p. 4; 17 July 1852, p. 4; Otago Witness 26 March 1853, p. 3) and cultivation and live stock (e.g. Otago Witness 31 March 1855) in the Otago Province and Otago Peninsula voters in the Dunedin County District (e.g. Otago Witness 9 October 1852, p. 2; Otago Witness 23 July 1853, p. 2). Other Otago Witness issues include the problems with cattle and cattle ownership, such as a caution to all parties destroying or distressing cattle without written authority by the owner on the Cape Saunders and Native Reserve Runs, about Octavius Harwood (Otago Witness 21 April 1855, p. 2), strayed cattle at Portobello Bay (Otago Witness 24 November 1855, p. 4) or contractors wanted for bush clearance (e.g. Otago Witness 23 February 1856, p. 2; Otago Witness 29 November 1856, p. 2). Such a situation is, though, a logical consequence of the harbour side townships not being formed until the early 1870s partly because of the lack of land access and the domination of farm settlements, hence not many news stories. The township of Portobello, the service centre on the Otago Peninsula, started to develop in 1872, when the Otago Witness reminded its readers 'of the success of Mr. Larnach's [an
influential local entrepreneur] enterprise in forming a township at Portobello. The allotments are being rapidly taken up' raising the expectation of Portobello becoming 'a thriving watering place' (Otago Witness 17 February 1872, p. 15), a resort, if only 'some good roads' are build ‘and a swift and comfortable steamer’ introduced running 'up and down to Dunedin in half-an-hour, at convenient times.' (Otago Witness 24 February 1872, p. 15)

The exception of this lack of reports is the Anderson’s Bay area at the beginning of the Peninsula that starts to appear more regularly in 1854, but is by then already called suburban (Otago Witness 13 May 1854) instead of rural as is the rest of the Peninsula. To include Anderson’s Bay as the No. 4 Anderson’s Road Bay District was decided during the First Session of the Provincial Council of the Province of Otago (Otago Witness 10 June 1854, p. 2) that later also provided a list of the land crop in the area (Otago Witness 24 June 1854, p. 3), while the Otago Peninsula is not mentioned.

In this period, the Otago Peninsula started to change in terms of land occupation and a demand for better communication with Dunedin. As more people moved into the area there was increased pressure for closer connections with Dunedin in 1858. There is for example a dramatic increase in application for rural land in the area (Otago Witness 2 January 1858, p. 4; 20 March 1858, p. 4; 3 April 1858, p. 3) as well as the formation of the Portobello Road District (Otago Witness 23 January 1858, p. 4; 30 January 1858, p. 6) resulting in tenders being sought for the Portobello road line (between Anderson’s Bay and Portobello Bay) (Otago Witness 10 April 1858, pp. 3, 5). This development is in line with other communication improvements in New Zealand to connect the migrants with their countries of origin after the initial phase of establishing the basic agricultural industry came to an end. It also made New Zealand a more attractive place to migrate to, as contact with the previous ‘home’ became easier.

Steam in general features very prominently in this reduction of time and space. The invention of steam engines had an enormous impact on the speed by which many national and international locations could be reached by travellers and
goods. Steam engines led to the reduction of the ‘tyranny of distance’ (Blainey 1966) for New Zealand as transport time to the main markets (e.g. Great Britain) was dramatically reduced. Steam was described as the ‘annihilator of time and space’ (Otago Witness 18 October 1852) that destroys the sense of distance and brings ‘the remotest part of the south even closer’ and at the same time putting Great Britain ‘in the centre of trade in every part of the globe’ (Otago Witness 5 March 1853). The steam engine and iron hulls helped to make travelling between Europe, especially Great Britain, and New Zealand safer and quicker, but it did not completely annihilate time and space. The trip into the unknown New Zealand was still between 80 and 100 days away from Gravesend near London, Portsmouth or Glasgow mainly by sailing ships. At the beginnings of settlement, the first immigrant ship to Dunedin, the John Wickcliffe, took 100 days to arrive from Portsmouth (24 November 1847–23 March 1848) (Brett 1976). It was followed by many others introducing some form of regular contact (see for example Otago Witness 4 October 1851; 8 November 1851), and mail deliveries (e.g. letters, journals) between the Dunedin settlement and Great Britain. ‘News’ and information arrived therefore not only about Great Britain and its colonies, but also continental Europe and its colonies (e.g. Otago Witness 13 December 1851; 27 December 1851). The sea route used to ship passengers and mail was the longer route around the Cape of Good Hope, as it was entirely independent of other countries and also a well-established trading route. In the ‘future’, it was expected that the travel time would be reduced via a Panama route (Otago Witness 8 November 1851; 19 March 1853). As important as this possible reduction in travelling time to the ‘old continent’ is, the farmers on the Otago Peninsula had concerns that related more to the direct transport infrastructure in their area.

The transport of products and suppliers to and from the new farming communities was one of the most immediate concerns of the new settlers. It was normally done by sea, as the existing high road was merely a track that after rain became ‘a slippery heavy expanse, full of holes, most disagreeable and tollsome to walk over’ (Otago Witness 4 March 1865, p. 22). Up to the end of the 1860s farmers in more remote districts without roading had therefore ‘found a difficulty in bringing their produce to market.’ (Otago Witness 14 July
The road was seen as a problem by the early settlers and remained a continuing source of conflict with the provincial council for some time (Hogg 1991), with one of the nominees to represent the Peninsula on the Provincial council stating as late as 1872 that ‘the most important question was the keeping up of communication by means of roads’ (Otago Witness 30 March 1872, p. 9) to help the region to develop and to attract new residents. It was believed that the construction of residential houses would ‘be the beginning of a great success, if accompanied by cheap and speedy communication’ (Otago Witness 24 February 1862, p. 15) In the 1860s and the early 1870s, however, Port Chalmers on the other side of the harbour was the main centre for the Peninsula (Dick 2001, cited in Judd 2001), until better reading allowed closer links with Dunedin (Hogg 1991). Consequently, ferry services started to appear, beginning with a more or less regular service twice a week in 1849 by the sailing lugger Independent (Huggett 1966) to transport produce from the Otago Peninsula to town. In 1852, the Bon Accord was launched to trade between Dunedin and the Port, with its chief advantage being her facilities to land cattle and sheep (Otago Witness 24 January 1852). Services became more regular in the 1860s, as ‘various Bays were cut off except by water, and the “High Road” was just a track’ (Broad Bay Community Centre 1999, p. 5) and only partially formed (Otago Witness 4 March 1865). There were, however, some improvements on the High Road in the late 1860s, especially in relation to its connection with the farms in the area, as ‘a series of well cut and well formed roads with tolerably easy grades, [were] opening up the district in all direction’ (Otago Witness 17 April 1869, p. 18). Despite the increase in traffic, the general condition was still described as ‘dilapidated, and in some places, dangerous’ (Otago Witness 16 August 1873, p 16) that ‘the axles and springs of vehicles were very apt to get broken’ as there was a lack of inspections and maintenance by the contractors in the mid 1870s (Otago Witness 30 January 1875, p. 8). Some even believed that Portobello was ‘the most neglected district in the province’ in 1873 (Otago Witness 16 August 1873, p. 16). Buses also started to run on the High Road from at least 1870, when Garside buses were ‘assisting a traveller in getting over the ground’, but patronage appears to have been low (Otago Witness 24 December 1870, p. 10). Until 1873, when the Dunedin-Port Chalmers railway line opened, the ferries had basically the
monopoly on transporting passengers to Dunedin (Hayward 2003, Otago Peninsula. A Brief Survey of its History & Development 1940). The improvement of access to an increasing number of bays through the construction of jetties thereby helped to open up the district. The Broad Bay jetty (1871) and the Raynbirds Bay jetty (1872), for example, were built by prisoners to allow steamboats to regularly call in at these bays (Otago Witness 2 December 1871; 28 December 1872; Broad Bay Community Centre 1999), to ‘thereby facilitate the transfer of produce, and make this beautiful district more accessible as a place for suburban residences’ (Otago Witness 28 December 1872, p. 15). In the long term, however, a coastal road was seen as very important. As early as January/February 1858, the Portobello Road District met to elect two members of the Road Trustees (Mr Ridley and Mr Christie) as Representatives to the General Board of Road Trustees (Otago Witness 23 January 1858; 30 January 1858). Mr Ridley and the member for the Anderson’s Bay Road District read memorials from the settlers in their respective districts to the General Board ‘requesting that a line of road from that district to the heads might be at once laid off’, followed by the General Board deciding to instruct ‘the Road Engineer... to lay off the line of road along the Eastern side of the Harbour, from Portobello to Anderson’s Bay, at the earliest convenience’ (Otago Witness 30 January 1858, p. 6). A notice to contractors for tenders concerning the clearance Portobello Road Line was advertised in the Otago Witness on 10 April 1858 (p. 3), followed by the report of the road engineer on the proposed line (Otago Witness 10 April 1858). The 1860s brought about the start of the construction of this road, the Portobello Road (or Lower Road) along the coast from Dunedin by Maori prisoners from the Maori wars in the north (Entwisle 1976), while smaller parts were built by 50 Chinese workers (Hayward 2004). It was believed that ‘The Peninsula would be effectually opened up to the city, and the city to the Peninsula’ via this road (Otago Witness 25 March 1871, p. 21). It was also believed that the road would greatly facilitate the transport of market produce to the city and open the Peninsula up because then ‘migration from town [would] speedily [be] studding the hills with villas (Otago Witness 25 March 1871, p. 21). The section to Macandrew Bay was finally opened in 1872, to Broad Bay in 1875 (Otago Witness 16 January 1875) and to Portobello in 1877 (Knight 1976). Portobello became the centre of the Otago Peninsula,
where the four main roads converged – Portobello Road, Highcliff Road, Allans Beach Road and Harington Point Road (Green 1992). Subsequently, more businesses started to appear along the road to cater for the passers-by, such as Coney's Hotel in Portobello which is now the Portobello Pub (see figure 6.2) (Hayward 2004). Despite the improvements access was still limited. Alf (Interview 2, Tape 2) remembers how long it took to travel on the metalled road to Dunedin on the one daily return trip by the horse drawn cab that transported people and goods to and from town:

> I suppose [it took] about an hour and half... we'd leave Portobello at nine o'clock... just like the Cobb & Co. coaches you see in films... it held about a dozen people I suppose. And it was also used for cartage and my father told me in the early days, before the days of engines in boats, they'd quite often set up their fish on top of their coach...

![Figure 6.2 Coneys Hotel and Portobello in 1887](image)

**FIGURE 6.2** Coneys Hotel and Portobello in 1887  
**Source:** Archives Otago Settlers Museum from Stones Directory 1887, Hotel Directory

Communication also improved internally. Portobello extended its telegraph service to Port Chalmers in 1862 (Hogg 1991) and established its own telephone office in 1879 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). The Peninsula became increasingly connected with first Port Chalmers and later Dunedin.

A connected consequence of increased access to and from the Otago Peninsula was that new areas on the Peninsula were opened up for farming. While in 1861 farming development was still mainly confined to Otakou and Andersons Bay, returning miners purchased land in the Highcliff-Sandymount-Portobello area to start farming, 'culminating in the conversion of the area to a
farming region’ (Huggett 1966, p. 67) over the next 30 years. The gold diggers from the 1861 gold rush and the growing number of Dunedin residents also led to the establishment of the first recreational facilities on the Otago Peninsula, the Vauxhall Gardens at Vauxhall near Andersons Bay. It provided sport grounds, a shooting gallery, bush walks, and dance halls or bars to entertain recreationists (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998). As a consequence of the Vauxhall Gardens and the close contact with town, Andersons Bay was even more seen as part of the urban area of Dunedin rather than a rural area of the Peninsula (Huggett 1966). After the gold rush had ended in 1864, Peninsula landholders had started to migrate to Taieri, Gore and further south, and by 1870 the Gardens had to close because of financial difficulties (Knight 1979).

Socially and politically, New Zealand and the settlers on the Otago Peninsula were very much dependent on Great Britain. Political decisions concerning New Zealand were made in the House of Commons in London (Otago Witness 13 December 1851) with the first New Zealand Constitution Act providing limited self-government passed through the British Parliament in 1846 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Consequently, the new settlers still felt very much like Britons. There was for example a discussion to change the name of New Zealand to one more suited to a land inhabited by Britons 'such as South Albion and New Albion, South Anglia, or Mercia or South Mercia, partly because of the dislike of the idea that the children of new immigrants would be called New Zealanders' (Otago Witness 15 November 1851, p. 1).

In an even more imperialistic way, the colonisation of New Zealand and Australia, starting with the whaling and sealing boom, was described as the last great part of the global distribution of the Anglo-Saxons and their language, English:

Looking at the rapid increase and spread of the Anglo-Saxon race on both sides of the Atlantic and in the southern hemisphere, we are told that this race and the English language are to become predominant among the nations and tongues of the earth. (Otago Witness 10 April 1852, p. 1)
However, in the 1850s New Zealand had difficulties attracting enough British subjects, meaning that farmers in this period faced particular problems concerning labour resources as well as transport. At the time it was difficult for New Zealand to attract sufficient farm workers as land was expensive (a 'high price of land system, known as the Wakefield System') (Otago Witness 31 March 1855) and buyers would not buy because of the labour shortage. In the 1870s, however, farming seems to have been very well-established and the landscape accordingly altered. 'Pakeha', a correspondent for the Otago Witness (17 April 1869, p. 18) was surprised when visiting the area in 1869, five years after his last visit in 1864, as ‘farm houses and all their accompaniments, and fields of heavy-looking grain crop, now stud the landscape’. A year later, he wrote about a new flax mill operating and some environmental impacts such as the increasing rabbit numbers being kept lower because of wild cats and the mismanagement of the sand hills by the farmer owning the land, who ‘instead of nursing and encouraging growth of grass and vegetables on the sand hills, actually keep a number of cattle trampling over the loose surface continually; and not only that, but also burn off the grass and scrub, whenever they get a chance’ (Otago Witness 24 December 1870, p. 10). By 1879 many farms were established, covering around 33 per cent of the total area, with most of the farmed area used for sown grass, but as they proved to be too small (50-100 acres, average size 62 acres) to be economically viable the size of some farms soon increased to over 100 acres through buy-outs (Huggett 1966). With this increase in farm sizes to larger units came also the end of ‘the close social life of the farming community’ as a result of population loss and greater dispersal of the remaining farming community (Knight 1979, p. 96). During this period, farmers also diversified into other products, thereby showing great entrepreneurial skills. In the 1880s, the industries on the Peninsula included farming, butter manufacturing, cheese manufacturing (including the first New Zealand cooperative cheese factory), market gardens and orchards, flax, wine from berries (for local consumption) (Otago Witness 1 April 1882) and gold mining on Harbour Cone (Otago Witness 7 November 1889). The main type of farming practised at that time, according to Huggett (1966), was dairy farming (e.g. milk, cheese) with sheep only in the remoter outer districts (e.g. Sandfly Bay, Mt Charles).
This ‘dairy economy’ changed after the first shipment of frozen meat leaving Port Chalmers for England on the clipper *Dunedin* in 1882 (Statistics New Zealand 1998; New Zealand Oxford Pocket Dictionary 1997; Morris and Forsyth 1986). It led to the fast development of meat processing and dairy product works in New Zealand (McLauchlan et al. 1986). This development was instrumental in opening up new markets and in making higher numbers of animals economically viable, as the meat could be sold overseas, especially in Great Britain. It was certainly one of the reasons that sheep farming doubled and cattle numbers increased on the Otago Peninsula between 1878 and 1898 (Huggett 1966). From this point onwards the Otago Peninsula was even more part of the peripheral areas that provided primary products to the growing European markets, especially Great Britain. It also meant that agricultural products from New Zealand could be sold to increasing numbers of countries worldwide, making sheep and cattle farming an attractive economic proposition. Consequently, land was increasingly converted for agricultural production to cater for these new markets and the economic benefits they promised. The dependency of the local economy on global markets grew and local economic relationships became less important.

Increasing economic relationships helped to attract a growing number of immigrants to Dunedin. This represented another problem – the introduction of ‘European’ contagious diseases into the province. In order to minimise the risks an island within the Otago Harbour between Port Chalmers and Portobello, Kamautaura, was declared a quarantine island in 1863 (Crompton, S. 2001), with the name ‘Quarantine Island’ staying with it until today. It was a quarantine station until 1915 to protect Dunedin from outbreaks of smallpox, scarlet fever, mumps or measles (Hayward 2003). Generally, the increasing numbers of new immigrants arriving from overseas and staying in Dunedin and on the Otago Peninsula necessitated more changes in the transport infrastructure to cope with the marine and land traffic:
- In 1863 ‘The Peninsula Steam Boat Company’ was founded to operate a daily service between Port Chalmers, the Otago Peninsula and Dunedin (Huggett 1966);

- The Taiaroa Head Lighthouse was completed in 1865 (Knight 1979) because of the increased use of the port (Entwisle 1966) (see tender notice Otago Witness 29 March 1856);

- The construction of the so-called ‘Lower Road’ was completed to Macandrew Bay in 1872 and to Portobello by 1877.

By that time about 90 per cent of the Peninsula population lived between Dunedin and Portobello (Huggett 1966). Until the 1870s when the coastal road was opened, the original (and difficult) road access along the ridge of the Peninsula was used (Higham 1998).

Overall, the opening of the coastal road later in the 1870s and the introduction of steamer services between town and Peninsula opened the area up as a place of recreation for the citizens of Dunedin (Shaw 1992). Though the Otago Peninsula was an important supplier of dairy products, it became obvious that the economic well-being of the Otago Peninsula depended very much on the economic growth of Dunedin. It also developed as a ‘playground’ for leading Dunedin families who started to purchase land there and build holiday homes in the 1870s, helping to popularise the suburban function of the region, as many of these homes were later adapted to permanent houses (Huggett 1966). It also helped to justify infrastructural development. This recreational movement became even more evident later, when the next group of people, the recreationists from Dunedin and Port Chalmers, ‘discovered’ parts of the Peninsula in the 1890s (see section 6.3.4).

In relation to the establishment of tourism resources, the period can also be defined as one in which many of today’s heritage buildings on the Otago Peninsula were built, including the lime kilns, Puhehiki Church and Larnach Castle. In 1865 James McDonald and his two brothers pioneered the burning of
the high-quality limestone at Sandymount. They used three quarries in the
surrounding hills for limestone, build three lime kilns and fired them with the
surrounding bush. They operated until the early 20th century, after being taken
over by the Milburn Lime and Cement Company in 1889 when the high cost of
transport to Dunedin forced their closure (Knight 1979; Otago Peninsula
Landcare Group 1998), despite only mining less than two per cent of the one
million cubic metres of limestone (Holland and Wearing 2001, p. 11). Other built
heritage structures include the first Presbyterian church on the peninsula, the
Portobello Road Church, now called Pukehiki Church, built in 1868 (Knight
1979; Otago Peninsula Trust 1995; Huggett 1966), the place where the first (co­
operative) cheese factory in New Zealand was opened by James Mathieson in
Highcliff in 1871 (now commemorated with a plaque beside Highcliff Road)
(Huggett 1966; Knight 1979; Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998) and
Larnach Castle, ‘the only castle’ in New Zealand (DCC 1998, p. 15). The castle
was built (1871-1879) for businessman, banker and politician William Larnach.
This ‘castle’ and the history of its first owner, William Larnach, who shot himself
in Parliament House in 1889, is now one of the main heritage attractions on the
Otago Peninsula (Larnach Castle Ltd 1998). Finally, in 1884 massive
fortifications were constructed around Taiaroa Heads and other parts of the
Otago Peninsula (upgraded in 1896, 1906 and during both World Wars) as a
consequence of a Russian invasion scare following the threat of war between
Britain and the Tsarist Russia (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998) ‘to
protect Dunedin from bombardment’ (Otago Witness 29 August 1885, p. 12).
The Armstrong Disappearing Gun installed in 1884 (Entwisle 1976) is the only
one of its kind still in working order today and is clearly an important heritage
site. These military constructions are generally a result of New Zealand being a
colony of Great Britain, therefore a potential target for every nation that attacked
or was attacked by Great Britain. This made defence capabilities very important,
especially for a country as far away from its colonial power as New Zealand. It
also drew New Zealand, Dunedin and the Otago Peninsula into the imperialistic
ambitions of European countries and their expansionist policies.

Huggett (1966) believes that 1879 marks the end of the pioneering period, when
bush decreased substantially in some area, when experimental industries (e.g.
cheese, limestone burning) were established and when the communication with Dunedin improved greatly. In particular the improved communication signifies the start of the trend of using the harbourside region for dormitory areas for Dunedin and as seaside resorts for recreationists (Huggett 1966). Furthermore, he argues, the physical changes were a two-way process, where men shaped the environment for their purpose, but where the environment determined the character of men’s building, fences, settlements and transport patterns.

The start of organised settlement by the New Zealand Company and the Free Church of Scotland changed the Otago Peninsula to a great extent. Particularly the changes in the natural and socio-cultural landscape to recreate parts of the (European) home environment were substantial. The new farming community cleared the land and introduced plants (e.g. exotic grasses and crops) such as macrocarpas, as windbreaks often replaced the local flora and fauna. They also brought in animals for farming on a bigger scale as well as successfully pressuring the local authorities to start building networks of roads. New industries such as the limestone quarries around Sandymount also had an impact on the local environment and economy. These processes were speeded up when gold was discovered in the Dunedin hinterland, making Dunedin the biggest city in New Zealand, and the Otago Peninsula the agricultural basket to satisfy the growing agricultural demand. Consequently, new areas were cleared, and even more so when some gold diggers returned to the region to buy farming land on the isthmus. The socio-cultural changes are closely related to the natural changes in the landscape – a new group of people introduced a new system of how to live together, governed by the rules of capitalism and Western civilisation. The Maori suffered under this new socio-cultural system, which also destroyed their way of living within their communities and within the environment by reshaping it.

Economically, the image of the Peninsula changed from being a resource to help humans to survive (Maori) to a resource for making a profit (settlers). The drive for profit is closely connected with the change in the natural landscape, in order to make it suitable for capitalistic farming. Roads were built to transport
the produce to town to sell them and the isolation of many parts of the Otago Peninsula was broken.

The determining element following the end of the pioneering phase on the Otago Peninsula was a New Zealand-wide recession (e.g., a rise in unemployment and a reduction in overseas earning) that followed the boom conditions in 1880 (McLauchlan et al. 1986) and lasted into the 1890s, partly as a consequence of new farmlands producing cheaper primary products opening up in Russia and North America (Huggett 1966). The ‘Unemployment Question’ was consequently a constant fixture of the Otago Witness at least until winter 1895 (e.g., 13 June 1895, p. 21; 20 June 1895, p. 28). Such a development provides proof for the global connectivity between local and global markets and employment. It was also a precursor of later connectivity under the condition of new global competition.

Changes were perceived as rather quick in this third stage of human mobility to the Otago Peninsula:

Not one of the operations that make up the daily routine is performed as it was fifty years ago. We travel by steam, and correspond by lightning; and get withal so quickly accustomed to miracles that would have constituted a life-long wonderment of our fathers, and are so ever, in the restlessness of our impatience, on the qui vive for some new thing, that it already seems an age since the sun was taught to become our portrait painter (Otago Witness 27 September 1856, p. 3).

Other developments include the first tourists arriving in New Zealand as early as the 1840s, including curious travel writers, novelists and journalists, such as Rudyard Kipling in 1881 and Mark Twain in 1895 (Tourism New Zealand 2001). Nevertheless, domestic and international tourism was not an important industry or social event, particularly as the lack of access and infrastructure as well as time and cost to travel to/in New Zealand restrained potential travellers while recreationists – residents travelling within their immediate environment, for example Dunedin residents visiting the Otago Peninsula – were appearing. International and domestic tourism appears, however, to have not been part of the Otago Peninsula life in this phase, but it was an element of Dunedin. Inns
and hotels were advertising in the *Otago Witness* beginning in 1851 (e.g. 3 May 1851, 3 January 1852), first for liquor sales, but later also for accommodation:

Private Hotel,
for the convenience of Families and persons who are quietly disposed, where every attention will be given to conduce their comfort' (*Otago Witness* 1 March 1856).

These hotel advertisements start to increase in 1858, with five hotels advertising accommodation in the *Otago Witness* in January 1858 (2 January 1858; 9 January 1858; 23 January 1858) 'for use of parties transacting business', for 'Parties visiting', for 'settlers and lodgers' or to 'accommodate Overland Parties' (*Otago Witness* 2 January 1858, p. 1). Clearly, there must have been some demand for tourist accommodation at that time. On the Otago Peninsula, Portobello in particular received increased attention concerning its development as a base not for tourism, but for residence and recreation, while it appears that the area beyond was still very much neglected.

After the 'great drawback' of poor road access (*Otago Witness* 30 March 1872) to the Otago Peninsula up to Portobello was drastically reduced in the 1870s, it was hoped that Dunedin citizens would take the new road to the beach (*Otago Witness* 16 January 1875). The *Otago Witness* described the future of Portobello as a place of residence (*Otago Witness* 16 August 1873) and a watering place (*Otago Witness* 17 February 1872; 20 June 1874):

From its proximity to the city, and the healthiness of its situation, the township of Portobello is destined to become a fashionable watering place, largely resorted to on gals days and holidays by picnic parties... Within a short distance of the jetty there is a commodious family hotel... In the vicinity there are many places where the lovers of the picturesque can have enjoyable hours. (*Otago Witness* 20 June 1874, p. 20)

This time symbolises the start of a new stage, a new movement that was facilitated by the end of the Depression, the end of the first phase of permanent European settlement and the infrastructure developments in the 1890s – the recreationists. In particular the road being completed to Portobello, allowing people to come on the 'Beach Road' and return on the High Road or vice versa...
within a few hours ‘making an enjoyable trip over the Peninsula’ (*Otago Witness* 16 January 1875, p. 15) as well as the increasing number of ferry services and landing places, opened up the place for greater numbers of recreationists, weekend ‘cribbies’ (New Zealand term holiday/weekend home often located at or near a beach) and later commuters. Socially, the district was settled and the population at a standstill (*Otago Witness* 20 July 1893) as the peak of the settler movement to the Peninsula had passed.

Today, the impacts of this movement are still very much alive and strong. Its features are an attachment to the land that is earned by hard work, the construction of the land as an economic resource and the support for individualism and property rights (Read 2005, p. 281). It indicates the further development of the capitalistic system, partly building on the base laid by the sealers and whalers and in conflict with the Maori. Its general impact was dramatic. It changed the natural environment into a socio-cultural environment and firmly entrenched the capitalistic system with its centre-periphery relations between the United Kingdom and New Zealand, thereby severely changing the live of local indigenous people. It ‘pulled’ New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula into global flows with the arrival of high numbers of permanent immigrants mainly from the British Isles, deliberate or non-deliberate introduction of exotic flora and fauna or the infrequent trade contact between New Zealand and the rest of the British Empire. The travel time between Europe and New Zealand was reduced (e.g. the introduction of steam ships). Social relations were stretched to a point where events happening in Europe affected the Otago Peninsula (e.g. population decrease and high unemployment during the long economic recession in the 1880s/1890s). International news in local newspapers (e.g. *Otago Witness*), faster mail deliveries and the introduction of the telegraph facilitated this development. Additionally, New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula became part of the global disagreements between the powers at the time (e.g. fortifications built against the Russian ‘threat’ in 1880s). New Zealand remained tied to the international networks of the British Empire (see table 6.4).
### TABLE 6.4 Four main features of globalisation process: Stage 3 White settlers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature of globalisation</th>
<th>Stage 3 White settlers</th>
<th>Otago Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Stretched social relations</td>
<td>New Zealand as a colony systematically tied in into the centre-periphery relationship with Great Britain. Direct steamer link with Great Britain opened in 1883 (time reduction mail from 257 days in 1851 to 33 days in 1893). Global events lead to long economic depression (1880s-1890s)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Political decision concerning New Zealand made at the House of Commons in London.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Feature of globalisation</th>
<th>Stage 3 White settlers cont.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intensification of flows</td>
<td>Highest flow of permanent immigrants to New Zealand, mainly from the British Isles. With those immigrants arrive exotic flora and fauna that is deliberately introduced to re-create the home environment as much as possible as well as by mistake (great environmental transition from natural to European agricultural landscape). Reduction in travel time and international mail deliveries from Europe to New Zealand through steam power, the opening of the Suez Canal, as well as the introduction of railways (also domestically).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing global interactions</td>
<td>Global interactions are helped by the opening post facilities, introduction postage stamps. The contact with the country origins is an important element of New Zealand society at the time. The electrical telegraph is introduced. Substantial decrease in the time information can be communicated around the world (limited facilities and high price). First tourists arrive, who are privileged and rich (e.g. Mark Twain, George Bernard Shaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development global infrastructure and networks</td>
<td>The British Empire is still the main point of reference for New Zealand (e.g. steamer link). There is no global governing system and the speed of global communication is still slow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Main period of organised settlement of Otago Peninsula. It is organised by the New Zealand Company and the Free Church of Scotland. Dramatic short-term flow of international arrivals from many different countries during the gold rush (1861-1863). The majority of the settlers were Scottish. There is also a flow of ideas in relation to landscape and agriculture. The natural environment on the Otago Peninsula is altered as the wilderness is turned into fields. Additionally, exotic flora and fauna (e.g. gorse, radiate pine, and rabbits) is introduced. Global diseases also arrive with the new settlers (e.g. influenza epidemic 1852-53 and measles epidemic 1854) and cause dramatic consequences for the number of Maori on the Otago Peninsula. Reduction of travel time between Dunedin and England as well as between Dunedin and the Otago Peninsula through steam communication and the opening of the Suez Canal. Increased trade flows through the introduction of frozen meat trade (1882). Introduction of newspapers with strong international focus (e.g. Otago Witness). Increased flow and increased speed of transmission of information between Otago Peninsula and the rest of the world as a consequence of more regular contact by sea, mail and telegraph. Tourism is no issue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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6.2.4 And then there was recreation: Stage 4 Recreationists, weekend cribbies and commuters

... the fashioning of the cultural landscape of the Otago Peninsula by Maori and European over the first 70 years of European contact. This moulding process brought with it many changes, perhaps the greatest being the almost total removal of original bushcover and its replacement by a farming landscape. By 1900 this conversion was practically complete (Huggett 1966, p. 218).

The fourth stage, recreationists, weekend cribbies and commuters, is defined by the consequences of industrialisation (Hauchler et al. 2001), colonial empires, higher incomes, more leisure time, lower transport costs, reliable public transport and an increase in urbanisation that led to the wish to escape the city (Murphy 1985). New Zealand’s economy, ‘ripe for development’ (Irving 1961, p. 61), was still determined by agricultural produce for the European market, but also by growing urbanisation, and more available leisure time. Its main difficulty in attracting domestic and international tourists remained the lack of international accessibility and lack of a general network of domestic infrastructure. However, in the small geographical setting of the Otago Peninsula, there were improvements that opened it up for Dunedin residents escaping the city (see e.g. Otago Witness 20 July 1893; 4 January 1894).

6.2.4.1 General development in New Zealand: Stage 4

In the 1890s, the end of the Depression and the improved communication infrastructure (e.g. road access through the Lower Road, ferries between Dunedin, Port Chalmers and the Otago Peninsula) together with improved living conditions led to a new movement of people to the Otago Peninsula. This new period of economic and rural economic prosperity and high prices for farming products, which continued until the end of the post First World War boom in the 1920s (Huggett 1966), was accompanied by new patterns in human movement. The movement of recreationists, weekend cribbies and, later, commuters was
therefore primarily a temporary movement initially, which in some cases extended to a permanent relocation. It came at a time when the urban population of New Zealand increased from 43.4 per cent of the total population in 1891 to 56.2 per cent in 1921. At the same time the overall population grew from 668,651 in 1891 to 1,271,668 in 1921, meaning that while there were around 290,000 people living in urban areas in 1891, this number rose to more than 710,000 in 1921 (Statistics New Zealand various dates). The numbers show a trend of increasing urbanisation (Smith and Callan 1999), partly determined by a flow of migrants and capital peaking in 1908 with 18,306 immigrants arriving to the cities. It followed a shortage of jobs in urban areas, while rural areas struggled with a continuing shortage of workers (McLauchlan et al. 1986). The slightly less male dominated population reached one million in 1908 (Statistics New Zealand 2004), with an ever-increasing trend of more inhabitants living in the North Island than in the South Island after 1896 (Bloomfield 1984).

This development, combined with the fact that the three main political issues occupying politics in New Zealand had been resolved, as 'representative and responsible government had been established, the abolition of the provinces had ended the struggle between them and the central government, and the Maori-Pakeha wars, though not their consequences, were over' (McLauchlan et al. 1986, p. 252) changed the focus to other issues. Political parties started to form around economic and social questions dividing New Zealand (McLauchlan et al. 1986), often along an urban-rural divide (e.g. the waterfront strike in 1913). Generally, there was an upsurge in labour militancy worldwide between 1910 and 1920 (Smith and Callan 1999), as a symbol of growing unhappiness amongst workers in capitalistic working conditions of which New Zealand was a part.

Socially, New Zealand started to change again between the 1890s and the 1920s. The Maori, who already suffered enormously since the white settlers arrived, halted the fall in their numbers. After being reduced by 60 per cent in less than 60 years to 42,113 in 1896 mainly through disease (typhoid, measles, tuberculosis, venereal disease with consequent lowered birth rate), tribal
warfare (following the introduction of the musket), changes in lifestyle (e.g. new foods, permanent settlements) (McLauchlan et al. 1986) and punitive land confiscation, it was 'widely expected that the Maori would die out' (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 23). The continuing assimilation policy of the Maori into the European mainstream, for example, saw the use of Maori in 'native schools' punished, with the result of a serious decline in fluent Maori speakers (McLauchlan et al. 1986; Walker 1990). Maori also continued to lose their land, with nearly four million 'unproductive' acres sold for four to six shillings an acre to the Government. The land was resold to small farmers for six times as much between 1891 and 1911 (Smith and Callan 1999). The government at the time believed that 'Maori communal ownership [was] a serious block to progress' (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 28). Nevertheless, the Maori did not become 'extinct', but instead recovered to double their population between 1896 and 1936 to 82,326 (Walker 1990).

The social conditions of white settlers improved after the end of the international and national economic depression in the mid-1890s. Positive changes include voting rights for women in 1893, a limited old-age pension in 1898 (Old Pension Act 1898) and the growth of the union movement (Smith and Callan 1999). These are three of the great socio-political achievements of the time.

Environmentally, the period between 1890 and 1920 saw further destruction of natural areas in the 'improvement' from 'unproductive' land to 'productive' land (Wynn 2002). Large areas of forest were cleared (36,260 km²), for example, in the last decade of the 19th century, mainly on the North Island, leaving only 25 per cent forested in 1910 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). These transformations had repeated themselves before in other colonised areas. In New Zealand, it was just 'the late local version of the play' that 'cannot be comprehended without an appreciation of this international context' which 'epitomises the changes induced in New World lands by the overseas expansion of Europe' (Wynn 2002, p. 101). Land was converted into farmland or prepared for the settlement by the fast growing population. Technological innovations therefore helped to make small-scale farming economically viable, while political changes (a new Liberal government in 1890) fostered closer land settlement. Refrigeration, for example,
was introduced in the 1880s and helped to open up new overseas markets for perishable agricultural produce such as meat (Sinclair 1991). It was seen as so important that the *Otago Witness* published several articles on the topic of the 'Frozen Meat Trade' in 1895 (e.g. 30 May 1895, p. 3; 13 June 1895, p. 5) with Great Britain. This trend of closer connection and contact within the country and with other countries improved further. Soldiers from New Zealand, including from the Otago Peninsula, served during the Boer War 1899-1902 in South Africa, bringing them into contact with soldiers from other countries as well as with South Africans (*Otago Witness* 12 June 1901, p. 35; see figure 6.3).

