

Evolving Community Response to Tourism And Change in Rotorua

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Rotorua Case Study
Report No. 14/2000



LINCOLN
UNIVERSITY
Te Whare Wānaka O Aoraki



Evolving Community Response To Tourism and Change in Rotorua

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February 2000

ISSN 1174-670X

**Tourism Research and Education Centre (TREC)
Report No. 14**

Lincoln University

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Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to many people who helped make this research possible and enjoyable. Thanks especially to the people at Tourism Rotorua who helped in the formulation of the research and then participated in its execution.

Thanks to all those people who patiently talked to us both formally and informally. Thanks also to all those residents who participated in our telephone survey and to APR consultants and their interviewers who implemented the survey for us.

A big thank you to Broniek Kazmierow and Richard Buchanan who put Chrys up in her first weeks in Rotorua and introduced her to many people around town which made her whole stay in Rotorua really enjoyable.

Ethical approval for this research was provided under the Lincoln University Human Research Subjects Ethics Committee (Ref: HSEC 97/21).

This research was funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology; Output 8 Tourism. This report forms part of a series of seven constituent reports on Tourism in Rotorua, which in turn is one of four case studies in the programme 'Improved Management of Tourist Flows and Effects' (Contracts: LIN 504, 602, 803).

Ethical approval for this research was provided under the Lincoln University Human Research Subjects Ethics Committee (Ref: HSEC 97/21).

The support of Air New Zealand with discounted air travel in this Rotorua case study is also acknowledged.

Summary

Overall, Rotorua people are very accepting of tourism in their town. Most locals feel that tourism has little effect on them, with those who are not directly involved in tourism saying that they do not notice it. This local acceptance of tourism is the result of many factors, which include both good management and good luck. In spite of this, there are community members who are mindful of the negative side of tourism in Rotorua. This summary outlines the reasons why tourism is well accepted in Rotorua and discusses the things that some locals see as negative aspects of tourism.

First, Rotorua is considered a New Zealand tourism icon, however, the density of tourists relative to the size of the host population is low compared with other visitor destinations such as Queenstown, Te Anau, Waitomo or Kaikoura. This is because of the relatively large size of the permanent resident population of the Town, which is maintained by the presence of other large sectors in the Rotorua economy such as forestry, farming and manufacturing.

Second, the many attractions in the area are spread across a wide area. Thus the low density of visitors is increased by having them spread out across the District rather than concentrated in a few places.

Third, most locals do not feel crowded by tourists during the course of their everyday lives. The general design of the city centre keeps many visitors away from the places where locals do their day-to-day shopping. On the other hand, locals can, and often do, choose to go and spend time in the areas of the Town where there are many visitors, for example the waterfront area and the area on Tutanekai St., which is lined by cafés and restaurants. In this case, the presence of a wide range of visitors is seen to add to the character and ambience of the area.

Fourth, most visitors to Rotorua are New Zealanders, which means that they are less easily identified as ‘other’ than are international visitors. New Zealand visitors have similar recreational tastes to locals, which might result in crowding of favourite local recreation areas. However because domestic visitors are difficult to distinguish from local residents, tourism is less likely to be blamed for the crowding.

Fifth, Rotorua residents are used to tourism, which has been a part of life in Rotorua for over 150 years. This long history means that local people have had time to adjust to the effects of having tourism in their hometown. Furthermore, locals who have not lived in the area for long are actually pleasantly surprised that tourism does not impinge on their lives. If they choose to, they can avoid visitors. A long history also means that, to Rotorua people, tourism has not been associated negatively with the turbulence and crisis of the 1980s. The Town became run-down, lake pollution was a problem and the geysers at Whakarewarewa stopped playing regularly. While government restructuring also had a big effect on employment in the Town. At the same time international changes in some economies were making travelling easier and more popular amongst those who could afford it. These changes underlie the mechanisms and philosophies that now exist in Rotorua for the management of tourism. After the changes of this period, tourism is seen as a sector of the local economy that

remains a major employer and offers further opportunities for employment at a time when many other sectors are shrinking. Therefore to many people in Rotorua, rather than being a source of impacts, tourism is a source of stability.

Sixth, in comparison with our previous case study in Kaikoura, the larger size of the Town, and the size of tourism in the economy have allowed the development of good public sector mechanisms for planning and managing tourism. Tourism Rotorua is considered a leader amongst regional tourism organisations in New Zealand. Set up in the late 1980s, this branch of the local Council has facilitated much co-operation in what was