![Figure 6.3 Otago Peninsula residents in Boer War 1899-1902](image)

Domestically, the delivery times of mail decreased through the use of motorised carriages beginning in 1904 (McLauchlan et al. 1986), while the number of post offices increased to a point where New Zealand had one of the highest numbers per population in the world in 1916 (Smith and Callan 1999). Additionally, in 1919 the first airmail flight between Auckland and Dargaville started to speed up the mail delivery process and the first aeroplane crossed Cook Strait in 1920 (Statistics New Zealand 1998). The opening of the Panama Canal on 15 August 1914 ‘shortened the route for trade and mail between New Zealand and its main markets overseas’, saving ‘the country countless miles of freighting.’ (Irving 1961, p. 85) Mail delivery times, however, were still slow in comparison to the undersea telegraph cable linking New Zealand with Great Britain which reduced transmitting times from up to 10 weeks to instantaneous in 1876 (Statistics New Zealand 2004). Another technological change connecting people that began in 1881 was the telephone. In 1904, there were around 12,000 telephones in New
Zealand, increasing to 29,681 in 1910 (Smith and Callan 1999). Statistics New Zealand (2004, p. 15) even believes that 'New Zealand became more meaningfully a single country' through the rising use of telephones. The drawback in the use of this technology was the high cost involved; letters therefore remained one of the main means of staying in contact. However, not only the time to communicate domestically and internationally changed (delivery times mail, phone call), but also the time to travel between places. In particular the railways influenced this time reduction. The completion of the Auckland-Wellington line in 1908 allowed the trip to be made in 20 hours (Smith and Callan 1999) and reduced the time to travel between Auckland and Dunedin by land from two weeks in the 1870s to two days in 1908 (Statistics New Zealand 2004), but the next 'technological wonder' had already appeared 'on the horizon' – the car. The first car was imported to New Zealand in 1898 (Statistics New Zealand 1997). Two years later, in 1900, the first car was built in New Zealand (Otago Witness 12 July 1900, p. 48; see 6.4) and in 1903 in Dunedin (Otago Witness 11 March 1903, p. 30; see figure 6.5). The first motor vehicle assembly plant started to produce in 1921 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). New Zealand was on its way to motorise, distances started to shrink as 'railways, cars and, increasingly, telephones began to bring the country closer together... New Zealanders modernised' (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 30) and intensified their contacts outside the British Empire.

FIGURE 6.4 The first New Zealand built car
At the beginning of the 20th century tourism to New Zealand was in its ‘infancy’, but the New Zealand government created one of the world’s first national tourism organisations in 1901 (the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts) to benefit from tourism’s future possibilities. In 1903, the first year on record, 5,233 international tourists visited New Zealand (Tourism New Zealand 2001), rising to 8,525 in 1921 (Statistics New Zealand 1923). Perhaps of greater importance than visitor numbers is the general rise in interest in the conservation of New Zealand’s indigenous flora and fauna (Wynn 2002; McClure 2004). Politically, ‘there was a growing realisation that New Zealand’s finest scenery could attract tourists and that by failing to protect it, one risked killing the goose that would lay golden eggs’ (Star and Lochhead 2002, p. 123). Even so, such protection was still in the tradition of economic capitalistic production of wealth by using natural resources. The introduction of the first national park Tongariro National Park (land useless for grazing animals) in 1894 as well as legally setting ‘aside small regions as national treasures’ (McClure 2004, p. 24) are just two examples of this economically-driven urge for environmental protection. All over New Zealand, scenery preservation societies were formed. In Dunedin, for example, the Dunedin and Suburban Reserves Society, founded in 1888, had the goal of protecting and enhancing the natural attraction of the city (Star and Lochhead 2002). Nevertheless, there was a lack of general and tourist infrastructure to cope with increasing tourism numbers. The Department of Tourist and Health Resorts Department was ‘established specially to develop the business of tourism’ (Tourism New Zealand 2005, p. 8). The main problems in New Zealand’s tourism development were the lack of international, and to a
lesser extent, domestic accessibility as well as New Zealand’s economic limitations.

Economically, despite Great Britain remaining by far the most dominant trading partner for New Zealand and a trebling in export values between 1895 and 1914, New Zealand started to look for new markets, pushing to break out of export dependence on Great Britain, facilitated by a recession there (Smith and Callan 1999). The political decisions to make it a dominion in 1907, with its own coat of arms in 1911, certainly fostered a greater sense of independence (Statistics New Zealand 2004). The First World War intensified economic dependence again, but also helped the feelings of nationhood. In 1915, Great Britain announced that it intended to buy all meat exports from New Zealand during the war (Statistics New Zealand 2004), extending this export guarantee to wool clip (until 1919) (McLauchlan et al. 1986), raising New Zealand’s already high export dependency (84% of all exports in 1910, and 74% in 1920) on Great Britain (Statistics New Zealand 1962).

During the First World War (1914 to 1918), 103,000 of 275,000 men in military age served overseas, with 18,500 dying and around 50,000 wounded (Otago Daily Times 30 November 1999). These soldiers served in Gallipoli, Palestine and the Western front, where they learned about other cultures and things specific to New Zealand, helping them to grow a ‘New Zealanders’ sense of identity within the Empire’ (Statistics New Zealand 2004, p. 15), ‘a sense of nationhood, distinct from the “mother country” ’ (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 50). At the end of the First World War New Zealand was independently represented at the Peace Treaty of Versailles, which it signed. It also became one of the founding members of the League of Nations (McLauchlan et al. 1986). New Zealand gained independence to sign trade treaties in 1923, with the first one being signed in 1928 with Japan (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Part of this new sense of nationhood was the urge to discover New Zealand from the 1920s onwards, helped by increasing holiday entitlements and raising incomes, after the immediate surroundings were explored. ‘New Zealanders are a busy, independent and pleasure-loving people... In every part of the country there is a weekly half holiday [Saturday afternoons] for factories, shops, offices, the
building trade, etc., and in addition, there are from six to seven full holidays a year' (Gooding 1959, cited in Stone 1959, p. 101). New Zealanders suddenly had higher time budgets for leisure travel and travelling for leisure became an option.

6.2.4.2 Otago Peninsula development: Stage 4

In some respects, such as the settlement structure, the Otago Peninsula developed very much like the rest of New Zealand:

Late in the 19th century the Otago Peninsula was a microcosm of New Zealand colonial society. The area's characteristic population distribution was becoming evident: small settlements – most of them fishing villages – in bayheads flanking the Otago Harbour, dispersed farms along the hilly backbone, and larger communities in valleys and slopes close to Dunedin (Holland and Wearing 2001, p. 5).

The population of the Otago Peninsula increased from 650 in 1891 to 1,783 in 1921 (Statistic New Zealand various dates) while the Dunedin population rose from 45,869 to 72,255, and New Zealand's from 626,658 to 1,218,913 (Bloomfield 1984, pp. 57 and 59). That shows an above-average increase of nearly 175 per cent for the Otago Peninsula in comparison to around 58 per cent for Dunedin and nearly 95 per cent for New Zealand. As the farmland was settled at the time, other reasons must be responsible for the dramatic rise in inhabitants, such as new groups moving to the Peninsula, namely commuters.

Knight (1979, p. 101) describes how Portobello, Broad Bay, Macandrew Bay and Hoopers Inlet became popular resorts, with guesthouses and tearooms, after 1900, a period he calls 'The Recreation Period', when 'there was an increase in the number of permanent settlers who worked locally and travelled daily to town. There was also an increase in the number of holiday makers who built baches along the coast for weekend or holiday use', but the 'greatest increase though was in the number of people who came to the area on day trips, especially during the summer holiday' (Huggett 1966, p. 201; see figures 6.6 and 6.7). In Broad Bay, for example, many cribs were built for Dunedin's wealthy business yachting families, visiting and staying in the area between...
1900 and 1910 (Hayward 2004). They were later converted into residential houses. But even before that, the Otago Witness (20 July 1893) outlined in 1893 that the new arrivals were attracted by new and regular transport to these places of recreation.

FIGURE 6.6 Picnickers on Otago Peninsula 1902
Source: Otago Witness 5 February 1902, pp. 40-41.

FIGURE 6.7 Picnic at Quarantine Island, Otago Peninsula 1901
Source: Otago Witness 13 November 1901, p. 36.

In the early years of the 20th century a ferry service connected Dunedin with Macandrew Bay, Company Bay, Broad Bay and Portobello (Forsyth, 1986). Following the growing mobility and numbers of recreationists and commuters, new ferries, more comfortable and bigger were introduced over the years – the Matariki (1908), the Waikana (1909) and the Waireka (1911). They were closed in, and had toilets and space for upwards of 800 passengers (Broad Bay Community Centre 1999). Overall, in more than 100 years (1849-1954) nearly 50 ferries operated on Otago Harbour (Hayward 2003). Their main purposes included taking Peninsula residents to work, shopping, sport or social activities and back, to transporting holiday makers and picnickers to and from the Peninsula and transporting light freight to and from the Peninsula (Huggett
The ferries had their peak years between 1909 and 1915 when jetties were scattered around the bays (Broad Bay Community Centre 1999). However, Alf (Interview 2, Tape 1) believes that not many residents in Portobello and beyond worked in town utilising these ferries, but that the residential community instead was nearly as much as it is today because

\[ \text{the stores and every farm had at least one, if not two employees and I would say at that time [the time of the ferries up to the 1920s] that possibly the majority of the dwelling houses in Portobello [and the area] were weekend cribs, only about less than half would be permanent residents.} \]

One of Alf’s arguments is the time it took workers to travel to and from work, as they had to ‘leave on the half-past-six boat in the morning and you’d get home at half-past-six at night’ resulting in ‘a twelve hour day to do eight hours in town’ (Alf Interview 2, Tape 1). It can therefore be expected that commuters set up residential properties in the areas closer to Dunedin (less travel time by ferry), especially at Macandrew Bay, but that the townships further away from town remained farming communities with a substantial amount of weekend and holiday visitation by crib owners and their families and friends as well as day tripping picnickers from town. The space that individuals could travel between the Otago Peninsula and Dunedin within a specific time slowly increased with the introduction of new modes of transport such as the faster ferry and a better infrastructure, thereby opening up the area (see figure 6.8).

\[ \text{FIGURE 6.8 Two ferry boats (1904 and 1911)} \]

Source: (left) Otago Witness 13 April 1904, p. 35; (right) Otago Witness 26 April 1911, p. 50.
Another reason for the movement of recreationists and commuters was the improvement of the beach road (or Lower Road) (Huggett 1966), which had a toll gate set up by the Portobello Road Board between 1891 and 1908 (McDonald 2003; Huggett 1966; *Otago Witness* 29 April 1897) to pay for its construction and maintenance (Hayward 2004) such as gradual metalling (Broad Bay Community Centre 1999). It was not allowed for motor vehicles to use the Low Road until 1913 (Hayward 2003; see figure 6.9), but with the first two motor cars imported to New Zealand in 1898 (New Zealand Pocket Dictionary 1997), they would have been a rare sighting in New Zealand by that time anyway. ‘With steamer services and the building of the Portobello Road the peninsula rapidly developed as a place of recreation for the citizens of Dunedin who now found it relatively easy to reach its many bays either by launch or road’ (Shaw 1992, p. 9). The Low Road or Portobello Road now made for a ‘comfortable’ trip between Portobello and Dunedin in 1904 (Broad Bay Community Centre 1999). Coach transport was still in the development stage (see figure 6.10) with the extension of it beyond the two centres Sandymount and Portobello hindered by the state of the road (Huggett 1966). This partly explains the preferences for the ferries in comparison to the road at the time.

*FIGURE 6.9 Low Road (1912) and High Road (1920)*

Source: (left) *Otago Witness* 24 July 1912, p. 45; (right) *Otago Witness* 6 April 1920, p. 32.
FIGURE 6.10 Peninsula High Road Coach (1903) and Opening Low Road for cars (1913)

Source: (left) Otago Witness 28 January 1903, p. 37; (right) Otago Witness 17 December 1913, p.50.

However, the Portobello Road Board, guided mainly by local farmers, also tried to improve the inadequate telegraphic communication between Portobello and Dunedin via Port Chalmers as well as complaining about ‘the difficulty to maintain law and order at the holiday resorts over the Christmas holidays when the nearest constable was stationed at Andersons Bay about ten miles away’; this constable was consequently was given a horse in 1898 (Huggett 1966, p. 192).

Economically, the Depression in the 1880s had lead to primary produce not being able to be sold profitably in English and European markets, making farmers change from dairy to sheep, which were easier to run; and by 1895 they made up 60 per cent of the total livestock on the Otago Peninsula until sheep numbers decreased dramatically in 1898, before increasing again after 1907 (Huggett 1966) and dominating by 1914 (Holland and Wearing 2001). The sharp drop in sheep numbers after 1898 relates to the fact that the turn of the century can be described as the ‘golden period’ of Peninsula dairying when the creameries, especially in the dairy regions Otakou and above Portobello, were a strong economic influence. Figure 6.11 shows the exhibition of Peninsula dairy produce at the Colonial Product Exhibition in Liverpool in 1903. This followed the New Zealand-wide trend to make the farms more profitable as export prices for butter, then cheese and later wool rose in the five-year period from 1895 to
1900, when ‘The Long Depression’ eased and finally ended (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Generally, ‘[a]fter 1900 the economics of the Peninsula changed radically. The farming population dropped, but total population was balanced by the arrival of a new social group [commuters – see below]’ (Knight 1976, p. 105) who impacted on the economy and socio-cultural composition within the isthmus.

FIGURE 6.11 Otago Peninsula dairy produce at the Colonial Product Exhibition in Liverpool in 1903
Source: Otago Witness 4 May 1904, p. 43.

Another economic development started in 1904, when the Portobello fish hatcheries were established by the Acclimatisation Society at Aquarium Point (now Hatchery Road) (Entwisle 1976; Otago Witness 7 September 1904) to raise exotic species with commercial potential, for example Atlantic lobster, edible crabs, turbot (the hatcheries were abandoned in 1928 to focus on
fisheries investigation and compliance) (Jillet 2000), resulting in the release of these exotic species as well as native sole and flounder (McLauchlan et al. 1986). The release of fish species ceased due to a lack of success in establishing any of those species. Today, the now-called Westpac Trust Aquarium and Marine Studies Centre are managed by the University of Otago. It combines an attraction for domestic and international tourists and recreationists with a research station.

Economically, the Peninsula was of little national importance, even if some products such as butter, frozen meat or wool made it to the international market. It was, however, very important for Dunedin, as it supplied daily milk supplies, butter and market garden produce (from Andersons Bay – Highcliff area), and it provided an attractive area for suburban development and investment in future land possibilities as well as a recreational area for the urban population (Huggett 1966).

Environmentally, native bush was greatly reduced, being mainly found in steeper gullies and more difficult slopes, totalling 2,829 acres in 1896 or 11.75 per cent of the total area (Department of Agriculture 1896), shrinking to 938 acres or 3.89 per cent of the total area in 1915 (Huggett 1966), but recovering to 5.25 per cent in the 1980s (Johnson 1982). This tendency followed a New Zealand-wide trend, with the period from 1890 to 1900 being a period of great deforestation, when 36,260 sq km of forest, most of it on the North Island, was mainly burned off (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Figure 6.12 shows the agricultural landscape of the Peninsula in 1905, with nearly nothing of the original forested landscape remaining.
It also appears that rabbits were a serious environmental problem for land and farming in New Zealand and on the Otago Peninsula, as the ‘Rabbit Question’ was addressed in the *Otago Witness* (e.g. 13 June 1895, p. 15; 20 June 1895, p. 16) on many occasions. In 1908 the Peninsula was described as a breeding ground for rabbits (*Evening Star* 12 March 1908).

In 1899, Huggett (1966, p. ii) noted that the ‘entire Peninsula was ... converted into a cultural landscape’, with Judd (2001, p. 28) arguing that by then it showed ‘little resemblance of the pre-European terrain’ (Judd 2001, p. 28) (‘landscape Europeanisation’). It could be argued that efforts were made to protect remnants of native bush from conversion. The Sandfly Bay/Sandymount area complex (563ha), still the largest area managed by the Department of Conservation, was declared a reserve in 1908 (*Otago Peninsula Landcare Group* 1998) by the local government to protect it from development. On the other hand, another area around Virginia Avenue in Broad Bay (the old township of Dunoon), then a Government Reserve, was partly subdivided by the Provincial Government, with only two small public sites remaining as a government reserve (the cemetery, at Sandpiper Road) as a consequence of local opposition to the subdivision (Hayward 2004). Other events that impacted on the environment occurred across the 19th century, and were common all over New Zealand: the introduction of exotic animals (e.g. possums, rabbits, goats)
and exotic plants (e.g. radiata pine, gorse) with often disastrous effects (Hutching 1998).

Socio-culturally, Portobello, the centre of the Peninsula, was still a rural township with 37 permanent inhabitants in 1896, while the area beyond, particularly Otakou, was not easily accessible for visitors (Huggett 1966). The Maori living in the region did not fair better than most of the other Maori people living in New Zealand. The Peninsula witnessed first-hand the decline in Maori numbers: there were 71 Maori living on the Otago Peninsula in 1896 (Huggett 1966) down from approximately 1,000 Maori in 1800 (Holland and Wearing 2001), mostly in Otakou. Portobello, with its two general stores, a Masonic Hall, a school, a post and telegraph office, a hotel and two churches, served as a commercial centre for the village and the rural hinterland (Huggett 1966). One of Portobello’s tearooms from that time still survives today as the ‘1908 Licensed Restaurant and Café’ (after going through different uses such as store, private home, motorbike repair business, pottery with a barber shop upstairs and post office). It was opened as the ‘Wainui Tearooms’ in 1908 (Hayward 2004; see figure 6.13). Broad Bay on the other hand was the most popular and largest of the harbourside settlements (Shaw 1992), the ‘Queenstown of Dunedin’ (Judd 2001, p. 32) (see figure 6.14).

FIGURE 6.13 Wainui tearooms, established 1910
Source: Display Otago Peninsula Museum, no date.
After the initial period of recreationists visiting a new social group neither farmer nor entrepreneur families arrived in Broad Bay (and other areas) between 1900 and 1910, when many cribs were built for Dunedin residents commuting into town — the commuters — with some later retiring there (Shaw 1992; Knight 1979). In general, retirees and their welfare, particular from the ageing pioneers of the white New Zealand settlement became a concern for the New Zealand Government. An old-age pension for the deserving poor was therefore introduced in 1898 (Statistics New Zealand 2004) and certainly influenced the status of some of the pioneers on the Otago Peninsula. However, the majority of people moving comprised commuters. One member of this new group was (later Sir) James Fletcher, the founder of Fletcher Construction Company Limited (later to become one of the leading companies in New Zealand), who built a house in Broad Bay in 1908 that was to be converted into one of the smaller tourist attractions (Shaw 1992). The house was fully restored in 1992 and opened for the public (Otago Peninsula Trust 1998). Another local area, Sandymount, developed as one of the most important dairying districts. This was mainly a consequence of the creamery of the Taieri and Peninsula Creameries operating there and having it as the central collection point for milk (the other three creameries operating at the time were serving the remoter areas in Otakou, Granton and Papanui Inlet). Sandymount School had a role of over 100 students; there was also a post office, a volunteer hall and a Presbyterian church (Huggett 1966). Another harbourside village, Macandrew Bay, closer to Dunedin (today a suburban area) (Judd 2001), took a different turn, because it ‘wasn’t quite far enough away from Dunedin to be a popular holiday area (although many people came on short day trips, and it hadn’t yet
fully developed its residential function)’ apart from a few homes of the Dunedin aristocracy – but it was still rural agricultural land (Huggett 1966, p. 203).

Generally, most farms were still isolated, with neighbouring farms often owned by relatives and not many outsiders entering, leading to intermarriage and very close social relationships within the communities (Huggett 1966). That social self-sufficiency slowly decreased closer to town, particularly during the holiday season (Huggett 1966). The population, especially on the harbourside, still consisted mainly of males, but as the areas became more settled, the male-female ratio changed substantially with the more urbanised areas of Andersons Bay and Broad Bay already more evenly balanced (Huggett 1966).

Politically, the farmers on the Peninsula were very active in the past, forming their own road board and later the Peninsula County Council. They had an enormous impact on the development of the place, especially in relation to better connections to the economic centre, Dunedin. However, their influence was dwindling. There were two main reasons for those changes: first, a new group settling in the area, commuters (often professional and academic people, working at the first New Zealand university in Dunedin, opened in 1869), who were based more in Dunedin (Knight 1979), and gained substantial influence; second, the general reduction in perceived distance as a consequence of increased accessibility and mobility, and a reduction in time needed to travel between the city and the land, which drew the Peninsula increasingly into the realm of the city. This meant that not only commuters but also recreationists and tourists could now live or travel from Dunedin to the Otago Peninsula and vice versa as the travel time was substantially reduced.

Other political events that happened in New Zealand certainly impacted on the Otago Peninsula. The granting of voting rights to women in 1893, with New Zealand being the first country in the world to do so, influenced gender relations. But more importantly, a sense of identity started to evolve in New Zealand, as it refused the offer to join the new Australian federation in 1900, instead becoming a dominion in 1907 (Statistics New Zealand 2004).
Tourism to the Peninsula appears to not have been an issue in 1914. The Otago Expansion League advertised in the *Otago Daily Times* (Christmas Annual 1914), marketing Dunedin as a place to live and as a place to travel to. The advertisement mentions various tourist places in proximity to Dunedin such as Queenstown, Wanaka and Te Anau, but not the Otago Peninsula (see figures 6.15 and 6.16).

![Image of Dunedin advertisement](image_url)

**FIGURE 6.15** Promotion of Dunedin to potential tourists and residents 1914

Additionally, the resort development for recreational purposes on the Otago Peninsula was limited to the harbourside with its sheltered bays and warmer climate, while the outer coast remained rural as a consequence of the exposure to the climate and the lack of a satisfactory road network (Huggett 1966). But as the roads improved the parts closer to Dunedin became suburbs of Dunedin (e.g. Andersons Bay, Waverly, Vauxhall, Shiel Hill, and Macandrew Bay) and the cribs became houses (Judd 2001). The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the influenza epidemic that followed halted much progress until the 1920s. The period thereafter was much determined by the automobile and its rapid rise, opening New Zealand and the Peninsula up for domestic tourism.

Generally, the impact of the recreationists lies in the facilitation of the improvement of the infrastructure and domestic access that would later be used by domestic and international tourists. International access was still limited. However, rail and later improved road infrastructure and cars enhanced domestic access and speed of travel. Technologically, telegraph, telephones and airmail stretched social relationships over time and space. The main issue was the cost of these new technologies. Flows intensified, especially between rural areas and their urban centres, between Dunedin and the Otago Peninsula (see table 6.5).
TABLE 6.5 Four main features of globalisation process: Stage 4 Recreationists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature of globalisation</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th>Stage 4 Recreationists</th>
<th>Otago Peninsula</th>
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<tr>
<td>Stretched social relations</td>
<td>‘Tyranny of distance’ still limiting access to New Zealand. Internally, rail and, later, cars reduce travel times. New Zealand soldiers fight in the wars of the British Empire e.g., Boer War in South Africa, First World War in Europe). Partly because of the participation in wars, the sense of identity as New Zealanders is growing. British Empire still the main trading partner for New Zealand. New Zealand annexes the Cook Islands (1901) and governs Western Samoa (after 1920). The car, developed in Europe, ‘shrinks’ domestic distances. Airmail flights start domestically in 1919.</td>
<td>Soldiers from the Otago Peninsula serve for the British Empire overseas (e.g. Boer War, First World War). Locally, ferries and cars become important modes of transport; bus transport is in its infancy. Telegraph and telephone access improve accessibility to communication to and from the Otago Peninsula. Production changes on Peninsula (between dairy and sheep) depending on export opportunities. Otago Peninsula products are displayed at Colonial Product exhibitions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensification of flows</td>
<td>Limited accessibility is still an issue. Immigration is still important for New Zealand (peak 1908). Cars increase internal flows and provide the basis for later extensions of tourism. In 1916, New Zealand has the highest number of post offices per population in the world</td>
<td>Dramatic increase in recreational local flows through socio-cultural, technological and economic changes (e.g. higher disposable income and time, better infrastructure, introduction cars and ferries, urbanisation-related movement by commuters to rural areas), in line with changes in Western capitalistic societies. Diseases and exotic flora and fauna continue to be introduced.</td>
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<td>Feature of globalisation</td>
<td>Stage 4 Recreationists cont.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Otago Peninsula</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increasing global interactions</td>
<td>Transformation of New Zealand environment ('unproductive' to 'productive' land) as part of the international expansion of European powers. Increasing urbanisation modelled on the European development of capitalistic societies. Telephones become more prominent, but cost is still high in comparison to letters. Social and economic practices deriving from Western capitalism well established.</td>
<td>Locally, ferries and cars become important modes of transport; bus transport is in its infancy. Telegraph (office in Portobello) and telephone access improve accessibility to communication to and from the Otago Peninsula. The conversion of the natural landscape into a cultural (English) landscape is nearly complete, but there is also the beginning of moves to protect some natural areas (increased awareness of environmental destruction; European idea). Tourism is no issue on the Otago Peninsula, but is starting to become more important for the region (advertisements in newspaper)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development global infrastructure and networks</td>
<td>Increased development of New Zealand as an independent nation state (Dominion in 1907; own coat of arms 1911). Founding of a national tourism organisation in 1901, but still lack of tourism infrastructure. The British Empire is still the main point of reference for New Zealand (e.g. steamer link). There is the beginning of a global governing system, the League of Nations (1919) of which New Zealand is a member. The speed of global communication is increasing; main issue is cost (telegraph, telephone).</td>
<td>Increased development of New Zealand as an independent nation state (Dominion in 1907; own coat of arms 1911). Founding of a national tourism organisation in 1901, but still lack of tourism infrastructure. The British Empire is still the main point of reference for Otago Peninsula (e.g. trade) link). There is the beginning of a global governing system, the League of Nations (1919) of which New Zealand is a member. The speed of global communication from and to the Otago Peninsula is increasing; main issue is cost (telegraph, telephone).</td>
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6.2.5 Discovering their own country: Stage 5 Domestic tourists

‘See your own country’… Increasing numbers of New Zealanders explored the country by car in the 1920s (McClure 2004, p. 97).

From the 1920s onwards, New Zealanders started to discover their country in greater numbers. This followed important changes stemming from dramatically increased mobility and accessibility, such as the introduction of the motor car, the growth in non-working time available and the desire to discover one’s own country. In this period domestic tourism went through several ups and downs until the 1960s, which were determined by the world economic recession (1928-1935) with its high unemployment and the Second World War (1939-1945) on the one hand, and the above-mentioned expansion of car ownership, increasing urbanisation and the reduction in working hours from 44 to 40 hours in 1936 on the other. Some of these events were global and did not impact only on New Zealand. In particular, the world-wide recession and the Second World War halted the global tourism development, which had started in 1920s, stopped during the recession, and then started again thereafter before being stopped again by the Second World War. International travel to New Zealand, mainly from Australia and the United Kingdom, was still in its infancy, with 7,828 visitors in 1949 (Tourism New Zealand 2001). The Otago Peninsula was greatly influenced by these developments.

6.2.5.1 Development in New Zealand: Stage 5

New Zealand society experienced dramatic changes and events between the 1920s and the 1960s, especially in culture and the economy. After the recovery following the First World War, there was a time of development and opening up of the country domestically and to some extent internationally, but all that was seriously reduced by the Great Depression lasting from 1928 to 1935. It was followed by a brief revival before the start of the Second World War in 1939. At the end of the 1940s New Zealand had witnessed changes in gender relations,
the way in which New Zealanders saw themselves internationally and in the appreciation of their own natural environment.

Socially, population numbers were still growing, along with urbanisation, industrialisation and car ownership. There was a higher demand for domestic tourism as a consequence of a rise in disposable time and income and domestic accessibility (e.g. cars, infrastructure). New Zealand's population rose from 1,271,668 in 1921 to 1,630,948 in 1941 to 2,414,984 in 1961 (Statistics New Zealand, various dates), nearly doubling in just 40 years. Immigration criteria, an important part of this increase in numbers, changed by raising the age limit for migrants from 20-35 to 35-45 (Smith and Callan 1999). Accordingly, immigration numbers increased from 11,135 in 1921, 3,236 in 1931 (recession), 2,426 in 1941 (Second World War) to 58,320 in 1951 (mainly European immigrants) and 40,610 in 1961 (Statistics New Zealand, various dates). After the end of the Second World War, immigrants from Europe arrived in growing numbers (Smith and Callan 1999). However, the government still favoured population growth with immigrants from Great Britain, preferably to strengthen the secondary and tertiary industries (McLauchlan et al. 1986).

There was also an important transformation in the urbanisation of the Maori in conjunction with the general trend to move from the country to the city. Successive governments in this period believed that the assimilation of the increasingly urbanised Maori into mainstream New Zealand would be appropriate (Statistics New Zealand 2004), thereby facilitating problems between Maori, immigrants and Pakeha. Consequently, the rural-urban split changed dramatically from around 44 per cent/56 per cent in 1921 to 24 per cent/76 per cent in 1961 (Statistics New Zealand, various dates). This development was also influenced by the recession (1928-1935) when more and more people took up relief scheme work in the cities. Additionally, job opportunities were created for war work in or near urban areas in manufacturing, often for unskilled workers, increasing the number of people moving into cities during the Second World War (1939-1945). Therefore, urban areas expanded to accommodate the new urban masses. Furthermore, the social and economic environments of farms and suburbs began to become
more and more connected. That trend was fostered by improved and speedy access to the cities from rural areas (e.g. better roads, increased car ownership) reducing the perceived distance between town and land (McLauchlan et al. 1986).

Yet farming stayed the main export earner for the country. While dairying was the backbone, technological and economic adjustments meant that there was some diversification in markets and products. These diversifications included beef, with the first trial frozen shipment of beef to London in 1933, followed by the export of 20,000 tonnes a year later, the export of pigs, peaking in 1937 and the large scale production of vegetables to supply the United States marine bases in New Zealand between 1943 and 1945 (McLauchlan et al. 1986).

In addition, guaranteed prices for dairying products (*Products Marketing Act*) were introduced in 1936 (Statistics New Zealand 2004) with the Second World War producing an even greater economic success for farmers. Great Britain's first bulk purchase of all surpluses of farm products began in 1939. In 1944, it promised to buy all of New Zealand's exportable meat surplus for the next four years because of a general growth in the demand of food products in post-war Britain (McLauchlan et al. 1986). New Zealand's economic well-being in the 1950s was built on the 'sheep's back' as sheep farming became the dominant farm animal in New Zealand following the wool boom in 1950 (Statistics New Zealand 2004). Between 1951 and 1961, sheep numbers increased from 34,786,386 to 48,462,310 and kept increasing until the start of the 1980s (Statistics New Zealand 2005a). This process was facilitated by the use of aerial topdressing to increase feed, resulting in economic prosperity but also causing environmental concerns.

With rising disposable income, the reduction in working hours from 44 to 40 per week, and the 'loss' of country life for the urbanised New Zealanders, cars were increasingly bought in order to take holidays in the countryside and discover their own country, especially in the inter-war years, the non-recession years and after 1945:
Wild New Zealand was being explored [after 1945], and developed too. The returning servicemen took to bush and mountain to rediscover their homeland. Hunting, tramping and mountaineering grew rapidly in popularity...

The country's third national park, The Abel Tasman National Park, was established, and conservation became an issue (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 136).

Registered car ownership increased from 143,553 in 1931 to 251,122 in 1951 and 523,847 in 1961 (Statistics New Zealand, various dates), growing nearly fourfold. Particularly interesting is the period from 1951 to 1961 when car ownership more than doubled in just 10 years. From the mid-1920s onwards the growth was facilitated by car assembly plants opening in New Zealand (General Motors in 1926 and Ford in 1936) (McLauchlan et al. 1986) and from the late 1930s by the strong government efforts to develop roads (Smith and Callan 1999). Furthermore, the government continually improved the railways, with McClure (2004, p. 93) describing the period 1922-1929 as 'The Romance of Rail', and Smith and Callan (1999, p. 95) describing the 1930s and 1940s as the time 'When Rail was King', with railway mileage peaking in 1953 (3,558 miles) (McLintock 2005). In the 1950s, however, the car became the mode of transport domestically for the wealthier members of society with the importance of railways constantly decreasing since then. Coastal shipping also declined dramatically (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Internationally, aviation grew in the economic recovery of the period after the Depression until the start of the Second World War, and again after the end of the Second World War. As Smith and Callan (1999, p. 102) write: 'Optimism was also in the air [in 1936]. Commercial aviation expanded rapidly both internally and internationally, transporting passengers, cargo and mail.' Though not yet important in terms of economic impact, it symbolises the start of a new era of time-space compression when the 'tyranny of distance' decreased dramatically.

Socio-politically, this period is of great importance for the defining of New Zealand as a nation and its population's identity as New Zealanders. Following the First World War, the basic idea of being independent from Great Britain was already established and consequently made possible by the British Statute of Westminster 1931 (adopted in 1947) giving the New Zealand Parliament
political independence (Mulgan 1997). However, New Zealand remained economically part of the peripheral area of Great Britain, providing the raw material for the industrial production of the 'mother country' (Smith and Callan 1999). It remained legally dependent on the signing-off of legislation by the Governor-General sent from Britain and the Privy Council in London as the highest legal institution. Nevertheless, the idea of independence was also nurtured by other events such as the introduction of coinage with New Zealand design, the ceasing of British coins as legal tender in 1933 and the establishment of a New Zealand citizenship in 1948 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). A further sign of the growing interest in economic independence within global trade was the introduction of the GATT (predecessor of the World Trade Organisation) in 1948 (McLauchlan et al. 1986).

Environmentally, as the population became more urbanised and started to identify more and more as New Zealanders, they became more aware of the destruction of the indigenous flora and fauna. The Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society, for example, was established in 1923 to protect the native flora and fauna. The export of most native timber was prohibited in 1939 and a Royal Commission into the sheep industry expressed concern over the deterioration of surface-sown hillsides and tussock land in 1949 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). In 1930, the *Otago Witness* (1 February 1930, p. 47) printed, for example, an article on the work of the New Zealand League to preserve the 'fine forest of Puketitiri (Hawkes Bay)'.

Nevertheless, the relationship with the environment was still determined by capitalist production within specific local, regional, national and international frameworks with state-led utilitarian conservation mainly concerned with the 'wise use' of resources (Roche 2002). Cost reduction, the perceived necessity for high yields and philosophies of progress led to farmers converting more surface areas into grassland for sheep farming (Brooking, Hodge and Wood 2002). Combined with the use of phosphate-rich fertiliser from the former German colony Nauru and later (after 1949) aerial topdressing, sheep numbers and economic returns rose enormously (New Zealand Listener 2004; Brooking, Hodge and Wood 2002). This development was a capitalistic-agricultural
revolution with high (externalised) environmental cost that helped New Zealand to achieve one of the highest standards of living in the world between the 1920s and the 1970s.

In this period, the importance of 'the champions for the introduction of exotic species', the Acclimatisation Societies, was dramatically reduced. They changed their purpose from the introduction of exotic flora and fauna to the management of game animals after 1900 and to birds and game species of freshwater fish after 1930 (McLintock 2005a), exotic flora and fauna 'arrived' increasingly not by conscious introduction, but as stowaways in air cargo, such as the European wasp in 1943 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). But they were not the only problems arriving by air as human diseases were capable of 'flying in' from everywhere in the world such as the Polio epidemic that closed schools in 1948 (Statistics New Zealand 2004). The introduction of exotic plants and animals for economic purposes also continued, with the first commercial planting of the Chinese gooseberry (kiwifruit) in 1934 and the introduction of landrace pigs from Northern Ireland in 1959 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). This 'flow' of exotic flora, fauna and diseases, however, was not just one way as a earlier report in the Otago Witness (15 March 1927, p. 58) described that the 'New Zealand Flora... [is] capable of furnishing British gardens with more shrubs and flowers than is generally supposed.'

In the 1950s, some residents in New Zealand showed concern for the environment, especially for indigenous forests and the general deterioration of the indigenous flora and fauna, leading to rapid membership growth in the Royal Forests and Birds Protection Society (founded in 1923) (Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society 2007). It was facilitated by the publication of the National Forest Survey of New Zealand that confirmed that the supplies of indigenous timber would run out in a few decades if the felling rate at that time was to continue (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Furthermore, political action such as the unification of the role of national parks through the National Parks Act 1952 and the consequent creation of several national parks such as Fiordland National Park in 1952, Urewera National Park in 1954 and Nelson Lakes National Park in 1956 (McLauchlan et al. 1986) or the signing of the Antarctic Treaty (including
scientific exploration) in 1959 (Statistics New Zealand 2004) show a more environmentally aware society. It also points to an economic awareness of future use of these protected environments for tourism which certainly eventuated in the case of the national parks. This concern for the environment further increased during the 1960s following reports about the European and North American experiences of deteriorating air, river, lake and sea qualities (McLauchlan et al. 1986) on television, radio and in newspapers.

Technologically, the growing use of radio, telephone and, later, television and airplanes revolutionised the way New Zealand saw their country and the world. The first radio transmission took place in 1921 (Smith and Callan 1999) and the first trans-Tasman broadcast was aired from Dunedin in 1925. On 31 March 1928 there were already 2,331 radio licenses in Dunedin, with some of them certainly on the Otago Peninsula (New Zealand Listener 2004). It was followed by the introduction of Radio New Zealand’s shortwave in 1948, and regular television programmes in Auckland in 1960 (New Zealand Listener 2004) and in Dunedin in 1962 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). The first telephones in New Zealand were bought in 1930 (Otago Witness 29 March 1927) and the first international telephone call was made from Sir Apirana Ngata from Wellington to Australian’s acting Prime Minister J.E. Fenton in 1930 for a cost of £1 per minute (about NZ$76 in today’s terms) starting a international connection that would make New Zealand ‘a nation of great communicators [in relation to telephone usage], among the most connected people in the world’ (Otago Daily Times 26-27 November 2005, p. 6). New Zealanders listened to national and international programmes, spoke with friends overseas and airplanes helped further to contact or travel to the now known places in a much less time-consuming way than by ship. The first trans-Tasman flight by Guy Menzies happened in 1928, airmail stamps were introduced in 1931, the first trans-Tasman airmail services started in 1934 and regular domestic air services begun in 1935 (Statistics New Zealand 2004; McLauchlan et al. 1986). Not left out of the new age of air travel, Dunedin enthusiasts from the 1927 founded the Otago Aero Club (OAC) and started discussions for an aerodrome site in Green Island as early as 1928 (Otago Witness 29 May 1928). From 1930 they operated out of the Taieri Aerodrome in Mosgiel (Otago Aero Club 2005) that was visited by Guy
Menzies, 'The Tasman Flyer', the first person to cross the Tasman in 1931 (Otago Witness 20 January 1931, p. 62). Finally, in 1940, the trans-Tasman air service became part of the Empire Airmail Scheme to and from Britain, making postal deliveries to and from Europe much faster than by shipping. Suddenly, the world was more accessible for New Zealand and New Zealand for the world. While it took nearly 120 days by sea to travel from Great Britain to New Zealand in 1840, it took just around 40 days in 1931. Figure 6.17 provides an overview over the changes in maritime travelling time and speed between Great Britain and Australia and New Zealand from 1788-1960 and the developments that facilitated these reductions.

![Figure 6.17: Time maritime journey Great Britain – Australia, New Zealand 1788-1960](image)

**FIGURE 6.17 Time maritime journey Great Britain – Australia, New Zealand 1788-1960**

*Source: after Rodrigue and Comtois 2005, online*

Economically, the period between the end of the First World War and the Second World War is characterised by constantly changing global economic fortunes that impacted greatly on other areas such as the socio-cultural and socio-political, including the development of tourism in New Zealand. After the end of the First World War recovery, New Zealand’s economy, driven by a great expansion in dairying, helped to improve the living conditions to some extent (e.g. hydro-electricity and electric lights) and allowed its population to buy material possessions (e.g. motor vehicles). Car ownership and the speed and convenience of cars (together with the still expanding railways) as well as ‘the
traditions of country hospitality' (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 69) facilitated the
development of domestic tourism. However, it was hindered by a lack of
purpose-built roads and bridges. These small advances in tourism stopped for
most New Zealanders with the Great Depression, which was triggered by a
chain of events in the United States' economy on which most of the world
depended for short-term credits after the First World War. It started with
dropping consumption in the United States and the consequent loss of stock
value, followed by panicked stock owners selling-off stock leading to the
collapse of the New York Stock Exchange on 29 October 1929. Suddenly,
American banks asked for the return of credits leading to the collapse of
European and other economies (Meyers Lexikonredaktion 1994). The Great
Depression, lasting from 1928 to 1935 (Statistics New Zealand 2004), was, as
well as the Second World War (1939-1945) and the after-war recovery, one of
the three main events in this period.

In the mid-1920s New Zealand's economic outlook worsened dramatically,
developing into the Great Depression where 'anxiety became rife' (Greymouth
Evening Star 2000, p. 6). During the Depression (1928-1935) export returns fell
by 40 per cent and wool prices by 60 per cent making half the farmers bankrupt
by 1932, unemployment rose from 4,500 registered unemployed in 1928 to a
peak of approximately 81,000 in 1933 (excluding 75% unemployed Maori)
(Smith and Callan 1999). After the positive economic development in the early
1920s, the Great Depression brought high unemployment with its social
consequences. Its impacts, particularly strong from 1931 to 1933 (McLauchlan
et al. 1986), were economic difficulties impacting on all spheres of life until
1937, when wage rates and terms of trade started to improve (Smith and Callan
1999) and the economy expanded to a point where import and export controls
needed to be introduced in 1938 as the demand, especially for imports, was too
great (McLauchlan et al. 1986). However, unemployment did not decrease
dramatically until the Second World War, which created a fresh demand for
labour. It was a time when social security was bolstered by the Social Security
Act in 1938 (in force on 1 April 1939) providing a free health system, a means-
tested old-age pension scheme at 60, universal superannuation payments at 65
(McLauchlan et al. 1986), benefits for sickness, orphans and widows without
dependent children and emergency benefits. Smith and Callan (1999) described this legislation as a defining point for New Zealand as a nation for nearly 50 years. Overall, the 1930s showed how a global economic phenomenon could impact on the everyday life of New Zealanders and facilitate welfare legislation that defined the country for a long time:

The Thirties were a decade in which the impact of foreign political and economic events shook the country. It opened on a growing world financial crisis and closed at the start of a conflict which would become the first truly global war (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 84).

On 3 September 1939, then Prime Minister Michael Savage announced on the radio that 'Where she [Britain] goes we go; where she stands we stand' (Sinclair 1991, p. 278), declaring war on Germany and its allies, following Britain, Australia, France and India (McLauchlan et al. 1986). During the war nearly 140,000 New Zealanders served in countries like Greece, Egypt, Syria, Great Britain, Canada, Italy, Palestine or the Pacific. Since the 1950s New Zealand soldiers served in many other conflicts, including the Korean War (Smith and Callan 1999; Irving 1961) and the Vietnam War (New Zealand Listener 2004). However, despite the fact that one-quarter of the New Zealand male population served during the Second World War, the country became the highest agricultural producer of all war-faring nations, sending all farm surpluses to Great Britain (Kennedy 1995) and leading to the stabilisation of the New Zealand economy by 1942 (Statistics New Zealand 2004). This was possible because women took up the jobs that were vacated by men.

The women who took up the vacated jobs of the men serving experienced a different life than that of a married housewife. They were part of the paid workforce and enjoyed the freedoms of earning their own income and a public life outside the family. After the return of the servicemen, they were expected to 'go back home', but not all of them did (Grant 1999, cited in Edited Ninox transcripts 1999). Nevertheless, in most cases women returned to their role as housewives, while the men took up their workplaces.
The Second World War also brought other changes, in particular the use of New Zealand for training, rest and recuperation of American soldiers, exposing New Zealanders to British and American music, fashion and television programmes (Statistics New Zealand 2004). Around 20,000 Americans spent time in the country, impacting on the socio-cultural and economic structure of New Zealand as they were more outgoing than the average Kiwi male, they brought gifts and a whole range of things in short supply – cigarettes, sweets and chocolates, silk stockings, hair shampoo. They gave women flowers... They brought their music and big bands with them... golden age of movies... as if Hollywood had come to town, an all together powerful combination (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 125).

It was also a time when petrol was rationed and private cars were commandeered for defence use or stayed in storage, as spare parts were hard to come by (Smith and Callan 1999). Despite a booming economy in the post-war period because of a high currency and an increased demand for agricultural products in post-war Britain (McLauchlan et al. 1986), rationing stayed part of the country until the mid-1950s to help Great Britain (Smith and Callan 1999). Domestic tourism, and even more so international tourism, which started to develop in the 1920s, was interrupted by the Depression and the Second World War and was therefore limited until the 1950s for domestic tourism and until 1960s for international tourism.

In the 1920s tourism started to develop. The *Otago Witness* wrote about the 'New Zealand benefit from Australian Publicity' by the recently 1927-formed National Travel Association in Australia (*Otago Witness* 9 July 1929, p. 5), the opinion of an expert on skiing at Mount Cook (*Otago Witness* 9 July 1929), the enthusiastic use of motion-picture cameras by American cruise ship passengers arriving in Auckland (*Otago Witness* 4 January 1927) or the impressions of New Zealand by a South African visitor (*Otago Witness* 13 January 1931). Overall, it appears that the tourism development was drastically interrupted by the Depression and the Second World War, but started to pick up again in the 1950s.
Nationally, domestic tourism was fostered by the government through the provision of free travel warrants for holidaying for returning servicemen (Smith and Callan 1999). Rising living standards in the 1950s led to New Zealanders pulling caravans and trailers to our favourite holiday hideaways where gimcrack baches of corrugated iron and Fibrolite were home. We pitched tents by sea and lake, we refreshed ourselves in the cathedral calm of the bush. (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 155)

International tourism arrivals between 1921 and 1961 increased from 8,525 to a still comparably-low 90,275, with a particularly sharp increase from 19,894 in 1951 to 90,275 in 1961 (Statistics New Zealand, various years). This reflects the increase in living standards in the West, including more disposable income and time, and the increasing accessibility of New Zealand following the Second World War. The rising living standards were reflected domestically in the rise in car ownership, the high ownership of new appliances such as washing machines or electric stoves and growth in domestic travel. The 1960s started therefore very much like the 1920s with an 'increasing sophistication of flight and the shrinking of distance' and the radio as the 'new voice of the Twenties' being replaced by television as 'the new cultural force of the Sixties' (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 175).

6.2.5.2 Otago Peninsula development: Stage 5

It appears that the Peninsula was economically very well settled in this period. Its economic mainstay was in agricultural production, but its importance for Dunedin appears to have been small. The Otago Witness rarely mentions the area between 1920 and 1932 with images printed mainly showing regatta days, panoramic views, sometimes the ferry services, the road or 'interesting' news items. This lack of reporting is surprising, as the Peninsula population constantly increased until 1951 (see table 6.3, p. 187).

Its population more than doubled between 1921 and 1951 from 1,783 in 1921 to 3,895 in 1951, slightly falling to 3,734 in 1961, remaining relatively static since
then (Statistics New Zealand, various years). The reason for the increase was
the continuing trend of workers from Dunedin to take up residency between
Portobello and Dunedin, before the 1940s, especially in Macandrew Bay (Otago
Peninsula 1940). There was a different trend in the area between Portobello
and Taiaroa Heads (with the oceanside continuing as a farming area), where
the Otago Peninsula remained a weekend and holidaying place with not much
change in residential families until after the Second World War:

...in 1933 there were five permanent residences in Harwood... it was not
until after the war [Second World War] when housing was very scarce, the
servicemen were coming home to get married and they wanted somewhere
to live, so one of these people at Harwood sold their town houses and
proceeded to live permanently in the holiday homes, no doubt making a
handsome profit. But to see it now, it's hard to realise that in a relatively
short time, just how it is booming (Alf, Interview 2, Tape 1).

The earlier trend of population growth in the area between Portobello and
Dunedin started in the 1890s and was further facilitated by the improvements
first in the ferry services, then cars and later in the condition of the roads. There
were also economical reasons for Dunedin residents to move out to the Otago
Peninsula. The rates and the property prices were much lower than in Dunedin,
off-setting the daily travel costs (Huggett 1966). However, while the population
grew on the sheltered harbourside, the oceanside gradually became de­
populated (Hayward 2004). Farms were sold, as they were too small to be
viable, families left and schools were closed. Cape Saunders School merged
with Hoopers Inlet School in 1942, Sandymount School closed in 1949 and
Hoopers Inlet School was finally closed in 1964 (Portobello School
Anniversary Committee 1982). This growth in population on the harbourside
continued a trend that started in the 1890s and changed the social and
economic structure of the Otago Peninsula further. As the new residents, for
example, commuted daily to work in town, they did not shop on the Otago
Peninsula, but in the more convenient and cheaper stores in town. The growth
in population did therefore not increase the commercial functions in the area
that included only the essential services, normally a local grocer, a local butcher
and religious and educational (primary school level) facilities, but resulted in the
harbourside primarily becoming dormitory areas (Huggett 1966).
In 1940, one of the first publications focusing on the history and development of the Peninsula described the situation at the time: 'In more recent times progress has been rapid. A great wave of popularity swept the Peninsula, bringing with it crowds of holiday-makers and permanent residents' (Otago Peninsula 1940, p. 5). The Peninsula became more conveniently accessible by the means of transport available, while the extent of the access infrastructure remained relatively static, its improvement being the main change.

The access infrastructure did not change much in this period. Only a very few additional roads were built on the Peninsula after 1900, but in the 1930s the condition of some the existing ones had improved to a standard that made it possible to comfortably travel on them. The Beach Road (now Portobello Road up to Portobello and Harrington Point Road thereafter) had first been sealed up to Portobello (1930s) and later Otakou, but the Highcliff Road remained only metalled (Huggett 1966). This development follows the cooperation of the DCC, the Main Highways Board and the 1927-established Peninsula County Council (Otago Peninsula 1940). Alf (Interview 2, Tape 1), who drove a delivery truck around the Otago Peninsula and to and from town, describes the road improvement of the 1920s and 1930s in comparison to today:

It [the Portobello/Low Road] may have a bad name now but it was much worse once upon a time. The first big improvement would be the causeway across Andersons Bay Inlet that took that straight around there... Also there were three or four points on the road that they attacked, put a cutting through three of them... Now this improved the road considerably, all these improvements. Then they started the tar seal. Somewhere in the late 1920s they did the first four miles from the bridge... They sealed through to Portobello in 1930 and then stretched further on to Harrington Point a few months later.

In the 1920s the post war boom reached the Otago Peninsula (Huggett 1966), and motor cars and especially buses became more common, replacing other modes of land transport. 'The horse-drawn coach was eventually superseded by a 16-seater International motor bus' when in 1923, the first regular motor bus service opened on the Otago Peninsula (Otago Peninsula 1940). The bus
services must have been poor initially, when the two competing companies were racing each other into town:

1922 or 1921, and it must have been a great outfit because there's no bus stops and these two fellows [who owned the bus company and drove the bus] would go at the same time in the morning in opposition with one another and of course if you saw one passenger there and four there, you drove past the one and picked up the four! (Alf Interview 2, Tape 1).

These bus services, however, only ran for a short period of time until both were taken over by the Wright Brothers, who sold them to Peninsula Motors in the mid-1920s, in the process advancing the overall service. There was also vast improvement in conjunction with city and suburban services when the government began to control passenger transport after the passing of the *Motor Omnibus Act 1926* (Otago Peninsula 1940). As a consequence of improved bus services the last regular ferry service, the *Waikana*, carrying seven passengers and five empty milk bottles (Broad Bay Community Centre 1999, p. 2), left the Rattray Street Wharf in Dunedin at 6:30pm on 22 May 1926 (Hayward 2003) and 'the era of the ferry had passed' (Broad Bay Community Centre 1999, p. 5). Irregular ferry services continued, but they never reached the prominence they had between the 1890s and 1920s as buses were much more convenient. The bus could stop everywhere while the ferry had only certain stops – Portobello, Ross Point, Broad Bay, Company’s Bay, Macandrew Bay and then Burns Point (Alf Interview 2, Tape 2).

Nevertheless, Nina (interview 1 2004) points out that the ferry was still the main transport for secondary school children to get to their schools in 1937, as there was only a worker’s bus, but no school bus:

We had to go to secondary school [in 1937]. We [Nina and her sister] had to get from here to town, Dunedin. There was no bus for schoolchildren. There was a worker’s bus but you weren’t welcome on the workers bus. So, we had a horse, we were only allowed one horse and a bike. And we rode from here [farm near golf course] to the wharf and caught the Tarewai [ferry] to Port Chalmers and there we caught the train to Dunedin and then we walked the rest of the way to high school... We left home at 7:00 o’clock... There were lots of workers went to Port Chalmers in those days, quite a few school kids,
secondary school mostly. But that only went for a year... by the next year [1938] a bus left Portobello.

By the 1930s the car was established, and a round trip along Portobello Road and back over Highcliff Road was promoted by the guidebook *Dunedin, South Island New Zealand Guidebook* (1939). Nevertheless, 'traffic was very scarce' in the 1930s (Alf, Interview 2, Tape 1), but commercial tours were running as far as Portobello, focusing on the scenic attributes of the area (Green 1992) and earning the Peninsula the name 'Playground of Dunedin'. Buses enabled 'thousands of people to enjoy the scenic beauties and holiday attractions of the Peninsula' (Otago Peninsula 1940, p. 10). The bus service was therefore very prominent between the end of the Second World War and the 1960s, when it 'got into its full stride and had seven buses... and people started living out here [the area of Portobello and beyond] with the shortage of houses in Dunedin... all these cribs became permanent residences (Alf, Interview 2, Tape 1). It was a time when buses, cars and the appropriate infrastructure became part of New Zealand society, allowing for the discovery of their own country.

Other innovations and achievements further enhanced the understanding of New Zealand as a country and as part of the world, such as its increased accessibility through the introduction of 'flying machines' for mail, cargo and passenger transport, radio programmes reporting about New Zealand and other countries, the gaining of independence and later the opening of the world to private homes via television. There were, however, only three radios in Portobello in 1930 and not more than six telephones owned by tradespeople in the early 1930s (Alf, Interview 2, Tape 1), limiting the impact of some of the new technologies on the Otago Peninsula.

There were also other effects, such as the increased speed and likelihood of diseases or exotic flora and fauna from other parts of the world 'arriving' in New Zealand. Following the First World War, a global influenza epidemic, for example, reached New Zealand in 1918, polio epidemics broke out in 1925 and 1947 (McLauchlan et al. 1986), drawing the Otago Peninsula into the global flow of diseases. The polio epidemics were so severe that the 'early weeks of
the school year 1925 [at Portobello School] were lost through an epidemic [of polio] and there were other outbreaks at fairly frequent intervals until the last one, which closed the school from November 1947 until the end of February 1948... from 1956 pupils and teachers received anti-polio injections’ (Portobello School 125th Anniversary Committee 1982, p. 35). Nevertheless, the possibility of the most severe diseases such as smallpox, venereal disease, scarlet fever or measles from new immigrants taking on epidemic proportion appears to have vanished. The quarantine station at Quarantine Island closed in 1916 and re-opened for soldiers coming home from the First World War (St Martin Island Community 2000), before finally closing in the 1920s (Peat and Patrick 1995). The former quarantine station soon became a spot for local visitors.

The Second World War interrupted the development of the area as a visitor and a tourist destination. Nina (Interview 1, 2003) outlined that they had many visitors before the start of the war, but that their ‘tennis court [was] not used after 1939, or just occasionally... not many visitors or people [came] to stay during the war, because we had to much work to do...everything changed with the war’. After 1945, domestic tourism slowly started to grow again, and international tourism towards the end of the 1960s, based on attractions like Larnach Castle, Glenfalloch Gardens and the albatross colony (Holland and Wearing 2001). The albatross colony – today one of the main attractions on the Otago Peninsula and indeed Dunedin – was not established until the 1920s, when a pair of royal albatrosses was supposedly blown off course (Entwisle 1976). Initially, the albatross colony did not receive the attention it receives today. The first egg laid in 1919 was eaten by a local resident (Morris and Forsyth 1986), the first chick hedged in 1938 (Judd 2001) and the birds were only seen by a small number of visitors, mainly local residents until 1964 when it became a flora and fauna reserve. Commercial guiding tours started in 1972 (Higham 1998). These animals are a unique wildlife attraction together with the penguin, seal and sea lion colonies that started to slowly regenerate around the same time (Entwisle 1976).

Another place that would become an Indigenous or Maori tourism attraction was added around that time. In 1941 the Otakou Church and in 1946 the Meeting
House were opened near the cemetery, replacing an earlier church (Otago Peninsula Trust 1995; Green 1992). It could have particular importance for tourism, as Marae buildings ‘are difficult to find in the south. Dunedin is lucky because it does have a prominent marae’ (Tonkin 2002, p. 30). Occasionally, visitors visit the Marae, but there are problems with its function as an active Maori meeting house:

Michael and Carsten a German immigrant and his visiting German friend went out on the Peninsula for the third time during Michael’s six day visit. They wanted to go to the Marae and local church. Carsten rang the Marae, but they had a function (it was a Sunday), so they could not accommodate them. They both went nevertheless to have a view from the outside. A local resident remarked that people could not just visit as there was a protocol to follow (Fieldnotes 12 December 2004).

In general, these attractions helped to change the appeal of the Otago Peninsula. In the 1930s and 1940s visitors came to enjoy the scenery. By the 1960s, wildlife was added as attraction and experienced growing importance since then (Green 1992). Scenery and sports like swimming, yachting, fishing, boat racing, launch excursions, walking, bowling, golf or lawn tennis were the main drawing cards for tourists up to the 1960s:

The tourist who follows winding harbourside roads is invariably impressed with the magnificence of the scenery. The blue waters of the harbour shimmering in the sunshine stretch lazily towards the Pacific, with rugged headlands and bush-covered islands giving striking relief to the brilliance of the translucent colouring (Otago Peninsula 1940, p. 14).

Tourism promotion of the Otago Peninsula is only found in connection with the local bus operator, the Peninsula Motor Service, which not only marketed the Otago Peninsula from 1930 onwards (Otago Daily Times 13 December 1930), but also helped to beautify the road edges on the Lower Road with trees and shrubs so the road could ‘be a source of delight to users’ (Otago Peninsula 1940, p. 10). The bus company believed that Dunedin residents suffered from an inferiority complex concerning the city’s assets and were therefore ‘slow to tell the outside world of the many attractions around the city’ including ‘the asset’ Otago Peninsula, despite growing recognition of ‘one of the finest harbour trips in the Dominion’ amongst visitors from home and abroad (Otago...
Peninsula 1940, p. 18). The bus company tried to change this perception through various marketing campaigns by advertising 'observation tours' in the local newspapers. Interestingly, one of the first advertisements used included images of Mickey and Minnie Mouse, providing an early example of Americanisation (see figure 6.21). The use of these symbols also expresses the expectation of a general knowledge about Mickey and Minnie Mouse (residents, domestic and international tourists).

FIGURE 6.18 Early tour advertisements by the Otago Peninsula Motor Service (1930)

Nevertheless, other destinations in the wider Dunedin region were more heavily promoted. In the 1930s, tourism-related advertisements appeared in the Otago Witness (23 December 1930, no page number) referring to Dunedin as the 'gateway to the south' without describing the Otago Peninsula as a worthy destination (see also figure 6.22):

Dunedin, the ideal tourists' city – the Gateway to the world-famed scenic and sporting attractions of the South of New Zealand. Dunedin is also New Zealand's ideal city from a residential, professional, business or holiday point of view.
In general, the Peninsula is rarely mentioned as a tourist destination at the time. Tourism promotion and reporting in the *Otago Witness* and other New Zealand media in general focuses on the sporting attractions such as skiing and the scenery, for example on the ‘South Island Resorts’ (*Otago Witness* 15 May 1928, p. 76) including the ‘Scenic Wonderlands Southern Lakes and Mountains’ (*Otago Witness* 29 May 1928, p. 25), ‘Attractions of Otago’ (*Otago Witness* 30 July 1929, p. 77), Tongariro National Park or Mt Cook. The Otago Peninsula was still more of an urban backdrop, ‘a residential suburb of Dunedin and a mecca for the picnicker’, and sporting activities like swimming, fishing and walking but also a holiday resort (Otago Peninsula 1940, p. 5) or as Alf (Interview 2, Tape 1) puts it:

When they came down Labour Weekend, Easter, things like this, over the Christmas holidays, the influx of picnic makers, you couldn't believe it, all around the bays, every bay was full of them, they were quite a nuisance, a pest... everything was fair game to them... they'd come down and see the country bumpkins.
Huggett (1966, p. 224), referring to the 1950s and 1960s, makes the point that, ‘With the extension of these suburban functions a decline in holiday activities has occurred... With the increase in the number of motor cars urban families went further afield for their holidays’, leading on to think that the same happened in other urban parts of New Zealand and it can therefore expected that New Zealanders from outside the region increasingly visited the Otago Peninsula as part of their trip to the region.

‘New’ mobilities such as domestic tourism and commuting changed the socio-cultural set-up of the Peninsula. Up to the 1920s, the Otago Peninsula was still a farming community centred around Portobello with limited direct outside influence. ‘And in those days you could be born in Portobello and live your whole life there and have all you need... school, church... retire and be buried in the local church yard’ (Alf, Interview 2, Tape 2). The farms provided work and income, a nursing home took care of the old and a medical doctor came twice a week or for emergencies from Port Chalmers. There were two blacksmiths, a boot repairer, two general stores, two tearooms, a mn’s outfitters and haberdashery, a wood and coal yard, a hotel, a postoffice, a bakery and a butcher’s shop in Portobello in the 1920s, some of these services doing home deliveries. The Peninsula also had a policeman, but Alf (Interview 1, Tape 1) described the crime rate as very negligible and parents were therefore happy for their children to play outside all day.

Economically, the global events of the Great Depression and the Second World War changed this status on the Peninsula. Alf (Interview 2, Tape 1), for example, summarises that it is hard to give an exact picture of businesses and farms on the Peninsula in the decade from 1920 to 1930, as they changed hands up to three times, symbolising ‘the general picture of the place in the early 1920s’. During the Depression many men in town and on the Otago Peninsula were either only temporarily employed, unemployed or working as part of a relief scheme. One such relief scheme was aimed providing a farm income for families. The Lands and Survey Department bought a farm at Cape Saunders to subdivide it into nine farms. Unemployed men were employed to do the fencing, clear off the bush and build houses before the farms should be
handed over to them. Eventually, the farms were sold to private farmers at the end of the depression when the men gradually left to work in jobs somewhere else. Other men received an income from the mayor’s relief fund (Alf, Interview 2, Tape 1).

There were also dramatic changes in the pattern of Peninsula livestock farming as dairy declined dramatically, while sheep farming increased considerably after 1930 (Huggett 1966), especially after the introduction of aerial topdressing in 1949 (Brooking, Hodge and Wood 2002). Furthermore, with the improved condition of the road and the introduction of trucks, the transport of cattle, pigs and sheep into town was made much easier. Yet the land on the Peninsula was and still is only marginally economical for farming (Read 2005). Alf (Interview 2, Tape 1) states:

The Peninsula was never meant to be for sheep because it was dairy country but as time went on and the farmers required more land by buying off their neighbours and aerial top dressing helped to improve productivity, just after the war [in another part of the interview Alf refers to the time after 1930], they managed to save most of it.

Gradually farms increased in size, facilitating the de-population of the oceanside, because the average farm was not viable and sheep farming was far less labour intensive than dairy cattle, leading to the workers and their family leaving because there was no work for them in the 1930s (Alf, Interview 2, Tape 2). In other instances the farms became ‘only’ hobby farms providing an additional source of food and income. Nina, born in the early 1920s, described that her father’s 100-acre farm was more of a hobby farm until after the war as it was not possible to make a living out of it (Nina, Interview 1 2003) (today they own more than 1000 acres). The Second World War impacted on the farms on the Peninsula: ‘Nearly all the men that were on the farm were gradually taken, they either volunteered or were acquired, conscripted for the army or the navy’ and the women had to do their work at home. This was further complicated by the rationing of petrol, butter or sugar (Nina, Interview 1 2003).
Environmentally, the Peninsula was still determined by farming and the way that farmers acted on their land, especially on the oceanside. Capitalistic production with its pressure to use the resources and improve the land was paramount. The struggling farmers on the marginally economical farms on the Peninsula responded and still respond more to cost than concern for sustainability (Brooking, Hodge and Wood 2002). In this period, however, farmers also had to cope with increased competition for land use from domestic tourists in addition to Dunedin recreationists.

The 1960s were a time of global, national and local global changes that led into the latest phase of globalisation, especially for remote areas like New Zealand. In 1961, Juri Gagarin successfully completed the first space flight (Smith and Callan 1999), making it possible to view the earth as one entity from space, using the recently-introduced to New Zealand technology of the television (New Zealand Listener 2004). This flight also signalled the start of satellite communication. In 1963, the first satellite communication (telephone link) with Great Britain was established after the launch of the Early Bird Satellite, the same year the last of the once-revolutionary Morse circuit closed in New Zealand (McLauchlan et al. 1986). It was a new era symbolised by the arrival of increasing numbers of international visitors using Air New Zealand’s new DC-8s to cross the Pacific (McClure 2004) to the Auckland international airport officially opened in 1966 (Statistics New Zealand 2004).

The 1960s were also the period when increasing numbers of Polynesians arriving in New Zealand became a major population movement (McLauchlan et al. 1986) after Western Samoa gained independence in 1962 (New Zealand Listener 2004) and the Cook Island became self-governing in 1965 (Statistics New Zealand 2004). This process was fostered by the fact that Cook Islanders remained New Zealand citizens (Sinclair 1991), making it easy to enter the country.

In the 1960s, New Zealand’s independence was strengthened by the introduction of its own decimal currency (1967), the dollar and the cent (Greymouth Evening Star 2000). Supermarkets, a new Western model of selling
groceries for the growing number of consumers started to appear in New Zealand. The first supermarket opened in Auckland in 1958 (New Zealand Listener 2004). But there were also already signs of coming economical problems when the wool prices collapsed in December 1966 (New Zealand Listener 2004) signalling the start of economic changes that would last for more than two decades.

Certainly, increasing number of residents followed a new economic interest towards the end of the 1960s – tourism, especially international tourism to New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula, building on global and local historical developments. The first farmers to the Peninsula had created the cultural-agricultural scenery that the first visitors came to see. Recreationists, commuters and cribbies were attracted by the improving conditions of transport possibilities, making the Otago Peninsula a popular spot for weekend trips and picnics. Domestic tourists used the new freedom of transport that the car brought them to discover their own country, including the Otago Peninsula. All of them prepared the way for the next wave of 'new' arrivals, international tourists, who would make the Peninsula a global place subjected to more constant and wider contact with people from all over the globe.

Overall, the social relations were stretched dramatically. Two world wars and a global recession had enormous impacts on New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula (e.g. high unemployment, New Zealanders serving overseas, US troops stationed in New Zealand). These were clearly global events that led to increasing connections and contact with and knowledge about the world. International flows, mainly limited to the consequences of war, grew, while domestic flows changed through the growth in car ownership, the introduction of buses (e.g. commercial tours down the Otago Peninsula), the extension of the rail network and the beginning of air transport (e.g. the opening of Taieri aerodrome). International tourism remained in its infancy as the political events and cost and time available to travel hampered its development, the Otago Peninsula was mainly an urban backdrop and a domestic destination. However, New Zealand became part of the international community as an independent state.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature of globalisation</th>
<th>Stage 5 Domestic tourists</th>
<th>Otago Peninsula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stretched social relations</strong></td>
<td>A global recession (1928-1935 – high unemployment) and two world wars (1914-1918; 1939-1945 – food rationing) impacted on New Zealand, leading to New Zealand servicemen serving overseas/US troops being stationed in New Zealand as well as on the economy.</td>
<td>Polio epidemics 1925 and 1945 High local unemployment during recession Decreased dairy farming, increased sheep farming follows introduction aerial topdressing, farms increase in size, leading to de-population of ocean side (viability)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intensification of flows</strong></td>
<td>Dramatic increase in mobility and accessibility, especially domestically. The growth in car ownership, introduction bus services, extension rail networks and the introduction of airplanes are instrumental in this process. Additionally, radio broadcasting starts in the early 1920s, helping to distribute information. The first international telephone call was made from Wellington to Canberra in 1930 for a cost equivalent of NZ$76 per minute. Regular Trans-Tasman airmail service started in 1934, regular domestic air services in 1935. Social conditions improved (e.g. reduction in working hours 44 to 40 in 1936) and fostered tourism. Growth in immigration from Europe after the Second World War. Country remained provider of raw materials for Great Britain in a centre-periphery relationship. Reduction in shipping time from 120 days in 1840 to 40 days in 1931 New appliances arrive in New Zealand (e.g. washing machine, electric stove)</td>
<td>Population increases (until 1951) through commuters on Harbour side up to Portobello (cribs into residential houses); infrastructure relatively static. Polio epidemics 1925 and 1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature of globalisation</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Otago Peninsula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing global interactions</td>
<td>International tourism started, but was interrupted by the global recession and the two world wars. The numbers increase from 8,525 in 1921 to 19,894 in 1951 to 90,275 in 1961. The wars lead to soldiers ‘travelling’ overseas and foreign troops, especially US troops to be stationed in New Zealand. Heightened awareness of environmental destruction, but still wise-use of resource approach (Western capitalistic approach). Introduction of new farming methods developed overseas (e.g. fertilizers from German colony Nauru, aerial top-dressing). Exotic flora and fauna is now arriving by airplane with humans and trade products, as well as being deliberately introduced for trading purposes (e.g. Chinese gooseberry/kiwifruit in 1934). Free travel warrants for returning servicemen issues by New Zealand government. Farm surpluses sent to Great Britain, stabilisation of New Zealand economy. New Zealanders also serve in the Korean War. American and British soldiers train, rest and recuperate in NZ, introducing British and American music, fashion and television programmes.</td>
<td>Otago Aero Club founded in 1928, Taieri aerodrome starts operating in early 1930s. Tourism starts, but is interrupted by global events (recession, wars); buses and cars become more common (New Zealanders travel further within their own country); first commercial tours run down the Peninsula to Portobello. Goods easier transported around. Some international tourists venture to Otago Peninsula. Limited number of telephones and radios. Tourism (enjoyment scenery) and tourism development interrupted by World economic recession and World War II. New Zealand enters WWII on the side of Great Britain. Men from the Otago Peninsula serve in war, ‘travel’ overseas (e.g. Greece, Egypt, Syria, Canada, Italy, Pacific Dunedin marketed in newspaper as gateway to the south, but Otago Peninsula remains urban backdrop/domestic destination. Aerial topdressing introduced, change dairy to sheep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development global infrastructure and networks</td>
<td>Near full political independence (e.g. New Zealand citizenship 1948) gained. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to reduce international barriers in trade signed by New Zealand in 1948 Signatory to the Antarctic Treaty (1959) Membership League of Nations and later the United Nations Dependency on Great Britain continuing</td>
<td>Otago Peninsula remains globally marginal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.6 The world is flying in to visit: Stage 6 International tourists

Airline publicity boasted of the jet aircraft as a 'fabulous tool', conceived so that distance would become meaningless and time in the true Einsteinian sense would become relative. Travel gained a new aura of excitement... More significantly, jets could travel a longer range than propeller-driven aircraft; they 'shrank the world' and dramatically reduced New Zealand's isolation (Rennie 1990, p. 104, cited in McClure 2004, p. 204).

Not long after the world had recovered from the impacts of the Second World War, travellers, especially from Western countries, started to rediscover their own country before they were able to see the world. At first, movements of tourists were limited by the new political organising system of the 'Cold War'. This changed with the opening of most of the communist countries after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. By then competition changed from being between two political systems to being global. It made tourism one of the most important players in the process of globalisation by 'distributing' tourists and their cultures globally, including to New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula.

6.2.6.1 General development in New Zealand: Stage 6

Between the 1960s and the 1990s, New Zealand was very much tied up in the Western industrialised world. It shared a special economic relationship with Great Britain until the 1960s. The period after the 1960s is defined by further steps towards economic independence from Great Britain. Economically, the dependence of New Zealand on the British market was still very high in 1972 when Britain was accepted into the European Economic Community (EEC) (McLauchlan et al. 1986). This admission eventually limited the access of New Zealand produce to the British market. Special agreements also secured market access for dairy products such as butter and cheese to the British market until 1980, and the continuing pressure to diversify into new products and new markets became obvious. Accordingly, the New Zealand economy started to diversify away from dairying into products like kiwifruit, fish, timber, venison, deer velvet (Smith and Callan 1999), pine forest plantation (McLauchlan et al. 1986).
1986) and tourism, and into new markets, especially in Asia but also in North America and Australia. This globalisation of the economy is still an ongoing process. Tables 6.7 and 6.8 show the internationalisation in relation to exports and imports of New Zealand since 1860. The reduction in importance of trade with the United Kingdom, as well as the growing importance of other countries, especially Japan, and the re-emergence of Australia as an important trading partner after 1960 is obvious. Walker (1987, p. 228) describes New Zealand’s transformation:

Pakehas have been in New Zealand for more than a hundred and fifty years. In that time the empire that shuffled them to the far corners of the earth declined and in the last decade withdrew into the common market. Pakeha New Zealanders are no longer European. They are adrift in the South Pacific and must come to terms with that reality. They have to learn to become Pacific people.

**TABLE 6.7 Changing patterns of New Zealand exports**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>United States of America</th>
<th>Other countries</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1870</td>
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Sources: Statistics New Zealand, various dates
TABLE 6.8 Changing patterns of New Zealand imports

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Japan</th>
<th>United States of America</th>
<th>Other countries</th>
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<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics New Zealand, various years

Apart from increased market and product diversification, New Zealand's economy experienced other dramatic events, often connecting the local and national with the regional. Examples include the world-wide recession and energy crisis following the unexpected oil price increases in 1973-74 (200%) and 1979, the 'arrival' of inflation in the 1970s, increasing concerns about cost of the welfare system at the end of the 1970s when health and welfare were one-third of government expenditure to the protectionist 'Think Big' policies of the Muldoon government in the early 1980s followed by another economic recession in the 1980s (Smith and Callan 1999). In 1980 an Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report called for measurements to open up local manufacturing for imports to improve New Zealand's competitiveness, while the International Monetary Fund called for import liberalisation (McLauchlan et al. 1986). However, this was only the beginning to the economic changes in the 1980s, especially the economic policies of the 1984 Labour Government under Treasurer Roger Douglas, popularly called 'Rogernomics'.

'Rogernomics' describes 'the period and activities of the 1984 government when financial controls were rapidly removed from what had been a very heavily
regulated economy’ (Richardson 2000, p. 547). The economic changes introduced to open the New Zealand market to the international forces of the regulating ‘invisible hand’ and the new business concept of ‘user pays’ between 1984 and 1987 include: the abolishment of exchange controls and sales taxes, the floating of the New Zealand Dollar, a surtax on superannuation, introduction of a general Goods and Services Tax (GST) of 10 per cent (12.5% in 1988), phasing-out of import licensing, reduction of tariffs, introduction of business practices for government departments and the removal of agricultural subsidies (Smith and Callan 1999). The number of unemployed rose to more than 100,000 in 1988 and more then 200,000 in 1991 (Statistics New Zealand 2004). Farmers suffered particular economic hardship as the high interest rates drove many farmers off the land (Elsworthy 1999). Overall national export earnings from pastoral farming consequently decreased from 84 per cent in 1973 to 50 per cent in 1984, while export earnings from manufacturing increased from 8 per cent in 1973 to 22 per cent in 1984 (Smith and Callan 1984) (see table 6.9). In rural places depending on marginally economical farm incomes like the Otago Peninsula this caused dramatic changes such as the loss of uneconomical services, for example the closure of post offices in 1988 or the diversification into tourism, in particular international tourism.

TABLE 6.9 Export importance of industrial sectors 1973-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>68.2%</td>
<td>71.6%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics New Zealand, various years

Economic and technological developments were tied in with tourism, such as regular jumbo jet air services starting in 1972 (Nippert 2004) and the introduction of credit cards in 1979 reducing the importance of direct cash transactions (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Tourism businesses catering for the overseas visitors were opened in New Zealand, for example hotels built for the

In the 1980s and 1990s the New Zealand economy also changed through opening up its market to foreign competition and privatisation as well as the joining of international agreement. In the process, big New Zealand companies were either privatised or sold to overseas buyers. Telecom was sold for NZ$4.25 million in 1990 and Watties was bought by American company Heinz in 1992 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Other examples of increasing global economic interdependence include the Closer Economic Relations agreement with Australia that came into force in 1983 (McLauchlan et al. 1986) or New Zealand’s membership in the World Trade Organisation since 1 January 1995 (World Trade Organisation 2005).

However, as New Zealand was now more closely tied up in the world economy, it also suffered more from global events such as the Asian Economic Crisis in 1998, the global difficulties of airlines through competition and the terrorist events in 2001. Following the Asian Economic Crisis in 1998 the number of South Korean tourists entering New Zealand collapsed and the national carrier, Air New Zealand, already under pressure from other airlines in the market, needed a NZ$550 million government ‘injection’ to keep flying in 2001. The same year Qantas New Zealand and Ansett broke down (Statistics New Zealand 2004). But the dramatic changes in this period are not limited to the economic area.

Socially and politically, New Zealand as a nation grew increasingly aware of its location within the South Pacific Asia region and independence from Great Britain. This development was facilitated by technological developments such as the growing exposure to television and tourists arriving in the newly-introduced jumbo jets, political agreements such as the signing of the Closer Economic Relations (CER) Agreement with Australia or Great Britain’s entry into the EEC.
Television was certainly an important factor in the globalisation of New Zealand society. Some of the main global TV events of the time include the images of the first landing on the moon in July 1969 (Dallinger et al. 1994) that gave New Zealanders (and the world) a view of the globe as one planet, and the 'first' televised war involving New Zealanders (1965-1971), the Vietnam War (Smith and Callan 1999; Ansley 2004). 'It [TV] gradually changed the way we [New Zealanders] looked at both ourselves and the world as it drew viewers into the visual mainstream of the global village' (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 184). The introduction of colour TV in 1973 (McLauchlan et al. 1986) or the starting of a third TV channel in 1989 (Statistics New Zealand 2004) and later pay-TV opened up new choices and possibilities.

Television assisted New Zealanders in their self-image in relation to the world. However, this self-image was also developed through several important events. Firstly, the 1981 Springbok tour took place, in which an all-white rugby team from apartheid South Africa arrived for a 56-day, 15-match tour, causing unprecedented civil unrest. New Zealand society's opinion was divided between keeping politics out of sport by allowing the tour and giving an account of solidarity and against social injustice by cancelling the tour. It encouraged New Zealanders to confront racism in their own country (Watkin 2004). Globally, South Africa was an isolated country at that time as a consequence of its apartheid system. Sport contacts with other countries were therefore limited, and if occurring were drawn into the moral and political arenas. Secondly, the bombing, by French agents, of the Rainbow Warrior, the flagship of the globally operating environmental organisation Greenpeace, which was on its way to protest against French atomic tests on Mururoa in the South Pacific in Auckland Harbour in July 1985, killing one crewmember (Statistics New Zealand 2004; McLauchlan et al. 1986). This terrorist attack by a friendly government created a strong national feeling (Sinclair 1991), not only against the French but also against the Americans and the British, as neither country condemned the bombing (Welch 2004). It also led directly to the nuclear-free policies starting in 1985, challenging American politics by not allowing American nuclear-propelled ships to enter New Zealand waters, effectively destroying the ANZUS pact.
between Australia, New Zealand and the US, but also directing New Zealand to
a new self-reliance policy in defence. It shifted public opinion in favour of a
struggling government and provided a new pride in being a New Zealander. On
the other side, the youth of the 1970s wore American and British fashion,
listened to ‘their’ music and used their language (Smith and Callan 1999),
helping to hybridise important cultural elements of the New Zealand society.
This worked together with continuing immigration from and to a great variety of
countries.

From the 1970s onwards, New Zealanders became a more significant
component of immigration and emigration as they sought employment overseas
or took long working holidays (McLauchlan et al. 1986), transporting their
culture to other countries and sometimes coming back with new glocalised
cultures. On the immigration side there was a decrease of British and European
immigration and an increase of immigrants from Samoa, Tonga, the Cook
Islands and Niue to work in low-paid jobs, starting in the mid-1970s. It made
Auckland the Pacific’s largest Polynesian city (Smith and Callan 1999). Since
1991 the Asian population in particular shows high growth rates, rising from
100,000 to more than 250,000 in 2001 and ‘with the Asian population expected
to more than double by 2021, New Zealand, culinarily, linguistically, politically
and culturally, is becoming more and more part of the Asia-Pacific region.’
(Nippert 2004a, p. 52) The connection of New Zealand with most parts of the
world and within is especially important for these different immigrant groups.
Amongst others, new container shipping for surface mail between Auckland,
Wellington and Great Britain (1971) and the US and Canada (1973) was
started, the one-millionth subscriber was connected to the telephone (1975), a
new satellite link with parts of Europe and South Africa (1981) was connected,
international priority post for guaranteed speedy handling of business mail to 22
countries (1984) was established and the internet (1989) was set up
(McLauchlan et al. 1986; Statistics New Zealand 2004). Consequently, the mix
of New Zealand’s population grew with the overall population numbers,
increasing from 2,862,631 in 1971 to 3,157,737 in 1981, 3,434,950 in 1991,
3,737,277 in 2001 to 4,105,429 in September 2005 (Statistics New Zealand,
various dates) as did the connection with the rest of the world. This follows the
continuing trend of population growth since the start of settlement (see figure 6.20).

Moreover, there is also a growing temporary movement adding to the cultural diversification of New Zealand culture. International tourists continue to arrive in growing numbers – 271,415 in 1971, 463,456 in 1981, 967,062 in 1991, 1,848,454 in 2001 and 2,400,000 in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, various dates). The development of tourism was helped by the introduction of regular services with jumbo jets starting in December 1972 (Nippert 2004) and by Air New Zealand’s acquisition of DC-10s in 1973 (Greymouth Evening Star 2000).

There were also changes in the distribution of the population. In particular, urbanisation was of growing importance, with rural areas suffering from a serious decline in inhabitants and a resulting loss of services that were not profitable. The decline continued from 1881 to 2001, so it slowed down in the last three decades (see table 6.10). For the period from 1971 to 2001, the urban population increased from 81.5 per cent to 85.7 per cent, while the rural population declined from 18.5 per cent to 14.3 per cent (Statistics New Zealand).
various dates) (see table 5.10). In particular, the dramatic urbanisation of the Maori, from 3 per cent in 1936 to 65 per cent in 1971 (McLauchlan et al. 1986) and around 80 per cent in 1981 (Smith and Callan 1999) impacted on Maori culture as well as on race relations with the urban population. Apart from losing the tribal kinship basis, the closer proximity of Maori and Pakeha created tensions and conflict (Smith and Callan 1999), fuelled by the Maori renaissance from the 1970s onwards concerning long-held grievances (Watkin 2004a). In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was established to look at Maori grievances from that date on. It was later extended to include all grievances retrospective to 1840, resurrecting the founding document of New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi (Ansley 2004a). Such development also helped to increase the self-awareness of New Zealand’s place in the world in the 1980s, expressed in an 'outburst' of writing, painting, music, film and theatrical work by Maori and non-Maori (Smith and Callan 1999).

TABLE 6.10 Rural-urban split in New Zealand 1881-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban population</th>
<th>Rural population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Until 1926 non-Maori population

Source: Statistics New Zealand, various years

Another population trend is the continuing shift from the South Island to the North Island, starting in the 1960s when the highest population growth rates in urban centres were in the northern communities of Hamilton, Tauranga, Rotorua, Auckland and Whangerei following the development of manufacturing and agricultural industries (McLauchlan et al. 1986). By 1984, the population of
Auckland exceeded the population of the South Island for the first time (Statistics New Zealand 2004). This coincides with the 'Rogernomics' policies that followed the privatising and deregulation policies of 'Reaganomics' and 'Thatcherism'. It appears that such policies followed international patterns, leading for example to an opening up of the economy to the global market or the elimination of farm subsidies and the consequent reduction in employment in rural areas. The move from rural to urban areas such as Auckland is therefore logical and happened in many parts of the Western world.

Overall, the social set-up of New Zealand changed dramatically between the end of the 1960s and today. In particular the growing independence from Great Britain, the increased self-awareness and self-image of New Zealand and its place in the world, and the high accessibility for tourists and immigrants are important elements of the latest globalisation processes. These developments were facilitated by political decisions.

Political decisions taken in New Zealand after the 1970s often reflect the increasingly independent orientation nature of the country. Political positions reflected the greater focus on relationships with the South Pacific away from Great Britain and the United States. Defining issues of independence already touched on include the calling of the International Court of Justice in the Hague following the French nuclear testing in the 1970s (Smith and Callan 1999) and the nuclear-free policy in the 1980s that seriously undermined the Australia, New Zealand and US security treaty (ANZUS). Since the 1990s New Zealand has been a well-established independent member of the international community, sending peacekeepers to East Timor (1999), hosting an APEC meeting (1999) and providing the head of the World Trade Organisation (Michael Moore in 1999) (Statistics New Zealand 2004).

While the 1970s were politically determined by economic crisis, the 1980s were split into two distinct periods: the 'Think Big' policies of the Muldoon government (1981-1984) and the 'Rogernomics' economic policies of the Lange government and their consequences (1984 to today). While the first tried to make New Zealand more self-sufficient and protective, especially in energy terms
(following the oil shocks), the latter was geared towards opening New Zealand’s economy to the world.

Environmentally, the increased admiration for a unique environment and focus on its human settlement history are the most important elements of New Zealand’s tourism industry today. Through the different times, the environment was exploited for economic gain to provide a living. But while there was only minimal debate and protection of New Zealand’s resources in the early days of European settlement, there is now substantial debate and growing interest in the sustainability of resources. One of the most important events in forming a national environmental consciousness was the ‘Save Lake Manapouri’ debate in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Wheen 2002). Lake Manapouri in the southwest corner of New Zealand’s South Island in Fjordland was planned to be raised to provide cheap power for a foreign-owned aluminium smelter. This turned ‘a nation into environmentalists… brought down a National Government and tinted politics green thereafter’ (Ansley 2004a, p. 33). It ‘marked the realisation by ordinary New Zealanders that the environment was their national heritage’ (Smith and Callan 1999, p. 198). After this event, the importance of the environment was expressed in political and social decisions such as the establishment of a new portfolio for the environment in 1972 (a full Ministry of the Environment and the Department of Conservation in 1985) and the formation of the non-governmental Native Forest Action Council in 1975 to better protect indigenous forests, especially from felling (McLauchlan et al. 1986). At the end of the 1980s, the Parliamentary Commission for Environment, reporting on the damages caused by cyclone Bola around Gisborne, argued that new policies and practices to achieve ‘the goal of sustainable land use’ were needed to control erosion, especially by returning land to forest (Smith and Callan 1999). Local, regional and national governments were increasingly subjected to environmental and planning procedures and constraints beginning with the Town and Country Planning Act in 1977. By the 1980s New Zealanders had a greater consciousness of environment when both the world and New Zealand became aware of a new environmental threat – the ozone hole. In 1991, the most important piece of legislation in regards to the sustainable use, development and protection of water, land and air in New Zealand, which
replaced almost 60 existing Acts, was introduced as a consequence of the growing concern for environmental and conservation issues: the *Resource Management Act 1991* (Wheen 2002). One of the important points within this legislation and the overall development starting in the 1970s was that not only the land resources are included in the ‘new’ environmental consciousness and its sustainable use paradigm, but also the oceans.

The first marine reserve, for example, was established in 1975 in Northland. Growing concerns for marine wildlife, such as snapper, declining since the early 1970s, led to the introduction of boat quota, before it became completely controlled in 1977 (McLauchlan et al. 1986). The *Marine Mammals Protection Act 1978* is another example: it protects all marine mammals within the 200-mile exclusive economic zone (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Since 1996, commercial fisheries are managed through the *Fisheries Act 1996*, aiming to conserve and develop fishery resources in a sustainable manner. It is the ‘first piece of New Zealand legislation expressly to adopt the precautionary principle’ (Wheen 2002, p. 271).

Nevertheless, pests were still imported and the control of growing international arrivals by air and sea from various countries was extremely difficult for a country like New Zealand. These pests were not only a problem for native species, but sometimes also for the economy. Two exotic species that arrived in New Zealand in the 1990s, the Mediterranean fruit fly and the white-spotted tussock moth for example, caused serious export disruptions to Auckland in 1996 (Statistics New Zealand 2004). Additionally, some internal problems were solved in questionable fashion. The internationally-available rabbit calicivirus, for example, was illegally released on farms in the South Island that struggled with rabbit-related erosion problems in 1997 (*Greymouth Evening Star* 2000). The government retrospectively legalised the possession of the virus (Wheen 2002) after it was not prepared to release it earlier, possibly because of the effects on the ‘green and clean’ tourism industry image abroad and pressure from environmental groups in New Zealand. Wheen (2002, p. 278) therefore makes the point that this ‘case is well documented, but generally it is impossible to know what other species may be being brought in deliberately and illegally’.
Despite these problems, environmental consciousness is now an important part of New Zealand society, politics and tourism. It is symbolised by the political success of the Green party, which entered Parliament for the first time in 1999 and the creation of new national parks such as Kahurangi National Park (northwest of Nelson) in 1996 and Rakiura National Park (Stewart Island) in 2002 (Statistics New Zealand 2004).

6.2.6.2 Otago Peninsula development: Stage 6: General changes

From the 1960s onwards, the Otago Peninsula experienced a number of changes. These changes particularly strong since the 1980s, due to the local consequences of global events. These changes include a ‘new’ social structure, better accessibility to and from the Otago Peninsula and the growing importance of tourism for the Dunedin and the Peninsula economies. In particular, international tourism increased dramatically in importance while the importance of agricultural production was further reduced and the social structure changed.

Karl (9 December 2004, personal conversation), who came to the Otago Peninsula in the 1930s with his family, believes that such changes are inevitable. Locals, according to Karl, have to adjust and anticipate these changes, since the Otago Peninsula is in a transient stage. As the old people who knew the place before the recent changes will slowly die off, no one will soon remember this ‘old’ time. He himself has witnessed ‘many changes’ in the last 40 to 50 years. ‘In earlier days, I knew all the homes and families around the bay in Broad Bay and all my family lived somewhere around, but this is now different.’ Similarly, Jack (30 November 2002, personal conversation) pointed out that ‘the Peninsula changed a lot’. While people 20 years ago knew if someone new moved into a house, as most residents stayed in their houses for more than 20 to 30 years, there would now be new people every week. New residents would therefore ‘have to do something really special for other residents to realise that someone new is around’. Penelope and Jim (26 April 2002, personal conversation), who came out to the Peninsula from England in
the 1960s, explain that at that time ‘nearly everyone was related and residents were English, Dutch or Kiwi’. The people stayed in the area and mobility was limited.

Penelope and Jim add that the Peninsula buses were always full in the 1960s, as cars could only be bought with foreign currency after having been on a waiting list. The lack of cars, says Penelope, made it possible to walk on Portobello Road to Harwood Flats seeing only a few cars. This is significant, as it shows that mobility was still very much connected with wealth. Then, the shops closed on Fridays for the weekend, leaving families enough time to go on regular trips over the weekend (Penelope and Jim, 26 April 2002, personal conversation). This was about to change. At the end of the 1960s and the start of the 1980s, the Peninsula went through a new phase in its development. The first organisations and operations catering for tourists, especially international, appeared and general population changes altered the social and economic framework even more.

In 1967, the Otago Peninsula Trust, New Zealand's first private charitable trust, was founded (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998) by concerned local residents to preserve and enhance the Otago Peninsula. It later included the development of tourist attractions, public and recreational services on the Otago Peninsula in its aims and objectives (Otago Peninsula Trust 2004). The Trust purchased Glenfalloch Woodland Gardens in 1968 to preserve the property and its woodland gardens for the public. Five years later, in 1973, it started guided tours at the albatross colony after the opening of the first observatory and reception centre (Green 1992). Other attractions such as Larnach Castle were purchased by private buyers with the intention to develop them for tourism. The Barker family bought Larnach Castle and its 14 hectare gardens, the former home of the national celebrity William Larnach, to ensure the survival of this New Zealand heritage in 1967 (Larnach Castle 2001). It was opened as a tourist attraction in September 1967, when the first function was held (Green 1992).
From the 1960s to the 1980s, tourism growth on the Otago Peninsula had been based on these three attractions, Glenfalloch Woodland Gardens, the Albatross Centre and Larnach Castle (Wearing and Holland 2001). Today, this statement is only partly true, because more recently tourists also visit to see wildlife such as the yellow-eyed penguins, 'the world’s rarest penguin' (Hutching 1998) or the rare Hooker sea lion colonies. These attractions are 'important to Dunedin's tourism industry' (Hill 2000a, p. H26), as they are a unique combination of wildlife attractions. There are also a number of additional attractions such as the landscape, the walking tracks or the heritage buildings. However, while the albatross colony is carefully managed by the Department of Conservation, the equally endangered yellow-eyed penguins, which are spread around the beaches on the Otago Peninsula, are managed differently. The Department of Conservation describes them as 'robust' species which the 'best thing the department could do' the 1987 started re-establishment of native habitat' (Hill 2000a, p. H26). The conservation project for the first commercially operated business for viewing these birds was established in 1984 by two farmers Herbert and Steve (Penguin Place 2005). The main reason to start the project was to diversify away from farming and to reduce the pressure from the public to share the wildlife on his land. It is therefore closely related to the changes in the economic affairs in New Zealand and the globe, starting in 1984 with 'Rogernomics' policies. As subsidies were cut and the New Zealand market was opened to global economic forces, farmers began to struggle to sell their agricultural products and had to find new sources of income. Several locals (Jack, 13 January 2002; Bob, 25 October 2004; Bill, 25 June 2005 and Stan, 19 July 2005, all personal conversations) mentioned that the owner of Penguin Place was never interested in yellow-eyed penguins until realising the potential to make money by offering tours to see the birds. This fits well with Read's (2005) theory of the agricultural discourse that drives to constantly improve the land and its economic return. Wendy, a former employee, who gave up working for Herbert and Steve because of ethical difficulties with the operation, confirmed these statements by saying that 'H. is not very keen on preserving the yellow-eyed penguins, but in the money' (Wendy, 18 July 2002, personal conversation). However, Jack (13 January 2002, personal conversation) 'a local farmer and owner of a backpacker, believes that Howard would now really help
to preserve the yellow-eyed penguins. This comment is echoed by a report about yellow-eyed penguins by Hill (2000a, p. H26) who describes Herbert as a 'local tourism operator and conservationist', who also operates a penguin hospital.

Today wildlife experiences in organised form and visits to heritage attractions have replaced scenery as the main attraction (Green 1992), even if some tourists still perceive the landscape as much more attractive than the wildlife (Malcolm, 11 December 2004, personal conversation). However, the location of the Peninsula also meant that other developments needed to complement the tourism supply, in particular access (e.g. car ownership, infrastructure, air connections). The access was also improved by sealing more and more roads. Furthermore, a visitor’s guide was published by the Bayfield Jaycees in 1968 and a self-drive map for tourists by the Historic Places Trust in 1971.

Further evidence of the increasing importance of tourism at the end of the 1960s is a report published in June 1968 by the Dunedin Metropolitan Regional Planning Authority (DMRPA). It outlines the great importance of the Otago Peninsula as a recreational area for Dunedin residents living close-by and for domestic and international tourists. The report also gives several reasons why the document and the Otago Peninsula are important for the DCC: first, the local Peninsula County Council was about to lose its administrative responsibilities through the amalgamation with the new local planning authority, the DCC, which wanted to be prepared to monitor private development (Entwisle 1976) after 1 August 1968; second, there was ‘the current and increasing interest in the development of the Peninsula as a tourist attraction’ (DMRPA 1968, p. 1); and third, the high value of the area as it comprises a great variety of land – and seascapes with high scenic value that ‘endow the Peninsula with a strong regional character, unique within Otago, and of national value’ (DMRPA 1968, p. 1). The report provides a good inventory on the physical features, the access, land use and amenity values of the area in 1968 to justify the recommendations made at the end. The report also expresses the expectation that the Otago Peninsula would no longer be ‘just’ part of Dunedin’s backdrop (Read 2005).
In the report, the amenities on the Otago Peninsula are divided into scenic amenity and recreational amenities. Scenic amenity values are rightly described as a combination of natural features and man-made features and modifications of the natural scene that establish the quality of the Peninsula (DMPRA 1968). This statement reflects the history outlined within this work, where the natural environment prior to human settlement was interwoven with various periods of new long – and short-term arrivals from other parts of the world, forming part of the globalisation of the Otago Peninsula. The aesthetic attractiveness of the area for tourists contributed to the protection of some areas that were previously extensively farmed, for example Okia Flat. The recreational amenities, according to the DMPRA (1968) derive from the high quality of the scenery, its proximity to ocean and harbour, the wildlife (marine, shore, birdlife) and the historic and scientific associations. They 'stimulate different kinds of recreational activity each making different demands on the environment' (DMPRA 1968, p. 14). This demand holds true for Dunedin residents since the 1890s because these qualities make the Otago Peninsula an important recreational resource (Read 2005). The report divided recreational activities into low density or individual recreational activities more appropriate on the oceanside (walking, exploring, observation of wildlife and other activities where freedom and solitude from civilisation is desired), high density or group recreational activities more appropriate on the harbourside (field sports, golf, riding, swimming, water skiing, boating, spectating and other gregarious activities) and activities that share characteristics of both other groups appropriate on harbourside and oceanside (motoring, picnicking, sightseeing and bus and launch excursions) (DMPRA 1968). These various activities, often on either the harbourside or the oceanside, represent a picture that is in general still valid today even if many of these activities never eventuated. However, despite these possibilities for developing recreational facilities for tourists and Dunedin residents, the Otago Peninsula was still a rural community entity in the 1960s and 1970s. It had a long history of farms and residential harbour settlements that were Peninsula-oriented rather than city-oriented (Duder 1976). Since the 1980s, the community, especially the residential, has started to change to be more Dunedin-oriented, especially between Portobello and Dunedin.
This report broadly summarises the results of the different movement outlined within this thesis. It also gives evidence that tourism, in particular international tourism, was expected to provide an increasing economic value for Dunedin and to a lesser extent the Otago Peninsula. In a cautionary note, it states that such development could endanger the place people come to visit and to live in. Nevertheless, in 1968, the Peninsula was mainly a destination for day-trippers from Dunedin as there was no accommodation available. A travel guide for the Otago Peninsula published by the Bayfield Jaycees in 1968, for example, does not include any accommodation on the Peninsula, but 'offers' several day roundtrips starting and finishing in Dunedin. Nevertheless, the DCC tried to encourage tourism growth.

Consequently, after a meeting of various tourism stakeholders in Dunedin in July 1972, the Dunedin City Planning Department (part of the DCC), by then also responsible for the Otago Peninsula, commissioned a study on 'Dunedin’s Tourist & Visitor Future’ in 1976 (Duder 1978). It is the 'first attempt to collect in a comprehensive form all relevant information about the [tourism] industry in this city [Dunedin]' (Duder 1978, p. 1). Its aims were to evaluate Dunedin’s future role in tourism and to extend the stay of visitors by one extra day through careful planning of the development. By then tourism was described as ‘a rapidly expanding sector of the national economy’ in which increasing ‘numbers of New Zealanders are spending more time and money on holiday and [which] each year brings a larger number of overseas visitors to our country’ (Duder 1978, p. 1). In the case of Dunedin, its tourist industry is described as ‘a base industry that is capable of substantial further expansion’ (Duder 1978, p. 1).

To achieve a substantial tourism expansion the establishment of a more powerful administration that could co-ordinate the various central government, local government and other bodies involved in administering tourism on the Otago Peninsula was proposed than (Duder 1978), but is still not established. The introduction of the Otago Peninsula Community Board in 2002 does certainly go in that direction, even if its powers are very limited. It was established because the Otago Peninsula is significantly different in terms of
geography, land use and population density to the rest of the Dunedin South Ward of which it is an administrative part (Otago Peninsula Community Board 2002).

While tourism in the 1970s appeared to be built on day-trippers from Dunedin visiting the three main Peninsula attractions (Glenfalloch Woodland Gardens, Albatross Colony, Larnach Castle), it changed in the 1980s. New businesses were established, not only in the area of wildlife viewing, but also in the accommodation and arts and crafts. The economic consequences of Rogernomics starting in 1984 changed all aspects of New Zealand society (Read 2005) and certainly played a major part in the increasing diversification of farm owners away from farming and into tourism.

In 1984, for example, a farming family on Highcliff Road diversified into tourism by selling wool products from their naturally-coloured sheep to tourists driving by (Green 1992). This business, Clifton Wool’n’Things, still existed as recently as 2006. Roselle Farm Travellers Motel, now Annette’s Cottage, Roselle Farm, is another example of a farmer diversifying into tourism in 1989 (Otago Peninsula Website 2005). Green (1992) states that the owners received so many enquiries from passing visitors to the albatross colony for a place to stay that they decided to open some accommodation. This accommodation also still existed in 2006.

There are various other tourism-related businesses that opened in the 1980s, signifying increased tourism movements and the beginning of overnight stays in the region. The new businesses include Larnach Castle (also offering accommodation since 1981 – Green 1992), Twilight Wildlife Experience (visiting the yellow-eyed penguin reserve at Penguin Place from Dunedin since 1982 – Twilight Wildlife Experience 2005), the MV Monarch (starting to cruise from Dunedin and Weller’s Rock around the harbour to various wildlife attractions in 1983 – Monarch Wildlife Cruises and Tours 2005), Happy Hens Arts and Crafts (opening in Portobello in 1984, selling and exporting hand-painted hens to international markets e.g. Japan, Australia – Happy Hens 2003), and Harbour Lights restaurant in Macandrew Bay and the 1908 Café in Portobello (serving
the first customers in 1989) (Green 1992). This time signifies a change in economic activities away from farming towards tourism.

Over time tourism numbers to Dunedin and the Otago Peninsula can only be estimated, as tourists arrive by air, sea and water without any means of accurately counting them, because ‘there can be no record of daily arrivals and departures and because so many visitors stay in private homes’ (Duder 1978, p. 43). In light of the lack of overall tourism statistics for Dunedin, a combination of the visitor numbers to the commercial accommodation providers and the Visiting Friend and Relatives survey results on visitor numbers should give a good picture of the changes in tourism in the last nine years (1996-2004; earlier data not available).

In the last nine years tourism numbers for the surveyed tourists increased from 633,986 in 1996 to 882,975 in 2004, with 2002 being the strongest year with 900,972 visitors. It can be expected that there are additional domestic and international day visitors (e.g. cruise ship passengers). The Tourism Research Council New Zealand (2005) estimated that 1,711,000 day and overnight tourists travelled to Dunedin in 2003 (1,187,000 domestic and 525,000 international tourists), forecasting an increase to 2,057,000 in 2010 (1,277,000 domestic and 785,000 international tourists) (see figure 6.21).

![Commercial Accommodation Survey and VFR Monitor Visitor Numbers 1996-2004](image)

**FIGURE 6.21** Estimated visitor numbers to Dunedin 1996-2004

Source: New Zealand Tourism Research, various years
Apart from growing domestic tourist numbers, international tourists with a greater variety of backgrounds increased as a consequence of the globalisation of tourism demand. Tourism Dunedin, the DCC, individual operators and individuals, actively and passively market Dunedin overseas, especially to the baby boomers from Australia, the United States, Europe and Asia (Oldham 2005b). In 2001, the owner of Larnach Castle and the tourist boat Monarch took part in a trade show in Hong Kong that provided exposure to the Asian markets (Dungey 2001); in 2002 a cycle business operating on the Otago Peninsula made a promotion at the Australian Cycle Expo (Rudd 2002). The New Zealand ambassador to Japan reported in December 2002 that major Japanese tour operators commented to him that they see ‘Dunedin and the Otago Peninsula as an increasingly attractive eco-tourism destination’ (Otago Daily Times 2002b, online), while the New York Times published an article (Toth 2002) about Dunedin in which a yellow-eyed penguin chick at the Penguin Place on the Otago Peninsula was the real star for the American writer (Flaherty 2002). In 2005, a visit by Prince Charles was described as providing long-term tourism dividends because of the media exposure in Great Britain (Oldham 2005a).

The mode of transport for visitors to Dunedin also changed in the last decade. While most of those visitors come by car, an increasing number travels by airplane to the Dunedin Airport, which became an international airport in 1994. Since that time international passenger numbers rose from 27,500 in 1994/95 to 79,746 in 2006/2007 (a decrease from 2005/2006 as a consequence of withdrawal of Freedom Air from some international services), while overall passenger numbers rose from 100,000 in 1965 to 701,975 in 2006/2007 (Dunedin International Airport 2008). They are expected to reach 1,000,000 in 2015 (Dunedin International Airport 2005, 2005a) (see table 6.11). Overall, Dunedin received 0.8 per cent of all international arrival to New Zealand (peaking between 2002 and 2005 at 1.1%) in 2007, in comparison to 0.4 per cent in 1998 (Statistics New Zealand 2008a).

In addition, various businesses, mainly operating from Dunedin, put unnecessary pressure on the road infrastructure. Firstly, bus sizes increased in the last couple of years to cater for the increasing demand (McBey 2000).
Secondly, various businesses still use their 20-plus passenger buses for less than five people during the low season (e.g. 23 January 2002; 23 March 2003; 8 August 2002), with one business even driving passengers to the launch of the tourism boat at Wellers Rock and driving back empty (or the other way around). By carrying the passengers to and from the wharf at Wellers Rock instead of from Dunedin, the operator is able to do more daily tours thereby increasing returns.

TABLE 6.11 Domestic and international arrival numbers Dunedin airport 1965-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>International</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>100000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992/93</td>
<td>500000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>500000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993/94</td>
<td>537000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>537000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994/95</td>
<td>469500</td>
<td>27500</td>
<td>497000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995/96</td>
<td>436080</td>
<td>27533</td>
<td>463613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996/97</td>
<td>446560</td>
<td>36615</td>
<td>482695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997/98</td>
<td>449897</td>
<td>30399</td>
<td>480296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998/99</td>
<td>447009</td>
<td>33420</td>
<td>480429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999/00</td>
<td>432895</td>
<td>39513</td>
<td>472408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>431670</td>
<td>52815</td>
<td>484485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001/02</td>
<td>436257</td>
<td>66072</td>
<td>502329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002/03</td>
<td>505145</td>
<td>80396</td>
<td>585541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003/04</td>
<td>581854</td>
<td>87264</td>
<td>669118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004/05</td>
<td>597506</td>
<td>92986</td>
<td>690492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/06</td>
<td>613578</td>
<td>90325</td>
<td>703903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006/07</td>
<td>622229</td>
<td>79746</td>
<td>701975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exp. 2015</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1000000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Additionally, residents of New Zealand increasingly travelled overseas. While there were 21,900 short-term departures in 1950, this number increased to 1.283 million in 2000 to reach 1,980 million in 2007 (Statistics New Zealand 2008a). The growth in New Zealanders departing for a holiday became more dramatic from the 1960s onwards. 'The first significant growth in New Zealand
resident departures was an increase of 10,900 in 1960, a time of rapidly increasing air capacity’ (Statistics New Zealand 2001, online). It is interesting to note how other global events impacted on this statistic. A general economic downturn in the 1980s, for example, decreased short-term departures by 21 per cent, while the introduction of low-cost airlines and services from airports such as Dunedin, Palmerston North and Hamilton led to record increases of 19 per cent in 1995 and 1996 (Statistics New Zealand 2008a). In 2007, the top ten destinations were Australia (49.4%), Fiji (4.9%), UK (4.9%), USA (4.7%), People’s Republic of China (2.9%), Cook Islands (2.6%), Samoa (1.9%), Thailand (1.9%), India (1.3%) and Japan (1.0%). This is significantly different to 10 years earlier, when the top ten destinations were Australia (52.9%), USA (7.5%), UK (5.8%), Fiji (5.7%), Hong Kong (2.4%), Indonesia (1.7%), Japan (1.6%), Taiwan (1.5%), Samoa (1.2%) and Singapore (1.1%). The percentage of other countries increased from 6.5 per cent in 1997 to 12.7 per cent in 2007 (Statistics New Zealand 2008a). This suggests that New Zealanders travelled to a greater variety of countries in 2007, thereby highlighting the increased globalisation of destinations that New Zealand tourists now visit. Residents of the Otago region, of which Dunedin and the Otago Peninsula are a part, had the sixth highest propensity to travel (out of 15 regions) – around 130 per 100 residents in 2000 (Statistics New Zealand 2007).

Because of the lack of reliable general tourism data for Dunedin, it is not surprising that there are no tourist numbers available for the Otago Peninsula, especially since the infrastructure is still geared towards motor transport and free and independent travellers. However, free and independent travellers travelling by car or campervan are a particular problem, as the two main roads are narrow and windy. In addition many minor roads are still unsealed and signage is poor. In 2005, the DCC tried to reduce the problem by investing NZ$8 million upgrading these roads (Rudd 2005) and by planning to improve the tourist signage to and on the Otago Peninsula (Oldham 2005e). However, the roads are difficult to drive for Dunedin recreationists, national tourists and overseas visitors often not used to driving on the left-hand side in unfamiliar road conditions and unfamiliar cars and campervans. Sebastian’s (24 January 2003) parents, for example, who visited from the United Kingdom in 2003,
argued that the drive down Portobello Road must be terrible with the many sharp turns. Because it is also very difficult to overtake on the road the local policeman’s experience is that Peninsula traffic is slowed down by tourists, often leading to frustration amongst local residents (Smith 2004), in particular between Portobello and the town (coastal road) and on Highcliff Road (ridge road). In March 2002, this author had nine campervans in front while driving into town, slowing down traffic by making passing impossible (23 March 2002). In order to ease overtaking, native vegetation on the harbourside of the road, once planted to beautify the road edges, was removed in 2003 to facilitate overtaking (Rudd 2003b). Following the high usage of Portobello Road, and to a lesser extent Highcliff Road, by commuters, residents and tourist traffic, regular maintenance work needs to be done, as well as upgrades of the road to cope with increased traffic (Munro 2002; Rudd 2003, 2003b; Mayston 2003c), leading to further delays and frustration. Delays as a result of road works are common. These works include sealing, laying of drainage and sewage pipes, weeding and grass cutting at the road fringes, restoration of the harbour wall or tree felling. In a letter to the editor, expressing extreme frustration, the writer states that Highcliff Road is a 100km/h zone and

If you happen to be travelling on the road at 45km/h to 60km/h and there is no oncoming traffic, I will pass on the white broken lines and continue to travel at 100kmh. So, to those people who think they are helping by turning their lights on full after I have passed them, you are not. You are a danger to other drivers and a menace. Also, to pedestrians who run on a road with no paths and no room on the side of the road, stop shaking your fists at me, as it is completely sensible for me to have my car on the road. Use your good judgement and run on a footpath, not in the path of a moving vehicle (Otago Daily Times 2005d, p. 38).

The Portobello Road is therefore rightly described as the ‘issue that ties all the others together’ as ‘more and more tourists seek out the area, operators are putting on much larger, heavier tour buses that rumble down the roads and which, at times, cause problems at some narrow bends’ (McBey 2000, p. 13). In some areas (Otakou and Harington Point) locals demonstrated against speeding tour buses from town, making the road unsafe to walk on, especially for children (McCorkindale 2001). Speeding appears to be a problem in some other townships. In March 2003, the police caught 80 speedsters in Broad Bay
and Macandrew Bay between 8am and the afternoon, with Broad Bay tickets issued to local residents (Page 2002c).

Accidents on the roads are also common. Since 1991, seven people have died on Portobello Road, five of them in 1991 (Tonkin 2001). Newspaper articles describe incidents such as a Dunedin resident getting stuck on Harwood sandflats (Page 2001a), five vehicles driving off the road into the harbour in two weeks (Harwood 2001), two women injured as a vehicle rolled on gravel road (Stewart 2003) and the crash of a bus and a car (Otago Daily Times 2005).

Even tourism operators sometimes struggle with the condition of unsealed roads and tracks, as a 2001 accident involving a wildlife tour operator with nine injured tourists would imply (Page and Goodger 2001). Such road problems for overseas visitors are not only an issue on the Otago Peninsula, but in New Zealand in general. Consequently, the Transport Safety Authority published a tourist brochure about driving in New Zealand in 2005 to improve awareness of the driving conditions in the country (Otago Daily Times 2005).

On the other hand, the suburbanisation of the Otago Peninsula contributes to an increase in 50km/h zones, in particular between Dunedin and Portobello. Lisa (18 May 2005) confirms this statement, saying that 'due to the extension of residential areas on the Peninsula, most of the road is now 50 km/h anyway'. She expects this trend to continue.

Nevertheless, it can still be expected that a number of tourists to Dunedin travelled at least once from the 'wildlife capital Dunedin' to its 'central square' (Peat and Patrick 1995), the Otago Peninsula, which 'is commonly known as the jewel in the Dunedin tourism crown with its myriad of award-winning attractions' (McBey 2000, p. 13). It draws 'people from around the planet' (McBey 2000, p. 13) who come to visit 'the most accessible wildlife area on the South Island' (Williams, Niven and Turner 2000). In particular, ecotourism (mainly wildlife viewing) has become the mainstay of the tourism industry on the Otago Peninsula, 'occupying' more and more land to cater for a growing number of tourists. Proof for this statement, however, is not possible. Visitor numbers for individual tourist attractions are hard to come by, as they are commercially sensitive. The visitor numbers to one of the main attractions, the
albatross colony provided by the Otago Peninsula Trust (2005), give an insight into the tourism numbers and growth since the early 1970s. These numbers grew from 726 paying visitors in 1973 to 49,212 paying visitors in 2004/2005 (Otago Peninsula Trust 2005; see table 6.12). This growth can be attributed to better viewing facilities, but also knowledge about and access to New Zealand, Dunedin and the location of the albatross colony, as ‘Dunedin is best known for its Royal albatross and yellow-eyed penguin, which have achieved icon status nationally, and even internationally’ (Peat and Patrick 1995, p. 7).

TABLE 6.12 Paying visitors to the Albatross Centre 1973-2004/05

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Paid Visitors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987/88</td>
<td>19,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>37,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>45,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001/02</td>
<td>46,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002/03</td>
<td>53,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003/04</td>
<td>53,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004/05</td>
<td>49,212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Otago Peninsula Trust 2005; Higham 1998

The first tourism business on the Otago Peninsula that provided viewing possibilities for yellow-eyed penguins (Penguin Place) also experienced high increases in numbers between 1992/93 and 2001/02. While 10,000 visitors visited the colony in 1992/93, this number increased to 50,000 in 2001/02, signifying a 500 per cent increase in less than 10 years (see table 6.13).
TABLE 6.13 Visitors to Penguin Place 1992/93-2001/02

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tourism numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992/93</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993/94</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994/95</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995/96</td>
<td>31,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998/99</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001/02</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *Otago Daily Times*, 10 July 2003, p.1; Ratz and Thompson 1999, p. 207; Hill 2000a, p. H26

Another indicator for the expansion of tourism is the number of businesses operating from and to the Otago Peninsula, in particular accommodation providers and arts and crafts businesses. While the growth in accommodation providers points to the change of tourists travelling free and independent staying on the Peninsula for at least one night, the arts and crafts businesses are a consequence of lifestylers moving in. Bob (29 November 2004, personal conversation), a local builder, commented for example that the two motels built in Portobello in 2004 would be very good for the Peninsula, as ‘tourists would now may stay longer on the Peninsula instead of staying overnight in Dunedin’.

An incomplete, but indicative picture of supply changes can be gained by looking at various tourist publications. In 1968, the Bayfield Jaycees published a visitor’s guide to the Otago Peninsula that contains 21 points of interest, two boat tours and five advertisements for local grocery businesses, but no accommodation or arts and crafts businesses. There is no provision for tourists who want to stay overnight; instead only roundtrips to and from Dunedin are suggested. In 1992, a dissertation on tourism on the Otago Peninsula by Green includes a map of tourism businesses on the Otago Peninsula, showing only small changes in comparison to 1968, with three accommodation providers, two arts and crafts businesses, 27 attractions/tours and two food and restaurant services. Seven years later, a tourism booklet produced by the Otago Peninsula Promotion Group (1999) shows dramatic changes. Taking into account that not every business is included in all the publications mentioned, the growth in
accommodation (19) and arts and crafts businesses (18) implies that the Otago Peninsula was by then visited not only by day-trippers, but also by overnight visitors. It also suggests that arts and crafts people moved to the Peninsula for lifestyle reasons and to open a business, or resident artists diversified into tourism as a new source of income. By 2005, the tourism inventory looks impressive, with 43 accommodation providers, 35 arts and crafts businesses, 44 attractions, at least 35 tour operators and nine food and restaurant services (see table 6.14). The increasing number of arts and crafts businesses opening on the Otago Peninsula is expressed by exhibitions of local artists (e.g. 'Almost an island' exhibition in Broad Bay), the introduction of a Peninsula Studio Trail and a map for tourists to find Otago Peninsula arts and crafts businesses in 2004 (Gibb 2004; Fahy 2004) or reports about artists on the Otago Peninsula in the Otago Daily Times (2005h, 2005i). A couple in their 60s formerly of Macandrew Bay, for example, articulated that Broad Bay would be a cultural centre of the Peninsula since so many artists live in the area (31 December 2004, personal conversation).

TABLE 6.14 Number of tourism businesses on Otago Peninsula in various publications 1968-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category/year</th>
<th>1968 (Bayfield Jaycees)</th>
<th>1992 (Green)</th>
<th>1996 (Otago Peninsula Trust)</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2005 (author)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>0 (roundtrips start and finish in Dunedin)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and Crafts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractions/Tours</td>
<td>21 (Points of interest) + 2 boat tours</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Restaurant &amp; Services</td>
<td>5 (advertisements, no restaurant)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Johan (11 September 2001, personal conversation), the owner of one of the biggest galleries in the area and a member of the local community board, declared that his gallery would not survive on the customers coming through, strengthening the point that arts and craft businesses have a strong lifestyle.
component. He uses the internet as marketing and selling tool to survive economically. Other businesses are also using the World Wide Web and its technology to market their products and the internet to enable contact from most places around the globe, for example the Otago Peninsula Trust launched its website in February 2000 (McCorkindale 2000) and e-mail contact details are on most of the brochures of businesses operating on the Otago Peninsula. Jack (19 October 2002, personal conversation), the owner of a local backpacker hostel, confirmed the importance of this relatively new medium. In 2002, despite having little experience with computers, the internet and e-mail, he put his new e-mail address in the Budget Backpacker Hostels Association New Zealand (BBH) backpacker guide and the local tourist brochure and received booking requests from many different countries. Bed and breakfasts (B&Bs) are also very much dependent on the internet and e-mail. Ivan (7 September 2005, personal conversation), who owns a B&B in Broad Bay, said that he gets more than 90 per cent of his bookings via e-mail and only a small percentage through passers-by. Brian, another B&B owner in Broad Bay, mentioned that he would get more and more enquiries via e-mail (5 November 2002, personal conversation). In 2005, he said all his bookings would come from the internet and none from passers-by (18 March 2005, personal conversation). Tourism Dunedin (2005, online) launched a new internet site, Dunedinbookit, for internet sales and marketing to Australia in May 2005, promising 'to push the city [and the Otago Peninsula] even further into the international market'.

In addition to new businesses opening up, some of the existing businesses are constantly expanding, such as the Royal Albatross Colony, the Aquarium, Larnach Castle or the multi-award winning Elm Wildlife Tours, by either growing their core business or by diversifying into other tourism areas. Larnach Castle, for example, diversified from the attraction castle, gardens and functions into accommodation in 1981 (Green 1992), while the Royal Albatross Centre branched out from educational tours and conservation into food and restaurant services and a gift shop operation. Additionally, the Otago Peninsula Trust completed the new Royal Albatross Visitor Centre in 1989 and extended the building in 1992 (Otago Peninsula Trust 2004). The New Zealand Marine Studies Centre and Aquarium expanded its tourism buildings in 1986 (Green 1986).
1992) and Elm Wildlife Tours grew from touring with one van to showcase the Otago Peninsula to three vans and one minibus, as well as offering tours into the Caitlins area (Elm Wildlife Tours 2006). Smaller accommodation providers expanded their businesses as well. Rugosa Cottage B&B in Portobello extended to include a craft shop in their operations, McAuley Glen B&B included a bike and kayak hire and Allans Beach Farmstay extended into off-road tours (Sam's Peninsula Off-Road Tours, STOP) and motel accommodation (Portobello Motel).

Generally, there is a wide variety of local businesses operating completely or partly within the tourism industry, depending on domestic and international visitors, word of mouth and the internet. These businesses need to adjust to different cultures with different expectations concerning service. One such facility that some tourists now expect from B&B providers are en-suite rooms. Norman (10 November 2004) and Bob (29 November 2004), both working in house construction, had to change the set-up of various B&Bs in the Portobello/Broad Bay area to cater for this new demand. How critical such new changes are for economic survival is unclear. Research concerning how profitable the businesses are or how many do not survive over a longer period of time does not exist. While some businesses are operating for an extended period of time, such as the Albatross Centre, the Penguin Place, Roselle Farm or Elm Wildlife Tours, others vanish without much notice. The restaurant in Macandrew Bay, for example, changed owners four times in less than a decade (Lisa 13 July 2005) and recently reopened for the fifth time.

With the extension of tourism services came increased competition for customers, partly expressed in the tourism signage appearing, especially on Portobello Road and to a lesser extent on Highcliff Road. This visual 'pollution' through tourism signage is another product of the tourism industry. To attract customers businesses use various methods. Happy Hens for example has a plastic poster tied to the bus stop 200 metres before their premises. ‘Smaller’ operators have standing boards and ‘bigger’ operators have bigger billboards such as the Monarch on the Harington Point Road and Gravesend Road.
crossing near Harwood or Nature's Wonder on a shed on Portobello Road between Lower Portobello and Harwood.

Yet, some of these businesses are also providing employment for local residents, which is not plentiful on the Otago Peninsula since farming and tourism are the main economical income earners. As outlined above, farming has experienced dramatic change in the last 25 years, with the consequence that local farms are worked by fewer people or as lifestyle farms, reducing employment opportunities. It also appears that the farms in the area, if not subdivided, are passed down between the generations. Dave, a 19-year-old Company Bay resident, explained that he would like to be farmer on the Otago Peninsula, but that he has no chance to fulfill this dream as farming land would normally be inherited. The remaining option would be employment in the service industry, in particular in tourism (Dean 21 November 2004). These employment opportunities are limited, leaving youth no option but to commute each day into town to work or to move to town or further away to earn a living. Moreover, working conditions within the service industry are often poor. In general, the majority of jobs are characterised by being unskilled or low skilled, seasonal, casual or part-time, depending on economic cycles, are relatively low-paid, and have high staff turnover, unsocial working hours and a young and mobile workforce (Hall 2003). Some comments will exemplify these conditions as present on the Otago Peninsula. Wendy (25 November 2002) applied for a job as a tour guide at a local ecotourism business. After the interview, the owner told her that she would have to work for one week for free before he would decide to give her a job or not. More than four weeks of casual work later, Wendy had not received any pay or information on her employment. She tried to make an appointment with the owner, but he never had time. When she finally caught up with him he told her that she would need to be really enthusiastic about the job and pay would be NZ$15 per tour. She became really frustrated as her roundtrip to work was 60 kilometres and she knew that she would often have only three one-hour tours a day but would stay at the business for 8-10 hours. She decided not to work there. Another ecotourism operator also offered her a job with ‘very harsh conditions’ – no guaranteed tours, no extra pay if a tour took more than 1.5 hours and NZ$8 for maintenance if there were
no tours available. Additionally, all other expenses such as paying for a special license to drive the bus had to be met by the employee (Wendy 25 November 2002).

But local service businesses do provide jobs for local residents. These local businesses are therefore often supported by local residents. The Portobello pub, which added a restaurant to its operations in 2004, is just one example. It was restored by Bob, a local builder from Portobello, who employs another local from Broad Bay as a helper. At a recent visit there was one chef, three kitchen hands/waitresses and one bartender, with at least some of them being local youth (26 April 2005). Another example is the Portobello Convenience Store which was sold by local residents to a couple who formerly worked for the DCC in 2003. After they worked the store themselves, they started to employ local youth for some time of the day (Bob, 25 October 2004). Bob’s wife works at the Albatross Centre in the summer. Another local resident, Heidi, works full-time in the summer and part-time in the winter at the Penguin Place. Jack, the owner of a backpacker hostel in Broad Bay, works as tour guide at the Trustbank Aquarium. Work in the local tourism industry can therefore be said to form an important part for the economy of the Peninsula, as well as fitting with the lifestyles of some of its inhabitants. Linda (21 December 2004) and Bob (25 October 2004) mentioned that they would use local residents to do jobs whenever possible and would support local businesses, especially if they employ local residents. Linda believes that such behaviour is very common. She remembers when Happy Hens, a Portobello Arts and Crafts shop that sells painted hens, started operating that many locals bought a Happy Hen. A Happy Hen would therefore be an item in most households in the area (Linda 14 May 2005, see figure 6.22).
As with every economic activity, tourism uses local resources such as the landscape or the wildlife to produce economic benefits. But despite the increased pressure on the landscape, its people and wildlife, the Peninsula environment is not yet threatened. ‘To date, at any rate, development pressures on the Otago Peninsula have not been significant enough to create major impacts and create widespread disquiet about sustainable management’ (Moore 2004, p. 73). This statement is very important as it indicates that current tourism numbers are only sustainable because they are small. Brian (18 January 2002), the owner of a local B&B partly confirms the first part by saying that the Peninsula could cope with more tourists, but disagrees with the second part believing that tourism on the Peninsula is very well controlled. Others are not sure. Brent (23 February 2003) states that he is ‘not sure if tourism is a good thing for the Peninsula’; while Sarah (29 December 2004) believes that ‘nothing is sustainable on the Peninsula, including tourism’. Peter (9 November 2004) argues that the Peninsula ‘still has some nice and quiet places, but it has changed in the last few years’. Its social structure, for example, was altered by new immigrants from countries like the United States, the Netherlands, Germany or Great Britain trying to preserve the local environment, because they saw what happened in their home countries, while Kiwis would mostly think about business opportunities instead of the environment (Peter 9 November 2004). In relation to tourism, Jack (20 August 2005), who owns a local backpacker hostel and works at the Trustbank Aquarium, expresses the feeling that visitors have preconceptions when they come to the Peninsula, as the
'Lonely Planet' guidebook is promising visitors a pristine environment, where they are the first visitors' and are therefore disappointed if 'they see all the small dots wandering over the beach at Sandfly Bay on their way to see the yellow-eyed penguins'.

However, the management of tourism by the local authorities on the Peninsula can be described as uncoordinated, neo-liberal and more concerned with the appearance than the environmental reality (Read 2005). While this approach is not uncommon in New Zealand, it will have significant impacts if it is not changed. What appears to be sure is that the increase in tourism numbers is inevitable (Otago Peninsula Trust Chairman Williams 2006, cited in Norris 2003, p. A31) if there are no major global events happening such as wars (e.g. Iraq), pandemics (e.g. SARS, bird flu), oil shortages or global economic recessions (Canberra Times, 8 August 2003). 'Increasing tensions on the world stage could see Dunedin's tourism market dip, but the city is likely to be less affected than some other destinations' as the main visitor group, backpackers, are traditionally less affected by global uncertainty than package tourists (Tourism Dunedin 2003, cited in Mayston 2003, p. 5; see also Bennett 2003 for the consequences of SARS for the New Zealand tourism industry in June 2003).

Events that could have a severe effect include national or local environmental incidents where the 'clean, green image' is tarnished. This seems to be one of the biggest threats. One such aspect is New Zealand residents' waste of resources, as over 'the past 20 years, growth in energy use, solid waste disposal and the number of cars has outstripped that of our [New Zealand's] gross domestic product' (Otago Daily Times 2002g, p. 12). A 2004 report by the New Zealand Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment entitled See Change: Learning and Education for Sustainability, described 'Kiwis [as] more wasteful than Americans' (Otago Daily Times 2004d, p. 7). A tourism researcher from the University of Otago wrote in the local newspaper in 2004 that New Zealand is not fulfilling its international advertising campaign of being '100 % pure'; New Zealand’s ‘environmental standards often fall short of the standards practised in those countries which we [New Zealand] advertise for tourists' as natural areas are 'used first and sustainably managed later.' (Higham 2004, p. 9) In the long-term, such behaviour could destroy Dunedin’s international
tourism reputation in that very competitive market focusing increasingly on positive environmental publicity. In a global world, where information is easily obtained (e.g. the internet), negative environmental publicity could severely impact on tourism numbers. In 2003, Dunedin had for the first time more international than domestic tourists visiting. One of the main reasons for international visitors to visit Dunedin is the ecotourism experience on the Otago Peninsula, as '[t]he cornerstone for Dunedin remains its wildlife and the Otago Peninsula' (Otago Daily Times 2004a, p. 16).

New Zealand has rested long on its reputation as 'clean and green'. We use the image extensively to promote tourism and our products to the world but most of us barely even pay lip service to the principles involved, let alone adhere to them... the clean, green image comes largely by default rather than through a sustainable, collective commitment. Our low population and relatively large wilderness areas contribute more to our image than the environmental practices of the population. (Otago Daily Times 2002g, p. 12)

But the value of the environment also changed on the Otago Peninsula. The combination of a growing diversification into tourism, the increasing number of young professional commuters with a different value system in relation to the environment taking up residency and localised and international events (e.g. the Save Lake Manapouri campaign) led to the establishment of strong environmental organisations on the Otago Peninsula such as Save the Otago Peninsula (STOP) or the Otago Peninsula Landcare Group. It highlights the change in social attitudes away from regarding land as a resource to land as worth protecting. In particular flora and fauna protection received heightened attention:

...this has been due to the development of Aotearoa/New Zealand, along with the rest of the world, the development of an environmental movement which challenges some of the basic values and practices of agriculture and industry and the society based upon them (Read 2005, p. 175).

In relation to tourism, the consequences of this 'new' environmental consciousness had already started in the 1960s with the formation of the Otago Peninsula Trust to preserve and enhance the Otago Peninsula (1967) (Otago
Peninsula Landcare Group 1998). Further examples of various local issues creating and showing the environmental consciousness include the negative reaction to planned constructions such as an aluminium smelter near Victory Beach at the end of the 1970s (part of the ‘think-big’ policy of the New Zealand government at the time) and the concession given to mine the gold at Harbour Cone (Read 2005). It also comprises the formation of the Otago Peninsula Landcare Group in the 1980s following enormous public concern about land stability (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998) or the formation of the Yellow-Eyed Penguin Trust (1987) to protect yellow-eyed penguins and enhance their habitat (Schaenzel and McIntosh 2000) by re-planting nesting areas and by providing nest boxes (Blair 2001a). In particular the conservation effort with the yellow-eyed penguins became a nation-wide symbol for conservation after it received much public attention in the 1980s (Peat and Patrick 1995). There was also an increasing number of publications on the environmental conditions of the place such as its soils and landslip erosion potential (Leslie 1974), the possible creation of coastal reserves (Otago Daily Times 1978) and the local forest and scrub vegetation (Johnson 1982).

The new awareness of the environment is at least partly a reaction to the increased use of the natural resource on the Peninsula for tourism, especially ecotourism. Ecotourism appears to be the logical tourism form in an industrialised country with unique wildlife resources such as the yellow-eyed penguins or the royal albatrosses. Ecotourism operators on the Otago Peninsula seem to interpret their approach to tourism in different ways. Wendy (18 July 2002) who worked for a local tourism operator and the Dunedin Visitor Centre stated that she is critical of ecotourism on the Otago Peninsula as the term would be misused by some people. She believes that so-called ecotourism businesses in the area would utilise very different definitions of the term ‘ecotourism’ and act accordingly. Ecotourism is a niche tourism (Fennell 1999) that takes place in the natural environment and combines active community participation, conservation, education and taking ethical responsibility (Dowling 2001) to achieve environmental, economic, and socio-cultural sustainable outcomes. It emerged in the 1980s (Weaver 2006) and remains a small segment of the overall tourism market in 2005 that fits very well with New
Zealand’s marketed niche image of being ‘green and clean’. In relation to wildlife tourism, its goals include the provision of ‘an outstanding experience, a viable business, protecting the environment, creating jobs and contributing to conservation’ (Higham 2001, cited in Goodger and New Zealand Press Agency 2001, p. 10) as well as the education of visitors about animals. The Otago Peninsula and the Otago region contain some internationally unparalleled eco-resources, such as the Royal Albatross Centre and Penguin Place. Consequently, the wildlife on the Peninsula receives local, national and international attention that can easily be used or misused for tourism marketing.

In the last decade, albatross and yellow-eyed penguin numbers are on the increase at managed sites. In particular predator trapping, monitoring and the provision of nest boxes have helped these two species. The Yellow-Eyed Penguin Trust even extended their trapping programme to farmland on both inlets, Papanui and Hoopers Inlet, in an effort to reduce the number of predators like stoats and weasels (26 October 2004). The local albatross centre is a well-known attraction that received international media attention through the visit of Prince Charles and the launch of the International Campaign to Save the Albatross in December 2002 (Otago Daily Times 2002f). Environmental consciousness and economic returns from tourism often driven by international movements can therefore be said to have helped these species in their survival on the Otago Peninsula.

However, not only the yellow-eyed penguins and albatrosses benefited, but also species that received less public attention. In 2002, the head ranger of Taiaroa Head argued that while the ‘albatrosses may be the international draw-card for Taiaroa Head, the spotlight may soon be thrown on other Otago Peninsula natives under plans to expose tourists to a wider range of natural attractions’, including little blue penguins, red-billed gulls or the three species of shags, ‘to encourage Dunedin people to recognise the value of the headland.’ (Norris 2002a, p. A6) The little blue penguin colony at Pilot’s Beach, for example, gained through the predator trapping at the nearby albatross colony as well as from wooden nest boxes that gave further protection from predators. Between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, the number of nests at Pilot’s Beach jumped
from 30 to 50 (Peat and Patrick 1995) to 279 in 1997 (Perriman and Steen 2000) Fur seal and Hooker’s sea lion numbers also recovered, benefiting from the heightened awareness created by this new local and national environmental consciousness (e.g. Marine Mammal Protection Act 1978) and their potential economic value for tourism.

It also helped the conservation of native vegetation. Until the late 1990s remnants of native bush were only preserved out of neglect rather than out of a conscious choice (Wearing and Holland 2001). Johnson (1992, p. 12) extends the statement by writing that most 'native bush remains on land which is too steep to cultivate and the least attractive to develop pasture'. In addition, introduced species such as old man’s beard, banana passionfruit or possums impacted negatively on the native vegetation of the Otago Peninsula (Peat and Patrick 1995). In 1992, only 5.25 per cent of any original native and scrub vegetation remained on the Otago Peninsula, but some was restored because it is now seen as contributing significantly to the rural landscape, providing breeding sites for the yellow-eyed penguins and other native wildlife. It also has value for education and recreation and helps to stabilise unstable hill soils and mobile dunes (Johnson 1992), especially in the coastal areas that are highly vulnerable to erosion (Jones 2001, 2002). These coastal areas are obviously of concern for residents. In Harington Point village, for example, residents demanded action on Te Rauone beach in 2004 because it had lost 30 metres due to erosion since 1945 (Stewart 2004a), and high tides and big boats such as container ships and cruise ships are blamed for ‘dragging their [residents’] sandy paradise into an unforgiving harbour’ (Oldham 2005c, p. 5). This adds to the problems created by the regular container ships, especially as the size of the visiting ships is increasing. In 2004-2005 the largest cruise liner to visit New Zealand, Sapphire Princess, docked in Dunedin’s Port Chalmers Port six times (Loughrey 2004) and its sister ship, the Diamond Princess at 116,000 tons and 290 metres in length, two-and-a-half times bigger than the Titanic, will visit nine times in the 2005-2006 season, each time carrying 2700 passengers and 1100 crew (Otago Daily Times 2006) exerting further pressure on local facilities and resources. In the future, obligations deriving from the Treaty of Waitangi and
environmental and access changes such as rising sea levels will also have a strong impact on coastal areas like the Otago Peninsula.

6.2.6.3 Otago Peninsula development: Stage 6 Recent socio-environmental changes and tourism

The socio-environmental changes and tourism are strongly impacted upon by access as well as the relationship between Maori and Pakeha, the interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi and the growing self-consciousness of the Maori. Socially, the more recent white arrivals and the Maori on the Peninsula lived in separation for a long period of time. This slowly changed with national events, including the 1975 Maori Land March and the 1977 Bastion Point Occupation in Auckland to protest against the continuing loss of tribal land, and the 1981 South African Rugby Tour that radicalised the race issue amongst Pakeha and Maori (Read 2005). The Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal (1975), later the Amendment to the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal (1985) to settle tribal Maori land claims and the consequent Ngai Tahu settlement (of which the Otago Peninsula tribe is a sub-tribe) with the Crown (1998) can be expected to have enhanced the knowledge about Maori and their relationship with Pakeha. This relationship is, however, still problematic. In 2003, a meeting of the DCC was to be held at the Otakou marae on the Otago Peninsula, when one councillor declared that such a meeting would be an exercise of separatism as no council meeting was planned with other cultures (Rudd 2003a). At the time the councillor declined to take part in the meeting.

The Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal and its consequences also caused various problems concerning land ownership. Related issues on the Otago Peninsula include the seabed and foreshore land rights, the ownership of the land around the albatross colony including Pilots Beach Reserve, as well as the ownership over various beaches on the Otago Peninsula such as Te Rauone Beach, Broad Bay Beach Reserve and Macandrew Bay Beach Reserve. The foreshore and seabed bill was passed into law in November 2004 after 18 months of discussion. It confirms Crown ownership of foreshore and seabed, safeguards
traditional rights of public access and recognises Maori customary rights under strict criteria, for example the rights must have existed continually since 1840 (Otago Daily Times 2004g). For some Maori, it was a racist law that confiscated Maori land once more (Turei 2004, cited in Otago Daily Times 2004g). On the Otago Peninsula 'the issue is being replayed in miniature' by the Maori trustees of Te Rauone Beach questioning the DCC’s right to control anything on the 56 hectare property that the Trust has owned since 1868 (Rudd 2004a). Finally, the DCC transferred ownership of around 40 hectare coastal reserve land to the crown, including Te Rauone Reserve and Wellers Rock (Otekiho Reserve), Broad Bay Beach Reserve, Macandrew Bay Beach Reserve, Vauxhall Reserve and Andersons Bay Inlet (Rudd 2005b). Another contested area is Taiaroa Head, including the Albatross Centre and the colony. The confiscated land was leased by the Otago Peninsula Trust from the DCC for 99 years in 1991. The DCC believes that there were irregularities with the lease, as the elected councillors had voted for a 21-year lease, but council officers organised a longer-term lease. The planned return of the land to Ngai Tahu (which is not a legally binding Waitangi Tribunal requirement as part of the Ngai Tahu settlement) cannot go ahead as long as the lease issue is not solved (Mackenzie 2004). Part of the Taiaroa land and management issue is Pilots Beach, which is also a contested land area between the DCC and Maori. The beach is planned to be reclassified from a recreation reserve to a local purpose reserve to ‘reflect the mix of activities already taking place there’ covering wildlife protection, maritime safety, cultural facilities and visitor facilities (Rudd 2004b, p. 13). It is part of the complex negotiation process of returning the land to the Maori under the Ngai Tahu Settlement Act 1998. However, the descendants of the Maori owner of the area Korako Karetai had objections and the issue was passed on to the Office of Treaty Settlements (Loughrey 2005d). In August 2005 the Waitangi Tribunal decided that the land taken by the government at Taiaroa Head was taken in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi and should be given back to Ngai Tahu and the descendants of Korako Karetai to fulfil the 1997 Ngai Tahu Deed of Settlement. As a consequence, management of the area is now be shared by Ngai Tahu, the descendants of Korako Karetai, the DCC and the Department of Conservation through a joint management body (Loughrey 2005e).
Additional access problems are of great concern for various other groups on the Peninsula. Various locals mentioned that access in earlier days would not have been a problem, as they walked everywhere with their families in the 1960s (Penelope 16 May 2005; Linda 16 May 2005; Lisa 18 May 2005, personal conversation). This changed in more recent times. Examples include the fencing off of parts of Pilots Beach and its overnight closure for cars in order to protect the nesting places of the little blue penguins (2002) by the DCC. A local resident, Veal (25 June 2005, personal conversation), is very unhappy about this. She believes that it is the start of turning little blue penguin viewing into a commercial operation, further reducing access for residents in favour of commercial operators and ‘foreigners’ (non-Peninsula residents). Tim (25 June 2005, personal conversation) from Portobello agrees by saying that ‘it [Pilots Beach] will become like Oamaru [where a platform for commercial viewing of the little blue penguins regulates access] with a big viewing platform for tourists’.

Access to Quoin Cliff and Ryans Beach where the tourism operation Penguin Place operates is another area of concern for locals. Bob (25 October 2004, personal conversation) believes that many locals are unhappy with the way Herbert, the owner of the Penguin Place, manages the access to Quoin Cliff and Ryan’s Beach. In earlier days, locals drove to the cliff, but Herbert removed the road to make the track inaccessible for car and made access more difficult. This is confirmed by Penelope and Jim (25 February 2003, personal conversation) who went to Ryans Beach with their children for a barbeque in the 1960s using the same road, but when Jim went there again recently, access was only possible by four-wheel drive. It is now closed for cars. Lisa agrees, saying that she went to all beaches in earlier days, but that would no longer be possible. Veal (25 June 2005, personal conversation) also argues that Herbert ensured that the land around the penguin colony was declared a reserve by the Department of Conservation, giving him the opportunity to deny access to people. She is angry about this, asking, ‘Why would you live on the Peninsula if you have no access to the beaches? This is one of the reasons why it is so nice here’ (Veal 26 June 2005, personal conversation). When this author tried to visit Quoin Cliff it was certainly not made easy by the owner of Penguin Place. First,
the author had to ring and talk to him personally as other people working at his businesses declared that they were not allowed to make a decision, secondly by denying access for that day, but giving permission to walk it the next day (23 October 2004), thirdly by having to find the start of the track and open a gate with a sign 'no access' and fourthly being checked at the start of the track by an employee on a quad bike concerning the right of access (24 October 2004). However, Bob also mentioned that Stuart, a local farmer and tourism operator who owns land in the Allans Beach/Sandymount area told him that he closed the access for cars to Allans Beach, as some surfers wrecked fences and gates, while other people pushed a car over the cliffs onto his property. The farmer, according to Bob, knew that locals would be unhappy with the lack of access, but they would not know the ‘whole story’ (Bob 25 October 2004, personal conversation). Nevertheless, in 2002, the same farmer (Stuart) rang another tour operator with Department of Conservation concession using Allans Beach to see Hooker sea lions and yellow eyed penguins to tell her that she would have to pay for the access over his land (Hannah 22 February 2002, personal conversation). Hannah, knowing that access to the beach is over a so-called paper-road, a legal road that was surveyed but never constructed, thought about a legal challenge, until the problem was solved between the parties (Hannah 22 February 2002, personal conversation). In other instances, access is no problem. Some tracks can be walked without any problem except during lambing season (1 September-1 November) when some are closed. Other points of interest without access can sometimes be accessed if permission of the owner is sought, such as Mount Charles from the Papanui Inlet side (Jonas 30 January 2003).

The access rights on the Otago Peninsula are therefore not very well regulated and the maintenance of the tracks is poor, as this task is mainly left to the land owner with no financial incentive. Overall, there is a ‘laissez-faire’ approach to access problems by local and regional government as part of the neo-liberal agenda that has been driven by successive New Zealand national governments since 1984. It causes substantial problems on the Otago Peninsula between the different users of the land (Reiser 2000).
There are also occasions where the social framework on the Otago Peninsula is negative influenced by recreation and the relationships between recreationists, residents, farmers and local iwi (local Maori) put under significant pressure. As already outlined, the destruction of archaeological remains on publicly accessible sites such as Sandfly Bay, where high number of visitors and off-road vehicles traffic destroy evidence of Maori habitation (Symon 2001) is just one example. Another example is public access to private farmlands for recreational purposes (Reiser 2000). In 1992, a battle between landowners/farmers and the Otago Peninsula Walkers erupted as a consequence of so-called paper roads. These roads were surveyed, but never constructed. While the walkers thought that landowners incorporated public lands into their farm operations by using the paper roads, the local farming organisation of Federated Farmers and local farmers had the view that only landholders could allow or deny recreationists the use of their land, including on paper roads that were unused for a substantial time and therefore no longer public roads (Crompton, A. 1992, 1992a; see also Allen 1993; Reiser 2000). This opinion appears to be common amongst farmers. They do not want walkers, environmentalists or the DCC to tell them what to do on their land in their effort to increase productivity. The filling-in of a salt marsh at Hoopers Inlet (Linda 14 August 2005, personal conversation) or the clear felling of Kanuka trees near Highcliff Road (Bob 3 April 2005, personal conversation; Linda 18 May 2005, personal conversation; Read 2005) against the opinion of local environmentally-minded people and the DCC in the case of the salt marsh are just two examples. It makes clear that farmers want to be in control of the environment on their land, including access. Constant concerns about access to land on the part of the recreationists and about poor visitor behaviour and legal responsibilities arising from injured recreationists on the farmers’ part (Reiser 2000) led to a situation in which fences were cut and walks were closed. Nonetheless, Lisa (18 May 2005, personal conversation) is convinced that there would be no walking tracks today without the Otago Peninsula Walkers and their conflict with the farmers. As the dispute was never completely resolved, it is still simmering as a potential conflict between residential and non-residential recreationists (including tourists) and farmers.
The track policy and strategy (DCC 1998) clearly shows that the DCC is aware of the problems concerning tracks ‘at the pleasure’ of the landowner. Seven of the 25 tracks on the Otago Peninsula pass over private lands and are therefore always under scrutiny over closure due to poor visitor behaviour. The Council sees itself as under no obligation to maintain or upgrade a track but to provide signage and information to manage user behaviour (DCC 1998) despite the fact that they are important facilities for recreationists.

Access to beaches compounded by rising sea levels is another problem on the Otago Peninsula. For the DCC, access to the beaches is one of the main issues as people ‘were one of the dunes’ “worst enemies” ’ especially through the creation of informal tracks that damage the dunes (Jones 2002b, p. 5). The destruction of dunes is facilitated by rising sea levels that can at least partly be attributed to global human industrial activity. It will have severe consequences for the Otago Peninsula. McBey (2000) exemplifies possible consequences by suggesting that higher high tides could cause major damage to the Portobello Road (coastal road), land and heritage structures like the harbour walls if they occur in conjunction with strong winds. The DCC therefore started to plan for the effects of rising sea levels on Dunedin beaches in 2002 (Rudd 2002c), by for example launching a $1.64 million eight-year plan to tackle erosion, mainly by stabilising dunes in 2005 (Loughrey 2005). It is not yet clear how the possible problems with the Portobello Road will be solved. Erosion and landslips are therefore not only a problem on coastal lands, but on all lands on the Otago Peninsula.

Local environmental groups are worried about slope stability as ‘approximately 50% or 4677 hectares (11,500 acres) of the Otago Peninsula hill country has moderate to severe potential for landsliding’ (Leslie 1974, p. 22). The Otago Peninsula Landcare Group (1998), founded by residents out of the concern for landslipping, argues for example that farm forestry for investment purposes and slope stability is increasing along with planting natives for various uses. This movement towards favouring indigenous species over exotic species in some planting programs is therefore an international movement (Read 2005). It is
further expressed in the way pest plants are tackled to help to protect native plants.

In 2001, the Otago Regional Council funded a Community Task Force Green on biodiversity, including an extensive programme against the worst pest plants like banana passionfruit, old man's beard or Darwin's barberry in co-operation with Save the Otago Peninsula to save the 'only 180 tiny native bush remnants left on the Otago Peninsula, [which was] once largely forested', unlocking its natural potential and to protect native plant species (Vine 2001, p. 3; see also Crompton, S. 2001). Consequently, flyers were delivered to all Peninsula households by the Otago Regional Council in October 2002, detailing amongst other things the new biodiversity initiative against pest plants on the Peninsula. At the end of 2002, a container was placed at the Coronation Hall in Portobello where local residents could dump the weeds they had cleared (26 November 2002). The following year, the Otago Regional Council organised the great Peninsula Weed Day, the Otago Peninsula Community Board declared 'war on weed' (Bomarea) on the Peninsula (Otago Daily Times 2003d) and the DCC signed a memorandum with the Pikao Recovery Group, the Otago Regional Council and the Yellow-eyed Penguin Trust to protect and restore the endangered native coastal Pikao plant (Otago Daily Times 2003h).

Nevertheless, farmers who own most of the land in the area are still reluctant to fence off important wildlife habitats and areas of native vegetation for protection (Lisa 14 May 2005, personal conversation). Moore (2004, p. 82) argues that one possible reason is the lack of emphasis and importance on landscape protection by the DCC and its DCC District Plan, as 'current landscape protection provisions are only partially adequate and are probably unable to provide sustainable management of the landscape should greater development eventuate'.

As well as the living environment, the Peninsula heritage also experienced greater appreciation and preservation. The buildings on the former Quarantine Station on Quarantine Island received a grant of $30,000 for the preservation of its historic buildings in 2000 (Mayston 2000; Mayston 2002). Additionally, Quarantine Island and neighbouring Goat Island were declared historic areas of
national significance by the Historic Places Trust in 2002, as they have an 'important role in Otago's immigration history' (Rudd 2002b, p. 6). On the 'Visit Quarantine Island Open Day' the caretaker of the island gave an introductory speech in which he mentioned that the last remaining building had been in very bad shape for years, but that Dunedin and Peninsula people helped to restore it in their spare time. Through voluntary work the building would now be saved for the future (Dennis 24 November 2002). Recently, residents of Pukehiki on Highcliff Road started a push to get their 'historically important' community hall, built in around 1886, restored. They argued that the historic village and its restored 1868 church and mini-library 'is a popular spot on the Dunedin tourist trail' (Harwood 2006, p.1). Other heritage that experienced higher interest in relation to its value and protection include the coastal defence system on the Peninsula coastline (Mayston 1999; Gibb 2002), the Polish church in Broad Bay (e.g. Smith, J. 2002; Gibb 2003), the protected harbour wall (who has the highest Historic Places Trust protection) (Loughrey 2005a) and the location of the first cooperative cheese factory near Highcliff (Dungey 2003). In 2003, these historic buildings and sites, which are of great importance to New Zealand history, were the top two cultural tourism products in Dunedin (Tourism New Zealand 2003).

Apart from the more positive or neutral impacts of tourism (and local resident behaviour), there are also negative impacts from tourism on the flora and fauna as well as on the social operating framework of the Otago Peninsula. Read (2005, p. 3) believes that while tourism is economically useful, it 'can reduce the quality of life for those living on the Peninsula and impact detrimentally on the natural values and habitats of the wildlife'. The disturbance of wildlife and the reduction of quality of life are just two of the current issues.

The albatrosses in the albatross colony have to survive storms, food supply shortages, predators or strike fly (chicks), plus the disturbance caused by visitors, as the public viewing facilities have reduced the undisturbed nesting area by 50 per cent, with some birds moving to unsuitable sites (Hutching 1998; see also Higham 1998). Additionally, albatrosses have moved their nests away from the car park area. Linda (21 December 2004, personal conversation)
mentioned that she still remembers walking past an albatross nesting just beside the road that leads to the lighthouse (on the other side of the observatory at Taiaroa Head). This access road is now closed off and no albatross is breeding on this side of the headland anymore. A tourist was also seen walking through the albatross colony, stating that it was his right to do so (Sandra 10 November 1998, personal conversation). Giving access to the albatross colony to celebrities such as Prince Charles in 2003 certainly does not clarify why the area is off-limits for other people not involved in protecting the albatrosses (6 March 2005). Albatrosses (and other wildlife) also face problems with dumped cats and loose dogs (*Otago Daily Times* 2002) which are a problem in many areas on the Otago Peninsula. Jim Morris, who has worked at Larnach Castle for 37 years, states that he has found more than 100 dumped cats during that time, with 20 caught during one January (Morris 2006, cited in Fox 2006). The marketing manager of the castle added that ‘it was an upsetting problem, as many of the cats and kittens went feral... and were a danger to native birds’ (Fox 2006). In 2002, Missy, the former co-owner of the Café in Portobello stated in a conversation that three to four newborn kittens were feeding off the scraps of the fish and chips shop in Portobello (4 August 2002), while the author saw cats wandering around only 300 metres from the albatross colony in 2003 and 2006. Cats and other predators (e.g. stoats, ferrets) are ‘a serious threat to bird life’ with some native birds disappearing ‘in future unless the country starts taking the threat of introduced predators more seriously.’ (Hill 2000, p. 3) Between November 1999 and February 2000, 20 stoats were caught inside the albatross colony and 48 yellow eyed penguin eggs and chicks were destroyed in two Otago Peninsula breeding areas before Christmas 1999 (Hill 2000).

There are also other conflicts between locals and the environment. Recreational marine anglers and commercial fishermen, for example, feel threatened by Hooker's sea lions; consequently fur seals have been shot on the Otago Peninsula. Hooker’s sea lions also recently began to appear occasionally on the road or on the beaches at Macandrew Bay and Broad Bay. In 2002, the *Otago Daily Times* published an article asking drivers to watch out for sea lions on the Portobello Road (Basset and Mayston 2002) and in other unusual places where
they take a rest (Page 2002). The increase in commercial tourist interests in marine mammals and seabirds is therefore an additional threat to these animals (Read 2005), but can also help to protect them.

Growing numbers of Hooker’s sea lions (Peat 2002) and New Zealand fur seals, which had become very rare after the sealers hunted them in the 19th century, can cause problems. In particular Hooker’s sea lions are not scared by the presence of locals and visitors, but attack if harassed (Peat and Patrick 1995). In 2001, the author saw an American tourist being chased by a Hooker’s sea lion after trying to take a picture. Nevertheless, visitors do harass them. In January 2003, Stewart (2003b) wrote about youths throwing sticks at sea lions and chasing them into the water at Sandfly Bay. The Department of Conservation law enforcement officers admitted that there ‘seems to be an element out there who just can’t leave the animals alone when they see them on the beaches’ (Nelson 2003, cited in Stewart 2003). The harassment sometimes involves simply going closer and closer to the sea lion, clapping hands to get the animal standing up for a better picture or standing between the sea lion and the water to photograph its movement (3 January 2002, Allan’s Beach). Thomas (23 April 2005, personal conversation), a German tourist, took various pictures of a Hooker’s sea lion at Victory Beach, moving closer and closer until the author told him to stop. He could not understand the problem as the sea lion did not move and therefore seemed not be disturbed by his presence. In his defence it needs to be said that it appears that co-habitation is becoming more and more common: sea lions, for example, use Macandrew Bay as a resting place, while children play and adults watch and tourists take pictures and videos (e.g. 18 March 2003). Nevertheless, a non-moving or non-reactive animal is not necessarily an undisturbed one.

Seals and the rarely-sighted elephant seals are sporadically attacked by dogs. In December 2004, a young elephant seal was attacked by a dog and had to be treated with antibiotics (Stewart 2004) and in January 2006 a seal was attacked by a dog at Allans Beach only to be rescued by a tourist (McKinlay and Fox 2006). In an even worse attack, a group of fishermen shot at fur seals while a group of tourists looked on, with at least one animal killed (Jones 2005). The
offenders, claiming they were rabbit shooting (Jones 2005a), were only able to be prosecuted and convicted because one of the tourists videoed the attack (Jones 2005b, 2005c, 2005d, 2005e; Otago Daily Times 2005a, 2005b). Veal (26 June 2005), a local resident of Harwood, clearly sympathises with the shooting, asking, ‘Why did they do it during the day time?’. She also asks, ‘Do they [tourists] have nothing else to do than filming the incident?’. In general, her opinion is that the seals need to be culled anyway as they eat penguins and salmon (Veal 26 June 2005). It can therefore be suggested that such attacks often go unnoticed (McKinlay 2006) as they are seen as not important by some locals. Nevertheless, the public display of a seal being hauled into a boat and a video taken by tourists of the incidents on Television New Zealand news created waves in the tourism industry of Dunedin. The manager of the New Zealand Marine Studies Centre in Portobello, for example, wrote the following letter to the editor of the Otago Daily Times:

Last week, representatives from Dunedin tourism businesses were selling our city at New Zealand’s international tourism trade fair, Trenz in Christchurch. Buyers from all over the world use Christchurch to see what we can offer our overseas visitors.

So what were international media and tour operators asking when they visited our Dunedin stands? ...Is this how locals treat the wildlife?

Tourism is the second biggest income-earner in Dunedin after education (and a very close second). Hundreds (probably thousands) of us earn our living from visitors – tour guides, bus drivers, accommodation providers, restaurant and café staff, retailers. We all need our visitors.

Shooting seals doesn’t just damage the seal population – it hurts all of us who care about how people see Dunedin (Otago Daily Times 2005e, p. 14).

Yellow-eyed penguins are also disturbed and harassed by tourists, recreationists and their dogs, and disease. Recreationists walking their dogs are a problem on many beaches. Uncontrolled dogs sometimes attack and even kill yellow-eyed penguins, as expressed in a number of recent newspaper articles. The reason could be increased recreational use of the Peninsula beaches, increased reporting of such incidents because of their news worthiness and/or an increase in dog ownership. The Star newspaper published a ‘plea to dog owners over penguins’ in 2001 because after ‘surviving the horrendous odds
facing them in their first year at sea, young penguins now face the threat of being killed by dogs on our local beaches’ (Blair 2001, p. 4), especially during moult ing when they are not able to swim for two to three weeks (Vine 2002). In March 2003, three penguins were attacked at three different beaches, despite a dog ban on two of them (Sandfly Bay and Victory Beach), with one of the animals having to be destroyed. In particular Sandfly Bay is a constant place for arguments and assaults over wildlife access, with ‘up to 10 reports every year’ as there are no control measures on the beach (Basset 2002). Elvis (28 February 2003), a local tour guide, said that he would be worried about Allans Beach, as many dog owners would walk their dog without a leash and without being able to control the animals, resulting in dead penguins. In 2003, the Department of Conservation stated that they had not had many problems with dogs, but that they would now be losing their patience with such attacks and therefore intended to prosecute the owners of dogs attacking penguins (Page, C. 2003). Yellow-eyed penguins are also approached by tourists, often scaring them back to sea away from their nest sites. Often warning signs are ignored, especially on easily accessible and uncontrolled beaches such as Allans Beach and Sandfly Bay. At Sandfly Bay, despite a hide in the dunes, visitors do not go to the hide, but move on the beach towards the penguins leaving or coming back from the ocean in order to have a better and undisturbed view (22 March 2002). The author even observed a lack of intervention by tour guides when tourists did not go into the provided hide but were instead taking pictures of penguins coming ashore from a distance of eight metres, standing upright and very visible (18 January 2003). They also did not close the gate at the end of the track, making it possible for sheep to escape from the paddock. As a consequence of such events Elvis (28 February 2003) is very concerned about the use of conservation land by commercial operators and would prefer that operators pay for their access, such as Elm Wildlife Tours pays a local farmer for access to ‘his’ beach for wildlife viewing. Sandfly Bay is certainly an area of great concern for the Department of Conservation, even if they do not give out any more concessions for using the wildlife resources for commercial operations. However, controlling the access of commercial tourism operators is difficult. Elvis (28 February 2003, personal conversation), a former tour guide with a company with a commercial concession for Sandfly Bay, saw a
commercial German tour group in the hide without the operation having a concession to do so. The group filled the hide, making it difficult for the operators with a concession to use the facility. Partly as a reaction, one tour operator built a second hide in 2005. Elvis also mentioned that the Department of Conservation would need to set its conservation priorities for managing the area as they lack funding. During moult, for example, penguins appear sick and the Department of Conservation staff are kept busy by tourists and residents calling them about sick and stressed penguins on the beach (Vine 2002), thus putting strains on their resources.

The yellow-eyed penguin is thereby an internationally and nationally important conservation species, painted on an Air New Zealand 747 named Dunedin to symbolise natural beauty (MacKenzie 2005) but it is threatened by a number of issues such as tourism and disease. In 2002, yellow-eyed penguin numbers plummeted by up to 50 per cent (Page 2002a, b) and they crashed again in 2004 when 60 per cent of the chicks died from the Avian Diphtheria virus carried by sea birds (Scott 2004, 2004a; Scott and Rae 2004; Oldham 2004). Some locals believe that the virus could be transmitted via the sewage system. Bob (26 November 2004), for example, commented that he saw the penguins swimming out to sea and back to their nests through the sewage. This comment was mirrored by Veal (25 June 2005). A researcher of yellow-eyed penguins believes that events like the Avian Diphtheria are the main reasons why penguin numbers decline, as:

> there has been no evidence that penguins have suffered as a result of tourist activities, rather the opposite [as] in all areas in which tourism takes place, whether managed privately or by the Department of Conservation, the number of breeding pairs and chicks fledged per nest has increased significantly over the past 15 years (Darby 2002).

Nonetheless not every researcher seems to agree with this statement. Charles Arthur (2004) reported in the Independent Newspaper on yellow eyed penguins on the Peninsula facing the same danger as many other animals – ecotourism. Yellow-eyed penguins are described as 'Victims of the Travel Bug' having 'chicks that weigh 10 per cent less often in areas frequented by visitors,
probably because their heart rate and metabolic rate rises when humans are close' (Arthur 2004, p. 17).

Little blue penguins, a common species on the Peninsula, are also attacked and their nesting sites disturbed (e.g. Megget 2005) by 'invasive tourists' (Rudd 2002a, p. 4). Penelope (25 February 2003, personal conversation) tells the story of an American tourist who was poking into a little blue penguin's nest at Pilots Beach near Taiaroa Head to be able to see them. She had to stop her. On the same beach little blue penguin nesting sites were fenced off to protect the nests from disturbance by cars (Norris 2002). Additionally, a gate was installed in 2002 to close the beach completely for cars between 1 November and 31 March from 8pm to 8am (Otago Daily Times 2002a). In 2004, volunteer penguin guardians were sought by the DCC and the Department of Conservation to protect little blue penguins 'from overly enthusiastic visitors this summer' as 'the penguin population and visitor numbers were increasing and they were on a conservation collision course' (Palmer and Scott 2004, p. 35). In the summer of 2005/2006, this volunteer programme was still running.

Other less obvious disturbances of wildlife that occur include for example the theft of the rare jewelled gecko from a local reserve, the increase in animal road kill and the consequences of the removal of the overland power cables in reducing bird resting places. Lisa, who is one of the leading members of Save the Otago Peninsula states that there were no more jewelled geckos in the local reserve, as a German tourist collected and smuggled the last animals to Germany. He was later caught in Germany, but because the jewelled geckos are not protected animals, nothing could be done to bring the animals back to the reserve (Lisa 7 November 2004, personal conversation).

A neglected area of research is the possible number of road kill. Even if it is difficult to establish the extent of increased road kill through increased traffic, it can be expected that it is happening. The high season in summer that coincides with many bird species' offspring taking to the air supposedly leads to an increase in the visible numbers of dead birds on the road (e.g. 19 November 2004). How far this can be connected to tourism is unclear. Recreational
accidents, especially through the increased use of cars and other vehicles, are another negative consequence of various recreational activities on the Otago Peninsula. They include car accidents, boat accidents (kayak, yachts, jet boats) in the Otago Harbour (e.g. Stewart 2002; *Otago Daily Times* 2002c, 2005c), dive accidents (Bassett 2003), climbing accidents (*Otago Daily Times* 2003j) and paraglider accidents in the Sandfly Bay area (Page 2001).

A further disturbance to some the local birdlife was the removal of the overland power cables on the harbourside of Portobello Road that were apparently a visible pollution to residents and tourists. Native and non-native species used these power cables to rest to dry their feathers (various shag species) or as a vantage point for hunting (kingfisher). Consequently, the removal of the cables had the consequence that ‘we [local residents] have lost all the kingfishers since the power cables were buried and the posts were demolished’ (Penelope 11 March 2003) Additional resting places in the form of roof tops were also reduced. Elvis (17 March 2005, personal conversation) remembers that the boat sheds beside Portobello Road were far more numerous until the DCC put pressure on the owners to either make their shed nicer or see them demolished. Subsequently, many sheds were demolished and others beautified.

Former rubbish tips were also removed to enhance the appearance of the locales. Bob (19 July 2005, personal conversation) remarked that there once were rubbish tips at Maramoana in Edwards Bay, which were then closed and moved to Papanui Inlet, also later closed. While Maramoana is now a park, the area beside Papanui Inlet is incorporated into farmland, with old car parts barely visible. Today the rubbish is collected and transported to a land fill at the other end of town. Such removal or beautification by the local authority could arguably be set within the picturesque framework that Read (2005) outlined as the driving decision-making force of the DCC and the Otago Regional Council that is strongly influenced by the *Resource Management Act 1991* (RMA 1991). The RMA 91 was borne out of the neo-liberal reforms of the 1980s to protect outstanding features and landscapes from inappropriate subdivision, use and development. Accordingly, the DCC constructed the Otago Peninsula as scenery for the subject as observer, conflating ecological health and scenic
quality. It very much followed the 18th century English aesthetic that was naturalised in New Zealand (Read 2005).

On the governmental level, the management of resources by the DCC and the Otago Regional Council (ORC) was dramatically modified on the Otago Peninsula with the RMA 1991 (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998) and its amendment in 2003 (Read 2005). In order to simplify the responsibilities after the RMA 1991 a Regional Policy Statement document was created to set 'the direction for the future management of Otago's natural and physical resources' administered by the ORC (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998, p. 8) and complemented by the DCC (ORC 2004). While the ORC looks 'at the big picture' of the Otago region's land, air and water to 'limit or control the use of natural and physical resources', the DCC is 'concerned with the detail – meeting the daily needs of society such as providing drinking water, sewage disposal and rubbish collection, issuing building permits and looking after roads... they provide community facilities such as libraries, art galleries and recreation facilities... oversee land subdivision and provide public amenities' (ORC 2004, p. 4).

The RMA 1991 developed out of the 1984 neo-liberal agenda (Read 2005). The neo-liberal changes in environmental planning aimed at reducing government involvement are partly contradicted by the new environmental consciousness of the commuters and other non-farming residents who do not make their living off the land, together with an increasing awareness of the need to protect the heritage (Read 2005). It was facilitated by the fact that farming became less viable and the local tourism economy increased (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998) in conjunction with national growth and improved international access. Land use for economic gain without environmental protection was increasingly challenged. Slowly, the power balance shifted away from the farming community and is continuing to do so as more and more farms subdivide their land to establish lifestyle blocks (Mayston and Cook 2000).

Subsequently, subdivision and the process of suburbanisation became important issues. In 2002, the draft district plan proposed by the DCC to rezone
rural land was characterised as leading to a potential explosion of rural housing and a further suburbanisation of the Otago Peninsula (Rudd 2002d). Two years later, 95 per cent of Dunedin was classed as rural land, but the rural zoned areas had declined by 0.1 per cent between 1999 and 2004 through rezoning for rural residential, residential or industrial areas, leading to the irreversible loss of farm land and the growth of rural residential areas by 8.4 per cent (2800ha) (Wallace 2004). People obviously want to live in rural areas. In 2005 a paddock at the end of Clearwater Street in Broad Bay was subdivided into 13 lots (Otago Daily Times 2005f) and a 55 hectare paddock at Highcliff Road between Pukehiki and Sandymount Road was offered for sale (Otago Daily Times 2005g). Consequently, there are now only six full-time farmers left and other former farms are lifestyle blocks with or without part-time farming activities (New Zealand Conservation Authority 1998; Read 2005 gives various numbers depending on whom she asked). While sheep and beef farming still make up the majority of farming activities, there is also dairy, deer, pig and forestry production (Otago Peninsula Landcare Group 1998). Brent (1 April 2005, personal conversation) is convinced that farming will be less and less important in the future, and the connected lifestyle and events such as the Agricultural and Pastoral Association (A&P) show will die out. At the same time, more and more people will move to the Otago Peninsula for the lifestyle and commute into town.

Lisa (15 May 2005, personal conversation) stated that 28 years ago when she and her husband moved to Broad Bay their lawyer asked why they wanted to live out on the Peninsula and drive so long to work in town. She replied to him that they love the magnificent drive around the bays and they had no trouble driving it after their experiences in Auckland. Today, living on the Peninsula is no longer unusual following the increased value put on rural lifestyle, the subdivision of land and the construction of houses. The process of house and land sales and subdivision was spurred by the dramatic increases in average house values on the Otago Peninsula – by 30.5 per cent in 2004 (New Zealand average 14%) (Hartley 2005a) and by 10.3 per cent in 2005 (Hartley 2006) – combined with a shortage in supply and the intention of owners to cash in on this (Hartley 2005). For a local builder, the near doubling of house prices
between 2003 and 2004 is not unusual. His observation is that the prices normally double every seven years, but as nearly no movement in prices happened on the Peninsula for 10 years, the recent jump only appears to be a big one (Bob 25 October 2004, personal conversation). The former Portobello Anglican Church with a government evaluation of NZ$42,000, for example, was auctioned and sold for NZ$98,000 in 2002 to non-residents (28 April 2002), a house on Portobello Road with a government evaluation of NZ$175,000 was sold for NZ$248,000 in 2004. A batch in Moerangi Street in Broad Bay was even bought on the internet by a couple from Germany for more than four times the government evaluation at the time (Harold 25 October 2004, personal conversation). Sarah (29 December 2004, personal conversation), who lives on the property neighbouring the batch said that they bought their property for NZ$24,000 20 years ago, but that its price would have gone ‘through the roof’ as the prices had become ridiculous, especially if a house would have an ocean view’.

Such developments worry some locals, as they think that the high prices make it impossible for first buyers, often young families, to move to the Peninsula (e.g. Linda 31 October 2004, Brent 31 October 2004, Dean 27 October 2004, all personal conversations), accelerating the problems in relation to lifestylers (e.g. retirees, foreigners) moving into the area. This sentiment was recently confirmed at a house auction in Nicholas Street in Portobello, where a young couple made the highest bid (NZ$135,000), was pushed higher to reach the reserve price (NZ$160,000), but could not move in as they could obviously not secure the loan, resulting in the house appearing again in the _Otago Daily Times_ the next week (10 August 2005). Dean (29 November 2004, personal conversation) believes that this is one of the main reasons that the local school struggles to maintain their student numbers and are threatened by closure.

Inappropriate economic expectations are also sometimes an issue in house sales. The owners of a well-established B&B in Portobello tried to cash in on the property boom, offering their business for NZ$420,000 at an auction at the end of 2002. Brian (24 November 2002, personal conversation), the owner of another B&B, went to the auction, at which not one person was bidding for the
place. Some locals are worried about such developments, especially in relation to foreigners buying big houses on the Peninsula (Brent 29 December 2002, personal conversation), but Bob (25 October 2004, personal conversation), a builder whose family has lived on the Peninsula for several generations, disagrees, saying that people living in the area would also have the money to do so and not every 'big' property would therefore go to foreigners. Pressure on land, especially farm land, is not only a consequence of high property prices and a shortage of supply, but also increasing tourism numbers. This, however, also opens up possibilities to farmers and their land use practices, such as receiving an income for allowing access to their land.

Overall, the organisation of the Peninsula society changed since events of the 1960s. Entwisle (1976) describes the gradual depopulation of the Pacific side, that was compensated by population increases on the harbourside. Despite a relatively stable number of residents, the composition shifted away from farming communities to commuter suburbs through young urban intellectuals with a romantic view of nature taking up residency on the Otago Peninsula for lifestyle reasons, sense of community and the scenery (Read 2005). In 2000, McBey (2000, p. 13) confirmed that ‘more and more lifestylers head out of the city to enjoy the beauty and peace of communities such as Macandrew Bay, Sandymount and Otakou’, while ‘the number of viable farms on the peninsula is gradually falling’ with ‘a slow shift back to smallholdings which characterised the peninsula in the early days’. Accordingly, the population numbers remained relatively static between 3,500 and 4000 (see table 6.15; excluding Andersons Bay), but the social structure was dramatically altered.
TABLE 6.15 Population numbers Otago Peninsula 1961-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>3734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>3548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>3550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>4023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>4131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>4050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics New Zealand, various sources

Increasing suburbanisation was spurred by better access through the growing use and availability of motor cars and better maintained roads. Historically, this was a progression from the changes the harbour ferries brought about: 'With improvements in harbour ferry services and then motor cars, an increasing number of people took up permanent residence in these locations [small village-like settlements on the harbour side]' (Duder 1978, p. 122). Consequently, bus services were reduced as more and more residents drove their cars into town.

In 1963 the Peninsula Motor Service, which was running the bus service into town, sent a letter to all Peninsula residents expressing 'several matters of vital concern to the service and the district generally' (Peninsula Motor Service 1963, p.1). These 'matters' included a decline in patronage 'in the absence of a substantial increase in population' and 'the increased use of private motor cars' despite the higher cost running them, because of 'the greater convenience' and increased cost to run their buses (Peninsula Motor Service 1963, p.1). The rise in car ownership since 1931, especially strong after 1951, is a New Zealand-wide event. Registered car ownership in New Zealand increased from 251,516 in 1951, to 908,847 in 1971, to 1,319,305 in 1981 (see table 6.16).
TABLE 6.16 Registered car ownership in New Zealand 1931-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>143,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>215,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>251,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>523,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>908,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,319,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1,539,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1,916,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1,970,403</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics New Zealand, various dates

The bus services to and from the Peninsula were reduced in the 1960s and their partial reintroduction was not very successful. In general bus services were so reduced that in 2002 a German visitor, reliant on the bus and used to an extended urban transport system, stated that it was difficult to get around the area with the bus, especially for elderly people, since the walk along Portobello Road would not be pleasant (Kalla 15 September 2002, personal conversation). This comment was echoed by another visitor from Germany, Marilyn (31 January 2003, personal conversation), who said that 'maybe there is no demand to change the times and number of times the bus drives to and from town, but I think at least one bus could drive every hour, as well as at nights and on weekends. I always think about tourists without a car'. Today there are eight bus services on weekdays (7:00am, 7:45am, 8:10am, 10:15am, 1:00pm, 3:00pm, 4:30pm, 6:45pm) from Portobello into town and nine buses from town to the Peninsula (7:35am, 8:50am, 11:45am, 1:40pm, 3:45 pm, 4:50pm, 5:20pm, 6:10pm, 8:15pm plus 9:15pm on Fridays). On Saturdays (five services into town and five services from town) and weekends and public holidays (four services into town and four services from town) the service is reduced (Otago Regional Council 2005, p. 53). Sunday bus services between Portobello and Dunedin were reintroduced on the Otago Peninsula at the end of 2000, but struggled to attract enough passengers to be feasible (Mayston 2000a). Nevertheless, the services were finally made permanently and on weekdays one service was extended to the last village, Harington Point, for an early morning trip into town and an afternoon trip back (Mayston 2001). It is obvious
that the services were reduced, especially since 1959, concerning Saturdays and destinations. Ocean Grove is no longer part of the bus services from Portobello, and Saturdays services to and from town were reduced from nine (1931/32) and 11 (1959) to 5 (2005) (see table 6.17) (Peninsula Motor Service various bus timetables). The timetables suggest that Saturdays were especially prominent for visitors from town in 1931/32 and even more so in 1959, when the use of the motorcar was less common. But with the increased use of the motor car, the bus services lost these visitors as customers. Other modes of mobility such as hitchhiking and biking are problematic. When the author used the bus, three locals were talking about how to get into town from Harwood (halfway between Portobello and Harington Point with no bus connection at the time) and beyond. Hitchhiking was described as not being a problem going to Dunedin, but coming back would sometimes be a problem and depend mainly on the area where someone would try to catch a ride. They also talked about biking into town, mentioning a story about a friend who was 'kicked' into the harbour six times by cars, mainly because of 'many' cars overtaking on blind corners (8 April 2005).

TABLE 6.17 Number of bus services Dunedin-Portobello 1931/32, 1959, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Monday — Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>Public Holidays</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931/32 Dunedin – Portobello</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Special timetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959 Dunedin – Portobello</td>
<td>13 plus between 7-10 from Ocean Grove, 1-3 to Harington Point</td>
<td>11 plus 5 from Ocean Grove, 2 to Harington Point</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Special timetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005 Dunedin – Portobello</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Otago Regional Council 2005, Peninsula Motor Service various bus timetables

Reduced bus services are a consequence of the new arrivals in the last four decades. They were mainly commuters that depended on their cars to go to work and do the grocery shopping in town. These new residents also disrupted the social structure of the relatively self-sufficient farming communities. The
'new' residents often bought cribs and extended them. Penelope (26 April 2002, personal conversation) mentioned that their house was a crib in earlier days, but 'pieces were build on' and as they moved in the 1960s it was a house (see figures 6.23-6.25). Additionally, the farming community changed. Another wave of land consolidation had increased the farm sizes to five to six original blocks, with dairy continuing to decrease, and diversification into deer and goat farming in the 1960s and 1970s (Read 2005). Consequently, the farming community was reduced in size as less people worked the land. At the end of the 1970s, there were 'two main communities living on the Otago Peninsula – the rural farming community and the residential community of the Peninsula “suburbs”' (Duder 1978, p. 122). Older generations on the Peninsula perceive such changes quite clearly. In an Otago Daily Times article, 74 year old Wendy Morris stated that ‘Once upon a time, you knew everybody and they knew you. Now I look out and see these strangers down the road’, leading to neighbourhood connections breaking down (Morris 2002 cited in Otago Daily Times 2002e, online). Events such as local teens approaching tourist for money (Rose 2002), houses burgled (Otago Daily Times 2003f) or staff stolen out of tourist cars (Otago Daily Times 2003e; Stewart 2003; Bassett 2003a; Loughrey 2005b) or burglaries would have been more difficult before the 1980s as the community would have sanctioned such behaviour.

FIGURE 6.23 Penelope’s House as a crib before 1960s
With the commuters and their daily use of cars came also the reduced use of other local services. Up to the end of the 1960s ‘many residents bought their groceries locally’ or often got them delivered as part of the transaction (Cameron 2002 cited in Otago Daily Times 2002f, online). However, the commuters buy their groceries cheaper in the supermarkets in town, leading to the closure of no longer profitable Peninsula businesses. The previous owner of the Portobello Convenience Store (up to 2003) mentioned that she knew that their articles were to expensive in comparison to the supermarkets in Dunedin, but that would be the reason why the store is called convenient – ‘people buy something they need, but they do not want to go into town.’ (Brenda 13 January 2002, personal conversation) Store owners are therefore struggling to secure their economic survival. The Portobello Convenience Store was for sale for a prolonged period of time in 2001/2002 with some locals being worried that this could mean the store would close and only the content be auctioned (George 26 May 2002, personal conversation). This comment was echoed various times by various people at the local badminton club night. Yet, the shop was sold at
the start of 2003, with the departing owners leaving a thank you note in the window that exemplifies the importance of local support for such businesses:

Hi!
The shop will be under new management as from Monday 3rd of March. We [...] would like to thank everyone for their support over the years – especially locals.

Currently, there are only two stores operating on the Otago Peninsula, one in Macandrew Bay and one in Portobello. Other stores closed down over the years. The Manapai Cash Store in Broad Bay, for example, ceased trading in 1971 (Broad Bay Community Centre 1999), and the Weir Store in Portobello is now a residential property (see figures 6.26 and 6.27). Such a lack of stores is certainly a problem for tourists without private transport. Jack (19 October 2002, personal conversation), who owns a backpacker in Portobello, explained that he sometimes sends people to another backpacker near Harwood. However, tourists without transport would sometimes not go there, because they would not have any opportunities to buy food anywhere as there is no store beyond Portobello and a lack of public transport between Harwood and the Portobello Store.

FIGURE 6.26 Weir Hardware Store in Portobello in the 1890s
Another example for the reduction and finally the loss of a service is the Portobello gas station and garage. It was the only petrol selling outlet on the Peninsula until it closed down in 2004 (re-opened in mid-2006). Bob (29 November 2004) explained that it would be 'hard to make enough money from the petrol station as there is not much profit in petrol', but that the petrol station would also be crucial in the summer, when many tourists drive around the Otago Peninsula. Before the closing down of services in the early 1980s, there were petrol tanks in Highcliff, Macandrew Bay, Broad Bay and two in Portobello (Bob 25 October 2004, personal conversation). Bob believes that mismanagement and local residents behaviour were problems, as the manager of the Portobello gas station accumulated NZ$110,000 in debts, with more than NZ$47,000 owed by local residents. In early 2006, the petrol tanks were still closed, as the manager needed NZ$20,000 (Bob 19 July 2005, personal conversation) to get petrol delivered while the garage was operating.

In Portobello, the changes in services are also obvious, in particular the increased importance of tourism or tourism related-services to residential services. In the 1950s,

Portobello boasted a butcher, a bootmaker, a smithie, a Four-Square shop, a couple of tea rooms, a post office and a boarding house. These days, one of the tearooms is a restaurant (the other is a house), the butcher has gone, a garage is where the blacksmith was and a corner dairy offers [only] a few of the products the old Four-Square shop might have sold. (Morris 2002, cited in Otago Daily Times 2002h)
The maps in figures 6.28 and 6.29 exemplify these service changes in Portobello away from catering for a farming community to catering for tourists. It is obvious that many services offered in 2006 gained their economic income from tourism such as motels, B&Bs, museums and restaurants, while prior to the 1980s services offered included a post office, a butcher, and a hardware store.

FIGURE 6.28 Portobello Centre prior to the 1980s
In more recent times the loss of services continues. In the wake of falling congregation numbers the Portobello Anglican church closed in 2001 (Rudd 2001) and the Macandrew Bay Anglican church followed in 2002 (Goodger 2002). Following the economic restructuring in the 1980s and 1990s, school bus services were disbanded in the early 1990s, but continued to be subsidised in rural areas until 2002 (Smith, J. 2002). In 2005 a survey was conducted amongst Macandrew Bay parents to decide about a merger of Macandrew Bay Intermediate School with two other South Dunedin schools following falling enrolments (Fox 2005). Even though was finally rejected (Fox 2005a), it symbolises the end of the baby boomers and fewer children living in the area.

Additionally, the contact between residents and local tourism operators with tourists changes local perceptions of tourists, working in the local tourism industry and their lifestyle. This study's participant observation resulted in an array of positive and negative perceptions on these issues. One such behavioural change follows the increase of tourists. Linda (12 December 2004, personal conversation) explained that she sometimes invited tourists to her
home in earlier days, and Wanda (12 December 2004, personal conversation), her daughter, remarked that 'the days are gone where you go to the beach and see a tourist who you invite for tea' since there are so many now. Tourists are increasingly gazing on everyday local activities, sometimes taking pictures. Wendy (16 November 2004, personal conversation), for example, a local ecotourism tour guide, was bemused by tourists taking pictures of local children jumping into the water at Wellers Rock while she was talking, maybe gazing at a nostalgic scene of their childhood or an activity they only knew from photographic images. But locals are also gazing curiously on tourists. When the biggest cruise ship at the time, the Sapphire Princess, left Port Chalmers after the first visit, more than 100 locals were watching around the harbour defences at Taiaroa Heads and on the Aramoana Spit on the other side to see its departure and to wave to the passengers (31 December 2004).

A further change is the increase in local residents opening up their houses for tourists and high school students mainly from Asia for company or money. Brent (23 February 2003, personal conversation) argued that it is unbelievable how many people on the Otago Peninsula would open up a B&B or take in high school students originating mainly from Asia. He thinks that locals have two main reasons, money and companionship. In the same conversation, George (23 February 2003, personal conversation) said that his neighbours have an Asian student in their house, who paid for things like a separate phone line and internet access to stay in contact with their home country, accumulating a telephone bill of NZ$320 in one month. Later, Brent (9 October 2004, personal conversation) expressed the opinion that too many businesses such as B&Bs are opening up on the Peninsula, 'destroying the area'. Bob (10 October 2004, personal conversation), the local builder agrees, but also believes that the market will regulate itself, in particular as many businesses would not make money during the winter time.

Jack (29 December 2001, personal conversation), who has lived all his life in the area, opened the first backpacker hostel on the Otago Peninsula on his lifestyle farm. While he worked at a Dunedin supermarket during the development of the backpacker hostel for three years, he decided to give up
this job in 2001. At that time the backpacker hostel went well and he also got a part-time job at another local tourism business. In the winter time, fewer tourists meant less money and financial insecurity for some tourism businesses. Despite this insecurity, especially because of the low tourism numbers in winter, Jack (17 February 2002, personal conversation) made a point that he would rather spend all his time on the Peninsula and only go into town once a month for shopping, than close down and work in town. He understands elderly people who do not want to move away, since for him having to leave 'would be like taking my heart out'. Peter (22 October 2002, personal conversation), who owns a backpacker hostel in Harwood with his wife, extended this statement by saying: 'I would rather sit around explaining to backpacker after backpacker about the attractions on the Peninsula than working a 9:00-5:00 job in town'.

Lifestylers such as Brian (13 January 2002, personal conversation), another local accommodation provider, bought a section with two small houses in Broad Bay in the middle of 2001. As he only used one of them, he made the other into a B&B. However, at the beginning of 2002 he declared: 'I am tired of tourists'. As reason for this, he cited the repetitiveness of the explanations of where to go and what to do. Consequently, he reduced the time spent with his customers. Hannah (22 February 2002, personal conversation), who has owned an ecotourism business and a B&B with her husband at the beginning of the Peninsula since 1996 also complained that she would get tired of tourists. But as both her businesses are well established and 'feed' on each other, she decided to do no more advertising to attract new customers. Her customers are mainly rich people on packaged tours, for whom 'it is not too much to pay NZ$135 per night'. Nevertheless, some of them would complain before they even entered the door. She also explained that her family life suffered, as she and her husband often talk business, thereby losing their quality time with each other. It was her idea to pay of their mortgage first and than retire in 2005. In 2006, she was still managing the business.

Overall, managing tourism businesses has had various positive and negative economic, environmental and social impacts. These impacts were enhanced by other developments and changed not only the business environment, but also
the social set-up. It can be argued that the social structure on the Peninsula experienced various transformations during the end of the 1960s, the 1980s and today. This includes suburbanisation, changing population bases and relationships between groups, the arrival of more international and domestic visitors to the area and the commercialisation of many aspects of local life. Cars therefore played a particularly important role.

This development is very much in line with many other rural, semi-rural and semi-urban areas in New Zealand where the sense of community and level of commitment is weakened by loss of residents or an influx of lifestylers without children. New residents move in to enjoy the lifestyle away from the city to which they daily commute. These non-urban areas, in particular rural areas, have lost their post offices, banks and many retailers, and with greater emphasis put on tertiary education, they have also lost many of their young people, who have moved away to study in the university towns, and those who remain often travel longer distances. Consequently, local sport clubs, service groups and volunteer organisations struggle for members (Otago Daily Times 2002e), but also for money. During a visit, the struggling Portobello bowling club, for example, tried to encourage members of the local badminton club to become members (3 March 2002). The local badminton club itself struggled for years for members despite promoting the club in the local newspaper The Star, the Portobello notice board and through the delivery of flyers to most of the Portobello and Broad Bay households in 2001 before an influx of new players, mainly immigrants from the UK, helped to change this situation after 2003. Another example in relation to local volunteers is provided by Bob (29 November 2004, personal conversation), a local builder and president of the Peninsula Historical Society that runs the Otago Peninsula Museum. He is worried about the future of the museum when he cannot do the building work anymore. In a later conversation, he stated that the museum should be open all day in the summer, but that this would not be possible as they lack the volunteers to do so. Retired people would be especially welcome volunteers as they have enough time (Bob 15 January 2003, personal conversation). Another example of the problems attracting volunteers is the volunteer fire brigade in
Portobello that struggled to fill a vacancy in 2005 (Dean 13 April 2005, personal conversation).

There are also some other issues that have impacted on the Otago Peninsula and started to create 'unhappy' residents. It is partly connected with the management of the 'resource Otago Peninsula'. In 2002 the DCC surveyed Macandrew Bay residents and the rest of the Otago Peninsula residents to 'assist the Otago Peninsula Community Board establish priorities' in 2003 (DCC 2003). The results vary depending on the issues proposed and the importance for individual communities, but the most important issues given in both surveys are road safety, the sea wall and footpaths. Road safety and footpaths are also amongst the highest ranked issues concerning dissatisfaction. Further important issues for Macandrew Bay residents include street lightning, harbour views and the location of the sewage pump (located near the beach in the centre of Macandrew Bay) (e.g. Mayston 2003a, 2003b). For Peninsula residents' access to the harbour, the appearance of Portobello village, parks and amenities and signage are of greatest importance. The increase in freedom campers and rising problems with effluent disposal, a topic that was repeatedly stated in the local newspapers (Vine 2003; Mayston 2004; DCC 2004), does not feature prominently within the survey, suggesting that it was driven by interested parties within the community. This suggestion is supported by Dean (14 December 2004, personal conversation) mentioning that the 'freedom camper issue is driven by specific people, some with an economic interest in improving their business performance'. Another local, Linda (21 December 2004, personal conversation) stated that she would not know if the freedom camper issue was driven by specific people, but that she would not be worried about them as there 'would not be heaps' and would be happy with them as long as they would not leave their rubbish and their toilet waste behind. At a meeting of a local tourism business association, Dunedin HOST, in August 2003 certain business owners appeared very interested in talking about this topic. The owner of the local holiday park suggested that freedom or street campers were free loaders providing little benefit for Dunedin, while the owner of a local accommodation and tour operating businesses expressed concern about the waste and the visual pollution created. On the other hand, members of the Otago Regional
Council and the DCC present asked for concrete evidence on the issues such as visual impact, pollution and affluent disposal before any political and administrative process could be started (Dunedin Host 2003). In some areas such as the Pineapple Hill in Edwards Bay or between Company Bay and Raynbirds Bay freedom campers parked on land beside the road are often visible, a concern also expressed by a eco-tour operator at the Dunedin Host meeting (Dunedin Host 2003). In other areas, such as Maramoana Park in Edwards Bay, new no-camping signs were erected at the end of 2002 to deter freedom campers. This is a clear impact of increased tourism activities on the Otago Peninsula.

Tourism seems not to be a direct concern for Macandrew Bay residents (DCC 2002) as it does not feature in their additional comments in the survey. This is different for the Otago Peninsula residents' survey (DCC 2003), as other comments include, for example, the following concerns:

- 'More promotion of the Peninsula to everyday families and less emphasis on tourists ventures.' (twice)
- 'More buses in the summer month to encourage visitors.'
- 'Local and tourist behaviour towards the environment (e.g. rubbish left behind).'
- 'Council needs to plan infrastructure to cope with increased tourism particularly in relation to wildlife, parking and rubbish collection.'
- 'Highcliff Road needs upgrading to attract tourists like Portobello Road.'
- 'No large buses should be allowed on Peninsula Road.' (twice)
- 'More tourist services (restaurants/pubs/cafes) along Peninsula.' (three times)
- 'Peninsula special place, appearance very important; prime tourist destination – need to manage this properly.'

These concerns mirror many of the points made in this thesis. They include among others the need to attract families to retain services, the insufficiency of local public transport, problems with visual pollution, the need to plan the infrastructure and to improve the roads, unhappiness with large buses on the
roads, the need to have more tourism services and finally the importance of properly managing the uniqueness of Otago Peninsula.

Another 'survey' conducted by a local newspaper (*Otago Daily Times*) amongst Dunedin residents also points to the perceived negative and positive elements of the Otago Peninsula. The survey names the best and the worst about Dunedin in July 2005. The fifth most mentioned 'best of Dunedin' are the sweeping harbour and coastal views, while the narrowness of Portobello Road is the ninth 'worst of Dunedin' issues (Rudd 2005, 2005a). These issues were also discussed in a meeting by Peninsula residents (~45) and the members of the Peninsula Community Board in a 'Workshop on Growth and Development of the Otago Peninsula' on 27 October 2005 in the Portobello Hall, reflecting again on many issues outlined within the thesis (see figure 6.30). They are meant to provide the basis for the future of the Otago Peninsula.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of concern</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Siltation (channel)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loss of native bush areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Conservation covenants (How much?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No recognition of landowners who do preserve/protect environmental landscapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subdivisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road safety (Mac Bay school buses)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public transport (link with city system, e.g. all day pass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areas of natural conservation values lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No petrol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drainage, water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour buses (hazard on the road, smaller buses, but more people inside)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 6.30 ‘Areas of concern’ workshop on growth and development of Otago Peninsula, whiteboard (2005)

In the future, tourism operators, residents, local government and other stakeholders need to decide if they want increasing numbers of tourists on the Peninsula or increasing prices and quality and fewer tourists. On the one hand the communications manager of Larnach Castle argues that 'if you are too
cheap, it devalues your product' (Barker 2002, cited in Norris 2002c, p. 5) but on the other hand, the owner of Nature’s Wonders suggest that rising prices is not the solution as tourism operators ‘are in a competitive environment in the world and have to be seen to be value for money, but also have to be world class’ (Reid 2002, cited in Norris 2002a, p. 5). The prices on the Otago Peninsula are already an issue for some tourists. Anna (24 March 2002, personal conversation) and Thomas (19 April 2005, personal conversation) for example did not go on a tour at the Albatross Centre as the cost was perceived to be too high, while Marilyn (31 January 2003, personal conversation) thought it was okay, because it would be so special.

Another issue that is not yet well covered in local media and opinion is the pressure that is and will be exerted on businesses by ‘big’ national and international companies coming to visit with large groups. One such group of operators is the cruise ship industry. While tour guiding the author experienced a conflict between a cruise tour operator and the owner of an ecotourism business first hand. This ecotourism business did normally not cater for this cruise tour operator, but the normally-visited ecotourism business was closed for the visit of Prince Charles. The local operator wanted NZ$35 per passenger, the organising cruise ship tour company only wanted to pay NZ$24.99. At the end, the owner of the ecotourism business had to give in as he had a contract that stated the price of NZ$24.99, selling his tours NZ$10 below the usual price. This is important because Dunedin is becoming a more attractive tourist destination for cruise ship companies as well as tourists in general. In 2002, Dunedin was described as starting to establish itself as a tourist destination amongst international tourists instead of a passing-through point featuring in a growing number of wholesale brochures (Norris 2002b). The consequences of such a development for the Otago Peninsula are not yet clear, but need to be monitored if the development is to be as sustainable as possible.

At this point in time, tourists enjoy their visits to the Otago Peninsula as it has ‘a special feeling’ (Stephen 28 May 2005, personal conversation), while ‘the place is brilliant for photographs when there is good weather’ (Sam 24 January 2003, personal conversation). It is perceived as ‘a peaceful and calm image... where
the colours of the landscape and the environment give the visitor a lot of energy to refill' (Marilyn 31 January 2003, personal conversation) and where residents must have many visitors (Nadja 30 November 2002, personal conversation).

The latest stage is characterised by dramatic changes in relation to the globalisation process and international tourism, such as dramatically increased global interconnectedness. These changes, combined with other events such as growing urbanisation, a new environmental awareness or time-space compression, facilitated the stretching of social relations. The consequences of the changes are clearly visible on the Otago Peninsula. It finds its most prominent expression in the growth of international tourism and the necessary infrastructure and the selection of ecotourism as appropriate resource use for tourism determined by environmentally-aware Western tourists. Additional factors that helped to intensify the flows include the accessibility and the reduction in travel time to New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula (see figure 6.36). Flow to the Otago Peninsula is starting to change from visitors for the day to overnight visitors as the appropriate infrastructure develops. Moreover, the internet connects business and residents to a global community, resulting in a dramatic increase in global interactions. The human and natural environment on the Otago Peninsula is a consequence of the mixing of the historical developments of the Otago Peninsula, New Zealand and the world. It 'produced' a glocalised place that is visited by international tourists, the Otago Peninsula.
Overall, the actual mix of natural and cultural environment was created by different processes of human mobility to and from the Otago Peninsula. The living environment of human society, its culture, economies, politics, technology and the natural world are therefore under constant flux following human interactions with them, the acceptance and rejection of new ideas over old ones and vice versa.
TABLE 6.18 Four main features of the globalisation process: Stage 6 International tourists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature of globalisation</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th>Stage 6 International tourists</th>
<th>Otago Peninsula</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stretched social relations</td>
<td>Urbanisation (85.7% in 2001) and rural restructuring continuing trend – general trend in Western world of rural restructuring and urbanisation</td>
<td>Increase cars on local roads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increased environmental awareness ('Save Lake Manapouri', increased importance of idea of sustainability), change in role of the sexes as well as in race relations between indigenous Maori and the rest of New Zealand in line with such changes in the Western industrialised world New Zealand becoming more and more tied up with Western industrialised world and later the Pacific neighbours, Great Britain loosing importance as trading partner Party to growing number of international agreements (e.g. Kyoto) International events occur more often as the global markets became interconnected and impact increasingly on New Zealand (e.g. world wide recession and following oil crisis 1973-74; Asian Financial Crisis 1998) New Zealand companies increasingly owned by multinationals (e.g. Watties) TV helps New Zealanders to develop a self-image as it changed the way they saw themselves within the global village; American fashion becoming more and more important International terrorism (sinking of Rainbow Warrior by French agents in 1985)</td>
<td>Development of touristic infrastructure (starting at the end of 1980s/beginning 1970s; strong since the 1980s) building on history of Otago Peninsula (e.g. Glenfalloch Gardens, Larnach Castle, Albatross Centre) In 1980s, farmers diversify into tourism Wildlife attractions more important than scenery for tourists Government creates bigger administrative units in line with other Western countries (Amalgamation Peninsula County Council with Dunedin City Council) and at the same time greater importance put on tourism as economic and social potential for development (e.g. greater protection flora and fauna, heritage, relations Maori/Pakeha)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature of globalisation</td>
<td>Stage 6 International tourists cont.</td>
<td>Otago Peninsula</td>
<td></td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Intensification of flows</strong></td>
<td>Increased international accessibility TV popularised, satellite communication (1963 first link with Great Britain), international airport Auckland opened (1966), supermarkets introduced, international tourism more and more important, service industry growth while agricultural production reduced, increased international export of primary produce (e.g. fish) Economy heavily controlled until 1984 leading to economic difficulties consequently opening-up of New Zealand to market forces to benefit from international market (e.g. abolishment exchange controls, floating New Zealand dollar) High numbers of Polynesians arriving immigration and emigration becoming more important, shift from European immigrants to Pacific Islanders and Asians With the increase in tourism numbers, there is a greater potential for pests arriving by sea and air (e.g. Mediterranean fruit fly, white-spotted tussock moth)</td>
<td>Dunedin airport becomes international airport International tourists start to appear Increase in tourism numbers to region Increase in businesses operating in tourism, expansion of established businesses Change from day-trippers to tourists staying in area Otago Peninsula perceived as part of green clean image of New Zealand Overseas media reporting on Otago Peninsula Increased competition between local businesses (e.g. access, over-supply) Network development in tourism (e.g. art trail) Increase use of internet for marketing purposes Bigger buses, especially during summer Crowding as a consequence of high traffic volume during summer Change in mode of transport used by tourists with cars dominant, but growth in arrival by air Change of composition of local society (less farmers more commuters) Infrastructure static, but more roads sealed</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Increasing global interactions</strong></td>
<td>Boeing 747 starts flying to New Zealand in 1972 First landing on the moon on TV 1969 Fall of the Iron curtain 1989 Trade and contact with greater variety of countries Internet dramatically increasing global interactions (e.g. virtual communities)</td>
<td>Growing number of tourists from an increasing variety of nations The internet as tool to communicate with global audiences/people Change in population composition away from farming community continues with increased speed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Development global infrastructure and networks</strong></td>
<td>New Zealand in general internationalised e.g. Closer Economic relations signed with Australia ANZUZ pact between Australia, New Zealand and the US seriously impacted by rejection of nuclear boats entering New Zealand waters (Independence) Party to growing number of international agreements (e.g. GATT, GATS)</td>
<td>Dunedin airport becomes international airport Dunedin part of international cruise ship schedules Otago Peninsula international tourism destination Otago Peninsula part of international real estate market (e.g. Germans buying house on the internet)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3 Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the location Otago Peninsula and its historical development by looking at human mobility. It utilises a historical stage model that shows how the place became more and more drawn into global flows and tourism as part of the process of globalisation. At the same time, it demonstrates the importance of glocalisation as the mixing of local and global for tourism to create a unique touristic environment.

The first stage of human mobility, the Maori, was a limited movement between the South Pacific, New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula. It created intensified local flows that occasionally extended to other areas for trade (e.g. greenstone). During the second stage, sealers and whalers, there is a clear increase in flows depending on resource exploitation for European markets, especially between New Zealand and Great Britain. These temporary flows created the first European settlement on the Otago Peninsula that brought with them, for example, the ‘seeds’ of capitalism, exotic animals and new diseases. It also provided the basis for the next stage of mobility, the arrival of white settlers. Then, Otago Peninsula became socially, politically, environmentally, technologically and economically highly dependent on Great Britain. It was tied into capitalistic centre-periphery flows that resulted in dramatic changes to the social and environmental condition at the location. The main hindrance for the intensification of global flows remained the lack of access and slow transport. When the area was settled, the fourth stage of mobility began with recreationists, weekend cribbies and commuters moving to the Otago Peninsula, followed by domestic tourists (stage 5) and international tourists (stage 6). These stages built on the previous developments as well as on globalisation with its time-space compression and technological advancements. Social relations became stretched, global interactions and flows intensified and the Otago Peninsula became part of a global infrastructure and global networks.
CHAPTER 7 Globalisation, localisation, tourism and the Otago Peninsula: a never-ending story

Rather than trying to assess the impacts of tourism in terms of external intrusions, the question could be better reformulated by asking what are the processes of social change within localities, how are other external factors incorporated and mediated or even revisited, and what role does tourism play in these processes (Meethan 2001, p. 170).

This study has identified the historical impact of globalisation and tourism on a destination, the Otago Peninsula. It focuses on human mobility, which led to its growing global interdependence and the modification of human living conditions. The globalisation processes that have occurred as a result of changes in human mobility are divided into six identifiable chronological stages: Stage 1 Maori; Stage 2 Sealers and whalers; Stage 3 White settlers; Stage 4 Recreationists, cribbies and commuters; Stage 5 Domestic tourists; and Stage 6 International tourists. While the first three stages relate primarily to immigration and resource exploitation mobilities, the latter three refer mainly to leisure related mobilities.

In general historic terms, the Western colonisation of New Zealand, the last ‘great’ colonisation movement, progressed in a similar fashion as earlier colonisations by European societies in Australia, the US and Canada (Hopkins 2002). The interrelated processes of human mobility and global capitalistic expansion were fostered by technological inventions such as the steam engine, the car and the airplane. They are the main drivers of globalisation and tourism on the Otago Peninsula since the arrival of sealers and whalers. Both processes stretched social relations, intensified global flows of information, people and capital, increased global interactions and deepened the development of a global infrastructure (Held 2000). They globalised the Otago Peninsula not just in terms of increasing spatial connections with other places around the globe but also through the reduced time needed for these
connections. In the process the global accessibility to and from the Otago Peninsula was dramatically changed.

Throughout history, localities became more and more part of the constant global flux of information, people and capital. Nevertheless, a place such as the Otago Peninsula also incorporates unique local flows and elements, such as the type of settlement (e.g. majority Scottish Presbyterians), the specific environment present (e.g. soils, climate) and the particular fashion in which humans with specific backgrounds reacted to this environment (e.g. main settlements on less wind-exposed harbourside). These unique flows and elements localised and globalised the Otago Peninsula at the same time. In this sense, this thesis helps to reinforce the understanding of glocalisation processes in tourism in so far as it highlights how destinations as places are formed through global and local processes (Murray 2006; Meethan 2001; Nederveen Pieterse 1995 – see also sections 2.11 and 3.3.6). The Otago Peninsula was therefore continuously glocalised by capitalism from its early days of human settlement. To uncover the glocalisation processes and the connections with tourism a case study approach was utilised.

A case study approach is an in-depth empirical inquiry that puts the spotlight on one instance, on one case as a whole (Denscombe 1998). In order to do that it utilises a variety of research methods (e.g. participant observation, newspaper content analysis, interviews) from a variety of sources (e.g. newspapers, images from local museum, flyers). It is the best method to analyse the contemporary phenomena and processes of tourism and globalisation, as well as their relationships within the real life setting of the Otago Peninsula as a geographically and temporarily unique unit. This is particular valid, as the boundaries between the context of both phenomena and the context of the Otago Peninsula were not clearly evident (Jennings 2001). The case study explains why certain outcomes appeared within the special circumstances of the location. These results were not expected to provide general and representative findings, but to develop new theoretical insights (Veal 2006). However, there are significant features to which comparisons with other places can be made. These features include the physical location (e.g. rural area close
to population centre), the historical development (e.g. white settlement through European immigration after its initial exploration) and the social conditions (e.g. individualistic capitalistic values as basis for everyday life). Such place-specific conceptual insights can be tested for wider applicability through further case studies or the use of additional methodologies (Beeton 2005). As such, the application of a qualitative case study research method proved to have advantages and disadvantages to uncover this glocalisation process.

The benefits of using this approach includes its in-depth nature grounded in the social setting, which makes it possible to deal with the subtleties and illustrates the complexities and multiple realities of the forces of globalisation and tourism on the Otago Peninsula. It is therefore able to show the influences of personality, politics and the passing of time, as well as placing the Otago Peninsula and its people in their socio-historical context within these processes (Beeton 2005). Even if it will always be a specific case study of a particular place, it shows the basic development of globalisation and tourism through the examination of one specific instance. This can also be seen as a disadvantage, as it is difficult to generalise from the findings. This is partly influenced by the spotlight on one instance, but also by the subjective nature (Jennings 2001) and bias of the researcher, who is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis (Beeton 2005). The fact that the researcher lived in the study area provided him with an emic (insider) perspective that would have been impossible to achieve from an outside position, but it also complicated the participant observation by blurring the boundaries between observer and community member. Additionally, the richness of the data collected made the analysis complex and impacted on the length of the study. Overall, the case study approach has its disadvantages, but they are outweighed by its advantages in relation to the depth of the results through the use of multiple methods and sources.

The thesis is a case study of the glocalising forces of human mobilities that are a logical consequence of the capitalistic system with its trade expansion leading to time-space-compression. Since the arrival of the sealers and whalers, the Otago Peninsula has sat at the global-local nexus (Milne and Ateljevic 2001) of
Western capitalism; it is an intersection of the process of Westernisation/Americanisation. Fukuyama (1992, 2002) describes this as the ‘end of history’, an acceptance that the Western capitalistic model is the best to organise human affairs, while Huntington (1993) argues that this Western-driven globalisation process is the latest phase in the conflict between cultures (Maori/Pakeha). In the later stages of human movement to the Otago Peninsula, the basic conditions for globalisation to flourish had evolved. They include nationalised and localised versions of liberal democracy and socio-cultural values that favour capitalism with its resource exploitation as the mode to create economic income and growth. Globalisation was driven by capitalism and its urge to reduce costs and open-up new markets through technology and resource exploitation. These conditions also facilitated the development and growth of tourism. It could indeed be argued that the mix of global and local processes or glocalisation is the basic condition for international tourism to thrive. Globalisation and tourism were determined by capitalism, but found their expressions in a localised version of the Westernised economic model.
7.1 Global/Glocalisation and the Otago Peninsula: Locating tourism in temporal and spatial relations

The Maori were the first human beings to settle the region from Polynesia (Shaw 1992). They connected the local place, the Otago Peninsula, with the development of Polynesia and earlier movements to Polynesia and therefore connected with a culture that partly transferred their previous experiences at specific locations to their new home. This glocalisation was not driven by Western capitalism and nation-states, but rather by the interconnection to earlier human movements across the globe and the application of human culture into a new environment. It was a one-off movement with limited global changes in social relations, flows, interactions and infrastructure. The Maori lived in relative isolation until they were drawn into a more permanent global capitalistic system with the arrival of sealers and whalers in the 1790s.

The sealers and whalers followed the re-discovery and mapping of New Zealand by Cook in the early 1770s (McLauchlan et al. 1986). Their arrival can be described as the beginning of the introduction of a single way of socio-economic behaviour (Fukuyama 1992, 2002) and/or as the latest stage in the conflict between cultures (Huntington 1993). Barber (1996) calls this period of change the politics of identity (Maori) versus the economies of profit (Western capitalism). It was made possible by technological inventions, new methods of navigation and advances in cartography. Since that time, Western-style capitalism facilitated by technological innovations was driving the globalisation process (Barber 1992) on the Otago Peninsula.

The arrival of a new group (sealers/whalers) resulted in the expansion of Western power, which created centre-periphery connections that still determine capitalistic global relationships today. It pulled New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula as peripheral resource providers into the global capitalistic economy. Trade links that globalised the New Zealand economy were established with places such as Shanghai, South Africa, New England and Europe (McAlloon 2002). Furthermore, to these trading links the presence of sealers and whalers
from a variety of backgrounds (Tennant 2005) culturally globalised New Zealand society, including the Otago Peninsula. NZ and the Otago Peninsula became part of the imperialistic globalisation process. This is a still on-going Western capitalistic globalisation that has had and has consequences for most aspects of life on the Otago Peninsula. Crosby (1989), for example, describes the environmental changes brought about by the capitalistic system as ‘ecological imperialism’ to produce a neo-Europe. This is, for example, reflected in the introduction of familiar animals such as foxes or hedgehogs. Imperialism is also reflected in the naming of places after British military and colonial figures and explorers. Cook named the highest point on the Otago Peninsula as Mount Charles and the cape at the tip of the Peninsula as Cape Saunders after Sir Charles Saunders who commanded the British fleet in Quebec in 1759 (Knight 1979). Colonialism and imperialism are closely linked to globalisation processes and the socio-economic system of capitalism. This economic system needs cheap resources and access to new markets, and therefore spatial expansion. In the period between 1760 and 1850, ‘European empires acted as powerful agents of globalisation, appropriating new lands and significant new sources of income, while moving people, commodities, technologies and ideas from colony to colony, as well as between the imperial centre and colonies in the periphery’ (Ballantyne 2002, p. 116). Such factors determined the centre-periphery relationship between the British Empire and New Zealand far into the 20th century. This relationship is still one of the forces of globalisation that remains active on the Otago Peninsula.

The sealers and whalers also laid the basis for the later expansion of capitalism and tourism. They introduced profit-driven values that seriously impacted upon the social structure of the Maori. New social behaviours such as prostitution (and resulting sexually transmitted diseases) and deadly global diseases such as measles and influenza ‘travelled’ to New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula. They reduced the overall Maori population dramatically. The ‘new’ capitalistic system maximised its profits by exploiting the resources of whales, sea lions and seals that led to their disappearance in the area and changed the local foods available to the Maori. These processes altered the community structure of the Maori. Such changes meant that the Otago Peninsula had become
Glocalised. Interestingly, the same resources that were once exploited for raw materials (e.g. seals for their skins) are today again 'exploited' for tourism, especially wildlife tourism (e.g. seals, Hooker sea lions).

Nevertheless, because of its remoteness and the small size of the settlement, the Otago Peninsula was only marginally connected to the global economy in the early 1840s, mainly as a resource supplier. The connection with Europe was irregular and slow. Subsequently, travel for leisure and tourism purposes was not an issue except for sealers and whalers venturing within the close vicinity of Otakou. The travel time to the Otago Peninsula from Europe was too long for tourism as capitalism had not evolved to a point where workers had enough disposable income and time available. Accessibility to New Zealand in general was poor. In this respect the economic globalisation process was selective, focusing on travelling primarily for resource exploitation. The majority of the Otago Peninsula itself remained in a natural state, with the exception of the area around Otakou, where land clearance and small-scale farming dotted the landscape. This stage provided the basis for the extension of the socio-economic system of capitalism by the next group moving to the Otago Peninsula – the white settlers.

The settlement of New Zealand was the last great colonisation movement, with different groups from the United Kingdom as the main settlers. It symbolises the start of a progressively more integrated Asia-Pacific region with high importance for the economic well-being of Great Britain and Europe. There was a ‘growing perception that the world was increasingly interconnected and interdependent’ (Ballantyne 2002, p. 116). During this stage, New Zealand became a colony of the British Empire with defined borderlines. This is connected with the competition and further ‘legal’ expansion of European empires to gain access to cheap natural resources. The overarching element of the growing interconnection was economic globalisation, but its consequences were more far-reaching.

On the Otago Peninsula, the first organised settlers that arrived were Scottish Presbyterians, who introduced the concept of land ownership (Huggett 1966).
Consequently, the environment was changed to accommodate agricultural production for local and international markets. Most of the local flora and fauna were removed and 'new' exotic flora and fauna such as farm animals (e.g. sheep, horses, cattle), 'aesthetic' animals, including those for leisure activities like fishing and hunting (e.g. trout, hedgehogs, foxes), cultivated crops (e.g. turnips, barley, wheat) and 'aesthetic' plants (e.g. gorse, radiate pine, hawthorn) were introduced. The natural landscape was altered to a cultural agricultural landscape modelled on Great Britain (see figure 6.15).

Initially, the land was only valuable for the settlers if it was productive in a capitalistic sense and British in a cultural sense. Their main aim was therefore to increase the land value and maximise the profits of the land. Ironically, tourists and recreationists today visit the Otago Peninsula to see a landscape that is far removed from the original natural state of the local environment. During this settlement stage, the capitalistic influences became stronger through a constant exchange of people, ideas and capital between the capitalistic-driven United Kingdom and its colonies, including the Otago Peninsula. It intensified the flows across borderlines. Even if the arrival of new settler and information exchange was irregular in the early days of the Otago Peninsula, it nevertheless was a significant shift away from the isolation of the previous two stages.

During this time, the social and economic practices on the Otago Peninsula were interpenetrated and changed by these new arrivals. Global social relations grew, and events taking place in Europe impacted on the distant Otago Peninsula (e.g. participation in hostilities in which the British Empire was involved; new global markets opening for agricultural products, putting pressure on prices for Otago Peninsula products to Europe). The social relations were stretched (Held et al. 1999; Held 2000) even if the movement of people, capital and information was still relatively slow as they arrived by sailing ship. It was an intensification of globalising forces active on the Otago Peninsula. In addition, the new immigrants altered the established social structure. The dominant Maori culture, already changed by sealers and whalers, became a minority culture. Western capitalistic society and its values turned into the dominant
culture, the clash of civilisations (Huntington 1996) ended with the Western culture subordinating the Maori culture. It appears to be one of the triumphs of the Western capitalistic way of doing things, a move towards the end of history (Fukuyama 1992).

The influence of capitalistic values and globalisation on the Otago Peninsula is further expressed by the impact of global technological development such as freezer ships to increase market access. This invention made it possible to transport frozen meat to Great Britain. It made it easier to establish regular trading contact and therefore information exchange between the settlers and their respective mother countries, thereby increasing the interconnection of the Otago Peninsula with Europe and its colonies. Transport in general speeded up between New Zealand and the rest of the world as well as within New Zealand. New technologies such as the steam engine or infrastructure developments such as the construction of the Suez Canal compressed time and space. Even if mail still took 65 days in the 1870s (McLachlan et al. 1986), it was much less than the 257 days it took in 1851 (Otago Witness 8 November 1851). This confirms Barber’s (1992) suggestion that technology is driving globalisation and capitalism, including for the Otago Peninsula (see figure 3.2), but it is just as significant that it provided some of the first impetus for international leisure travel to New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula.

The white settlers ‘prepared’ the land for the next movement of people – recreationists – starting towards the end of the 19th century. The spatial isolation of New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula was broken through the start of the development of a national and international transport infrastructure. Time and space were compressed (Harvey 1989) in order to gain economic access and economic benefits, including the use of the ‘recreational resource Otago Peninsula’ within the capitalistic world. This extension of accessibility was driven by technological inventions (Barber 1992). However, the ‘tyranny of distance’ still limited access and therefore the intensification of global flows to New Zealand. Domestically, rail and car reduced travel times and increased accessibility, but letters and newspapers delivered slowly by sailing/steam ships were still the main mode of information exchange with the rest of the world.
Telephones and telegraphs ‘shrank’ the distance to the Western world and its colonies, but they were still too expensive for most people. Social relations stretched further, thereby facilitating globalisation (Held 2000). Nevertheless, such stretching of economic and social relations occurred both in and out of the Peninsula. Accompanying the export of goods were some of the first representations of the Otago Peninsula in pictorial and written media, thereby initiating the process by which the landscape properties of the Peninsula started to be idealised as scenes suitable to be gazed upon.

Another example of the stretching of social relations is that New Zealand was drawn more and more into global conflicts (e.g. Boer War, First World War). This helped to define the identity of New Zealand within a globalising world (e.g. battle of Gallipoli), as New Zealanders met other nationalities and compared themselves to find out that they were in fact different. Its growing standing as an independent nation was also expressed in it becoming a Dominion in 1907 and in 1919 an independent member of the global political network the League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations (Statistics New Zealand 2004). Despite these events, however, the United Kingdom remained the main point of reference for New Zealand. The Otago Peninsula was part of a globally operating colonial empire and its socio-cultural structures had developed since the arrival of James Cook. Most agricultural export products, for example, were sold and displayed at agricultural shows in the United Kingdom. Consequently, part of the production on the Otago Peninsula changed (between dairy and sheep), depending on what could be sold more profitably in the UK and other European markets, again contributing to landscape change and economic dependency.

At the time, international travel was limited to the privileged few, such as the writers Mark Twain and George Bernard Shaw (McClure 2004), as the socio-economic conditions (e.g. lack of disposable income and time) and technological conditions (e.g. slow transport modes) made international travel impossible for the majority of people. Capitalism had not yet freed up the workers, as it did not provide sufficient disposable income and time to travel, but the process of time and space compression did take ‘another step’.
Locally, the movement of goods and people within Dunedin and between the hinterland and Dunedin was a priority. Accordingly, the connection between the Peninsula and the city improved dramatically over the years through the construction of road and sea infrastructure. At that time, leisure seekers ventured to the Otago Peninsula to picnic and enjoy the landscape but not to see the still-common ‘unproductive’ wild nature. They wanted to experience the rural life on the Otago Peninsula in search of a rural idyll, in particular the Westernised rural landscape (Read 2005). Leading Dunedin families purchased land on the Otago Peninsula, starting in the 1870s to build holiday homes (Huggett 1966) in order to enjoy leisure time there. These processes were furthered by close proximity to the city as well as increased accessibility by sea (steam boats) and, towards the end of the stage, by road when cars became more common. Subsequently, the population of the Peninsula grew dramatically as commuters moved closer to the city-located harbourside areas between Portobello and Dunedin (see figure 6.23). The rural population changed, the close-knit farming communities on the harbourside up to Portobello were reduced and a new social group of commuters and weekend cribbies became more numerous. The area beyond Portobello and on the oceanside remained as relatively inaccessible farming communities The social changes and infrastructure improvements attracted temporary visitors and formed the basis for the later expansion into tourism.

Socio-economic developments within the Western world, including New Zealand, initiated the conditions for recreational activities. These included growing industrialisation and population in connection with urbanisation (Smith and Callan 1999), which created demand for leisure in rural landscapes. Fewer people lived off the land instead living closer to the factories of capitalistic-oriented manufacturing industries, but at the same time wishing to escape the cities (Murphy 1985) However, New Zealand continued to be an ‘agricultural hinterland’ that remained in a centre-periphery relationship with the British Empire. It also ‘received’ some of the benefits of this socio-economic relationship. Leisure time and disposable income increased, public transport became more reliable and transport cost and time decreased. However, every
globalisation process found its expression in specific local outcomes. Examples include the specific local relationship between the Maori and white settlers, agricultural production centred on local soils and climate conditions, and a form of capitalism that included barter trading. The use of the term ‘glocalisation’ (Robertson 1995) for the mixing of global and local processes with specific outcomes is therefore justified. These developments that built on earlier ones provided the basis for the later extension into tourism, and were driven by capitalistic expansion. It was the start of growing interconnectivities between the Otago Peninsula and Dunedin, leading to the intensification of commodified leisure networks at the local scale. Domestic and to a greater extent international tourism were both in their infancy, particularly as a consequence of an inappropriate tourism infrastructure.

Between the 1890s and 1920s there was generally a strong move in the direction of Fukuyama’s (1992, 2002) ‘one way of doing things’, towards Western economic globalisation. By then the conflict between cultures was simmering, but Western culture had triumphed over Maori culture. Nevertheless, this triumph was fairly short-lived, and cultural conflict surfaced again in the later part of the 1980s. Cultural globalisation as the triumph of Western values was therefore only superficial (Huntington 1993). The importance of this stage lies also in the consequent capitalistic development of society and its environment on the Otago Peninsula. It was a time of consolidation, in which global interconnections stayed relatively stable until the beginning of the First World War.

At the end of the First World War, the trends of growing population numbers and urbanisation and better local transport (e.g. car, bus, infrastructure improvements) continued. Domestic tourism became important, as New Zealanders began to discover their own country in growing numbers. The global interconnections between New Zealand and the world also became much stronger and more evident with the beginning of the Second World War, when New Zealand soldiers served in a great variety of countries overseas and American soldiers were stationed in New Zealand. This trend of growing interconnectedness has continued since then.
Politically, New Zealand grew increasingly independent, for example New Zealand citizenship was introduced in 1948. Furthermore, the country entered into a number of international agreements (e.g. GATT in 1948; ANZUS in 1951) and became part of the development of a global infrastructure. The process of growing social, economical, political and technological interconnections continued until the 1960s. It was facilitated by technological innovations such as radio, television, telephone and airplanes, which were and are still the basis of the globalisation process (Huntington 1996). A particularly important innovation of the early 20th century is the car and the consequent increased car ownership that, connected with social achievements such as reduced working hours and an extension of the social security system, increased domestic travel propensity.

A place such as rural Otago Peninsula, so close to a major city in an urbanising society (see table 5.10), was very well located for domestic tourists and recreationists. This was helped by the social developments of the time as well as the wider distribution of cars amongst New Zealanders. The attraction was the scenic appearance of the cultural agricultural landscape. Additionally, the road infrastructure on the Otago Peninsula had developed to a sufficient standard and accessibility for commuters and tourists. After the 1920s, the infrastructure remained static. As a consequence of better access and the proximity to the city, the Otago Peninsula population more than doubled between 1921 and 1951 (Statistics New Zealand, various dates), but has stayed static since then (see figure 5.23). However, while the harbourside increased its population between Dunedin and Portobello, the oceanside became gradually de-populated as farms increased in size and employed fewer farm workers (e.g. due to aerial topdressing). This change in the social set-up was combined with a change in the relationship between the local and the global. The social relations on the Otago Peninsula were stretched by major global events that influenced the progress of globalisation, capitalism and tourism such as the global recession, the First World War or global epidemics (e.g. a polio epidemic closed local schools in 1925 and 1945). Later, during the Second World War (1939-
1945) men from the Otago Peninsula served in countries such as Greece, Egypt, Canada, Italy and the Pacific.

Local movement patterns changed as well. Domestic tourism became more prominent and in the 1930s the first commercial tours started to run down the Otago Peninsula to Portobello. Marketing for tourism became more prominent. The nearby city of Dunedin was advertised in a newspaper as the gateway to the south. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to conclude that the development of a global network had only a marginal impact on the Otago Peninsula. The Otago Peninsula became an urban backdrop and a domestic destination that was built on historical capitalistic developments. Overall, the Otago Peninsula became much more accessible between 1920 and 1960 and the world became more accessible for its residents. The global flow of ideas, people and capital increased as did the interconnections with global events. Driven by the impact of technology on globalisation and capitalism (Barber 1992) or the economy of profits (Barber 1996), time and space between New Zealand, the Otago Peninsula and the world had shrunk.

After the 1960s, the stretching of social relations, the intensification of global flows and interactions, as well as the development of a global infrastructure, took on a new dimension. Time and distance shrunk further (Harvey 1989; Rodrigue and Comtois 2005) and increased the speed of globalisation. The Otago Peninsula was drawn into this process. It became more obvious that capitalism and technology determined the speed and extent of the globalisation process. Growing international tourism (inbound and outbound) became one particular strong expression of that (see table 5.11).

Local residents began to travel further away from home, thereby reducing the density of leisure localisation in favour of leisure globalisation. New Zealanders and Dunedinites travelled to foreign countries instead of spending their time on the Otago Peninsula. International tourism to the Otago Peninsula was a solution to extend the tourism networks from a dwindling local network to a global one. The growth of tourism was therefore part of the globalisation of tourism. Since the 1960s, tourism has been one of the main agents and
facilitator of globalisation within a capitalistic framework as both tourism and globalisation depend on accessibility. In the last 40 years, these two processes changed the sense of place at an increasingly fast pace on a more non-local basis (Saarinen 2004).

Tourism is about people travelling within and outside their country of residence and is therefore closely connected with the growing interconnectedness of the globalisation process. It also has to do with the impacts of mobility on local destinations. Research on tourism and changing place has a long tradition within tourism (e.g. Gilbert 1939, 1949). In combination with growing tourism numbers, these impacts received more and more attention from researchers since the 1960s.

International tourism numbers increased dramatically from 159 million in 1960 to 846 million in 2006, and is predicted to reach over one billion in 2010 (UNWTO 2007). Tourism is therefore increasingly changing places as physical access to new tourist destinations and cheaper transport brought growing socio-economic interconnections and exchanges. However, accessibility increased not only for direct physical movement but also for indirect, non-physical movement. The cost of telephone calls decreased, satellite communication made international communication easy (1963) and computers created instantaneous information access and transfer (1980s).

Time and space were compressed. It was again technological development, determined by the capitalistic values of the Western world, that drove globalisation and tourism. They were aided new technology (e.g. Boeing 747, A 380), faster and better access through international agreements (e.g. Freedoms of the Air agreements) and international infrastructure (e.g. international airports. Potential destinations such as the Otago Peninsula which were difficult to visit as a consequence of the distance to the main generating European and North American markets became suddenly more attractive for tourists due to the reduced time and cost needed to travel there. This growth in tourism as Fordist and later post-Fordist service product has connotations of Westernisation that Fukuyama (1998) believes are the logical consequence of
Western-style capitalism being the best system for human beings. However, especially in tourism, Westernisation could also be described as superficial, as the local values and histories are the basic elements (Huntington 1993; 1996) of visited cultures. In relation to New Zealand and its tourism industry this process is exemplified by the importance of Western products and amenities and the revival of Maori culture within society and tourism.

Since the 1960s changes happened with increased speed (Halloway 1998). They were facilitated by increased mobility and access as mobility was industrialised (Inglis 2000). Tourism growth therefore intensified the contact between people, creating new global interconnections as well as helping to shrink time and space by using technological developments. A number of trends and their consequences emerged in New Zealand that impacted on the Otago Peninsula. These trends were often shared with other Western countries. They include the continuing and growing trend of urbanisation and rural restructuring as well as more disposable income and time.

With the majority of people living in cities, nature within rural environments became a place for fantasies (Henning 1999) and was consequently used as a tool to market destinations such as New Zealand. At the same time, a movement started that saw residents of Western cities moving from the city into semi-rural areas in close proximity to cities. At places such as the Otago Peninsula, the easily accessible and calmer harbourside developed as commuter suburbs. It had further consequences: local business operators such as shops and petrol stations closed, as new residents were now far more Dunedin oriented than Peninsula oriented (see figures 5.31 to 5.34), therefore buying their products in town. However, tourism was an economic activity that helped to keep some services (e.g. the Portobello petrol station and convenience store).

The ‘new’ tourism focused on natural attractions and wildlife that were also increasingly valued by residents. This appreciation of nature is connected with an increased environmental awareness in the West from the end of the 1960s onwards. The environmental movement was also soon globalised through
television, immigrants and tourists. The Otago Peninsula became one of the 'battlefields' of the heightened recognition of nature as something worth protecting, with tourism seen as providing an alternative use to agricultural production, which is believed to be more environmentally destructive. A proposal for regional Lake Manapouri to provide power for an aluminium smelter, for which the Otago Peninsula was one possible location, created enormous negative public reactions (Read 2005) and led to the formation of local environmental groups. Such developments were facilitated by the accessibility to information on television and, later, computers.

Economically, globalisation found its expression in the growing number of trading partners, especially after the heavily controlled economy was liberalised after 1984 (Rogernomics) (see tables 5.7 and 5.8). It drove the process of globalisation (Fukuyama 1992) and tourism. This was also accompanied by a reduced number of farms on the Otago Peninsula, as farm subsidies were abandoned. In order to improve the suffering local economy farmers diversified into tourism, beginning to develop a touristic infrastructure at the end of the 1960s and the beginnings of the 1970s, especially into accommodation, arts and crafts and attractions. This economic behaviour followed the economies of profit (Barber 1996) that were guided by the rules of the 'best' political principles of Western liberal democracy (Fukuyama 1992). The marginal farms were not able to provide a profit in those business circumstances. They therefore had to diversify their products and their markets or sell their no-longer-profitable land. This helped to liberalise trade.

At this time New Zealand first opened up to other Western industrialised countries other than the UK and the US. This move away from the UK and Europe is further expressed in the change of immigrants, the majority of whom are now from Asia and the South Pacific. This showed that Americanisation/Westernisation was superficial (Huntington 1993) and only one part of globalisation, as New Zealand first Westernised, then 'Pacificised' and later 'Asianised'. The origins of migrants settling on the Otago Peninsula and tourists visiting changed with this increase in global connections. The tourists visiting New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula, for example, came from an
ever-increasing diversity of backgrounds, and residents from the Otago Peninsula travelled to a greater variety of countries. Dunedin recently had dramatic increases in tourists from China (75.1% increase in four years) and India (35.4% increase in four years) (Tourism Dunedin 2007). However, tourism was not the only factor that globalised the Otago Peninsula’s society. Local residents used media such as the internet to communicate with global virtual communities and gain information about them in real time, or they watched television stories about and from foreign countries. Social relations were stretched and residents became involved with global TV, global computer networks and international tourism.

On the Otago Peninsula, tourism was regarded as a service industry that injected money into the local economy, thereby helping to retain local services. Consequently, more and more residents on the Otago Peninsula opened up tourism businesses. At the end of the 1960s, the first tourist attractions were ‘built’ on the heritage of the Otago Peninsula, such as Glenfalloch Gardens and Larnach Castle, but soon wildlife attractions such as the albatross colony and the yellow-eyed penguins were added. As the global and local transport infrastructures constantly improved, New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula were made more accessible. Dunedin airport, for example, became an international airport. After the late 1980s the infrastructure could increasingly cater for tourists staying in the area, especially the small but rising number of free and independent tourists. The Otago Peninsula was never a mass tourism destination, but rather a special interest tourism destination for ‘new’ tourists from Western countries (see figure 4.2) wanting ecotourism experiences. This flow of people, capital and information impacted on the local community.

The development of tourism was also actively fostered by New Zealand and local government bodies (e.g. ORC, DCC), which realised the potential benefit of international tourism. Since then New Zealand’s national and local governments have changed their involvement to be very much in line with other governments in the Western world. They first provided infrastructure (e.g. construction of an international airport), then used tourism as a regional development tool (e.g. in Dunedin and Otago Region) to later focus on
environmental issues and reduced government involvement (e.g. RMA 1991) (Hall 2000). In addition, a new layer of supra-national policies influenced the international relations and the tourism industry in New Zealand as the country signed up to a growing number of international agreements (e.g. Kyoto, GATT, and GATS). The consequences were the intensification of flows that relied on a number of foreign countries and increased global interactions.

From the 1960s, New Zealanders altered how they perceived themselves in a global world. They became more aware of their global proximity to Asia and Polynesia rather than Europe. In this latest stage, the local society changed in relation to their composition and their economic set-up. It became clear that events in other parts of the world and global flows (e.g. international tourism) altered the local environment more quicker and more extensively than ever before and that global interactions in real time were a part of local social life.

This thesis thus shows that changes in the culture of an area such as the Otago Peninsula were often slow and unspectacular (Swarbrooke 1999). In the process, the local culture was not only Westernised/Americanised, as Fukuyama (1992) suggests, but was also subjected to the internationalisation of local affairs. It is therefore easier to agree with Huntington (1996) that the current globalisation process is determined by American values, but that this is only superficial. Barber’s idea (1996) of the world being driven apart by the forces of Americanisation and Lebanonisation is also true as far as it reflects the conflict between the Maori and the various new arrivals.

The history of New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula is closely linked to human movement and access. In this respect, the six different stages – Maori, sealers and whalers, settlers, recreationists, domestic tourists and international tourists – can be identified. They were determined by a particular movement. Throughout the stages it is clear how New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula were more and more drawn into global flows of ideas, people and capital. Social relations were increasingly stretched, global interactions grew dramatically and New Zealand was involved in the development of global infrastructure and networks. It confirms Huntington’s (1996, p. 198) description of the movement
of people as the 'motor of history'. These movements happened in a particular fashion that characterises New Zealand society today. They also provide the historical stepping stones for the development of tourism. While the link between the first major movement, the Maori, and globalisation processes are weak, they are nevertheless there. Today, their past and present culture supplies a tourist attraction on the Otago Peninsula. The second major movement, sealers and whalers, had a more direct link to globalisation; it signifies the beginning of the globalisation process to the Otago Peninsula that was driven by economic (capitalistic) interests and technological inventions. An economic system was introduced that was constantly evolving into new modes of creating wealth such as agricultural production or tourism. This stage provided the basis for the third movement, the white settlers, when the Otago Peninsula was connected to the imperial ambitions and global relationships of the British Empire. The Otago Peninsula was part of the country New Zealand, which supplied resources to the 'motherland' within a centre-periphery relationship. This relationship remained intact until around the 1980s, but was weakened through time.

During the settler stage, many of the heritage attractions were created, the Otago Peninsula was opened up and capitalism was firmly introduced. When the main settler movement was finished around the 1890s, the fourth movement, recreationists, cribbies and commuters, begun as part of a local movement. By this stage, the Otago Peninsula was settled and provided the backdrop for the urban centre of Dunedin. The periphery of the town received heightened attention as a leisure place away from city life. Locals visited to enjoy the Europeanised landscape. When the infrastructure and the working conditions (more disposable time and income) in New Zealand improved and new inventions (in particular cars) provided better access to the country at the end of this stage, New Zealanders started to discover their own country in greater numbers in the 1920s. Domestic tourism (stage 5) was built on the infrastructure developed for recreationists and on the invention 'car'. It laid the base for the sixth movement, international tourists since the 1960s. These tourists came not only for the landscape as in earlier leisure days, but also the wildlife and the heritage. Access and global living conditions changed to a point
where visiting foreign countries became a favourite pastime for residents of Western states and some selected countries in the Asia-Pacific region, with New Zealand and the Otago Peninsula being incorporated into the global flows and interactions.

Globalisation is a process that started with the first movement of people to the Otago Peninsula. The first humans to arrive were the Maori. This was a one-off movement that distributed ideas, people and their culture from earlier movements from Polynesia to the Otago Peninsula. After the arrival of the sealers and whalers, the Otago Peninsula became more and more connected to global flows. International tourism is just the latest mobility that grew out of the economic necessities of capitalism. Throughout the stages, the interconnections with the rest of the world were driven by the economic model of Western capitalism and its inventions, and impacted on all spheres of life.

However, people had to work with the specific conditions on the Otago Peninsula and adjust the Western capitalistic economic development to local conditions. It was a constant process of glocalisation. The Otago Peninsula experienced stretched social relations, intensified global flows, and increased global interactions, while the development of global infrastructure and networks is still mainly a national development. But even that is changing, in particular since the arrival of the internet.

In general, this study contributes to the expanding knowledge of tourism as a force that changes locations, by providing a detailed insight into the history of tourism and its evolution within a destination. It brings a new perspective by focusing on the changes that globalisation, driven by Western capitalism and increased mobility of people, information and capital, had on local tourism development. Additional concepts that play an important role within the globalisation-tourism debate include the issues development, power, sustainability and tourism ethics.

The research approach was unusual because participant observation over a period of four-and-a-half years is normally not possible as it is too expensive.
Additional methods such as the review of newspaper commentary on the research area starting in 1851 and the incorporation of photographic images taken between 1863 and 2005 gave the case study a unique research profile that yielded numerous results. However, there were also some bias problems, as the researcher who lived in the area had, for example, his personal opinions developed over the extended period spend on the Otago Peninsula before the start of the research as well as in relation to the residents he encountered (or did not encounter).

The study clearly shows the complexities of, first, the processes of globalisation and tourism and, second, the combination of the different forces of globalisation on tourism on the Otago Peninsula, namely the stretching of global social relations far beyond the borderlines of micro tourism destination. Additionally, the evolving intensification of flows of people, information and money, closely connected with the increase in global interactions between the Otago Peninsula and the rest of the world, indicate that accompanying changes are the norm and ongoing. The aspect of globalisation with the least impact on the immediate environment of the destination is the continuing development of global infrastructure and networks.

Overall, the thesis changes the way in which the ‘story’ of history and change is ‘written’ by globalisation and tourism. Unfortunately, access to information about the pre-European history was poor, as there were no written documents available that portrayed the specific history of the Maori on the Otago Peninsula from a Maori perspective. In additional research, the history could be looked at in a far more detailed way in order to develop a picture of how strong the impact of this movement was for the Otago Peninsula. The story of the later development could be supplemented by interviewing ‘older’ residents living in the area or by analysing the interviews of ‘older’ residents, produced by the Otago Peninsula Museum and Historical Society, to preserve the historical knowledge of those people.

The case study provides a picture of the impact of flows as drivers of globalisation and tourism within a capitalistic system on the economic, socio-
political, technological and environmental environments of a destination. The economic globalisation of the Otago Peninsula is driven by the socio-economic system of capitalism. Its impacts are clearly visible by the opportunistic, changing economic activities that try to maximise the use of the local resources to obtain profits. Tourism is one the latest of those economic activities. In the case of the Otago Peninsula, tourism was clearly a consequence of political globalisation following the ‘Rogernomics’ policies starting in 1984, but it only partly lead to a ‘clash of civilisations’ (Maori versus ‘new’ settlers), the conflict between the advantage and the disadvantaged (Huntington 1993, 1996). In recent times, the claim that the capitalistic system is the best fit with human nature (Fukuyama 1992, 1998) has increasingly come under question, particularly since capitalism has become disorganised (Lash and Urry 1987). It is more the case that economic globalisation on the Otago Peninsula moves between the politics of identity (Maori, e.g. land conflict about Pilots Beach and the area around the Albatross Colony) and the economies of profits (e.g. land access only for paying customers) (see Barber’s theory 1992, 1996).

In socio-political terms, globalisation has established liberal democracy (Fukuyama 1992, 1998) as the guiding system, but it also is a source of conflict between different groups (Huntington 1993, 1996) (e.g. farmers and environmental groups, Maori and later arrivals). Globalisation, in particular the dissemination of information and knowledge, is a dominating source of those conflicts. It is driven by Western governments and their bloodless economies of profit. They create a ‘McWorld’ and the consequent fight against it by some groups. These groups use the bloody politics of identity or Lebanonisation (Barber 1992, 1996). However, this type of conflict is not very strong on the Otago Peninsula, even if there are clear signs of being part of a global homogenisation process in tourism (e.g. demand for ensuite bathrooms in B&Bs) creating a McWorld for tourism, as well as ‘clashes’ between different cultures (e.g. a local councillor refusing to take part in a meeting at a Maori meeting house). It also is the case that the politics of the Otago Peninsula are moving towards more local participatory political processes guided by the Otago Peninsula Community Board for local issues while at the same time giving away
some local political decision making for global issues to global organisation (e.g. climate change and the signing of the Kyoto Protocol).

Technological globalisation or the extent to which new technology was distributed globally is one of the driving forces of tourism and globalisation. The Otago Peninsula is a good example of the fact that technology helped globalisation from the beginning of its settlement especially in the transport sector (e.g. canoe, sailing ship, steam ship, car, airplane). Globalisation is therefore taking place over an extended period of time (Huntington 1993, 1996). Its consequences include the democratisation of information access (Friedmann 2000) and the free movement of capital and (some) people (Fukuyama 1992, 1998). Technological globalisation has helped to extend the limits of human existence, and appears to have reduced the dependency on nature and borders. However, Barber (1992, 1996) argues that technology has given the power to satisfy human needs such as for travelling, but that this satisfaction makes people desire more (e.g. new destinations, more holidays).

Interestingly, environmental globalisation, including the globalisation of environmental problems, does not appear as an individual point in the works of Barber (1992,1996), Fukuyama (1992, 1998) or Huntington (1993, 1996) despite the growing importance since the 1960s of global environmental problems. On the Otago Peninsula, the growth in active environmental groups (e.g. Otago Peninsula Trust, Save the Otago Peninsula) and the growth in conflicts between farmers, recreationists and tourists (e.g. about public access to private lands, land use practices) are just two examples of how growth in knowledge distribution and movements (e.g. 'new' residents from outside the Otago Peninsula) contributed to change. The Otago Peninsula also offers a good case study of how the future of tourism will be determined by accepting that a healthy ecological system is more important than growing consumption (von Weizaecker 1994). The future global environmental behaviour will be determined by how far capitalistic human society is capable of developing goals that are far more sustainable than the current ones. Otherwise nature will only survive in remnants to be visited like museums (Crenson 2000) telling the story how the world once was.
7.2 Conclusion: Experiencing Global/Glocalisation

There are many ways of ‘experiencing’ globalising history and tourism, and some of those are not immediately recognisable. The purpose of this study has been to both acknowledge those different ways of experiencing history and tourism, and to deepen the understanding of it. Within this process the Otago Peninsula is globally constructed by the tourism industry, but locally conceptualised within the global by locals. It contributes to the knowledge of tourist destinations and their changes, in particular its historic transformations into a tourist destination. Localities operating under capitalism, such as the Otago Peninsula, offer constantly changing products to local and global markets. These products are a combination of specific economic, social and political time-space relationships (Saarinen 2004). International tourism is the latest product evolving out of these conditions. It follows the extraordinary impact of the acceleration in the movement of capital, information and people (Mowforth and Munt 2003) through time-space compression (Harvey 1989) on a local place.

Nevertheless, there is a continuing process of negotiation and re-negotiation between the movement of people (e.g. tourists) and the dynamics of a locality (Meethan 2001) that evolves from the specific socio-cultural history of a place. A destination therefore contains traces from the past, the present and signs of the future. This research represents a picture of the local representations of the Otago Peninsula that are sometimes conflicting discourses. The analysis of these discourses ‘can be used as a tool for considerations for the nature and trends of future tourism and possible conflicts in touristic commodification and land-use issues in certain destinations’ (Saarinen 2004, p. 174). In helping to understand the past, it has the potential to facilitate tourism policymaking by providing a better understanding of the factors and forces that have contributed to some places being on particular trajectories of economic and social development and not others (e.g. Inkson, Browning and Kirkwood 2007). In the same instance it acknowledges that the ‘story’ is also history as soon as it is

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told, since globalisation, localisation and tourism have already ‘moved on’. It is never-ending.

The study can also provide a frame analysis for studies at other locations. The main themes uncovered include globalisation, localisation, tourism and their historical connections within the Otago Peninsula, located at the urban fringe of a major population centre in New Zealand. It exemplifies the general issue of glocalisation through the examination of one specific location. By setting boundaries between the phenomenon of glocalisation, its global and local forces and the local context on the Otago Peninsula, the thesis provides exploratory results on their interrelationships that need to be expanded to other destinations. On this basis, significant destination attributes and their interconnections can be isolated and compared to the Otago Peninsula. These features include physical location, historical, social and institutional development and the impact of growing global interconnectedness and tourism had. By comparing the different case study results it will be possible to develop a framework that could be tested for wider applicability. It should be acknowledged that there are multiple realities of the perception of the past and present impact of glocalisation. This is not necessarily fully covered by this research due to its subjectivity and the selected research methods. Additionally, such research would help to evaluate tourism and its outcomes in a variety of local historical contexts.

To understand how a tourist destination is produced requires an economic, socio-cultural and historical perspective. This thesis studied the way in which the Otago Peninsula is socio-culturally and historically constructed by locals within the economic system of capitalism. By deliberately not focusing on international tourism, globalisation and cultural change within a relatively narrow timeframe (e.g. Mowforth and Munt 1998, 2003; Meethan 2001; Wahab and Cooper 2001; Tucker 2003; Macleod 2004), but on the history of the Otago Peninsula and the residents’ perception of this local tourist destination within a global context, it fills a significant gap in the literature as ‘globalization has still not been discussed to any great extent in tourism research’ (Hjalager 2007, p. 452). It is evident that tourism, in particular international tourism, is the result of
the economic search for wealth producing activities. Historically, it is building on previous developments for the construction of the resources of tourism (e.g. in this specific case Maori culture, heritage buildings, wildlife recovery, and infrastructure). Especially important is the increased speed and growth of global interactions, flows and networks and infrastructure development that stretched social relations and reduced the isolation of the Otago Peninsula dramatically. The Otago Peninsula is now part of the global tourism circuit in which the representation of the locality is constructed by a global tourism industry, while locals perceive it as a local place within a global world. Their perceptions of issues on the Otago Peninsula are consequently localised with the global (including international tourism) as background (see figure 5.35). The Otago Peninsula therefore has a variety of representations that evolve out of these discursive processes, out of processes of negotiation and re-negotiation that confirm the local place within a globalising world.
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**Newspaper articles**: A variety of newspaper article from the following historical newspaper were used, but not listed separately; Otago Witness, The Evening Star Dunedin and the Otago Daily Times (prior 2002).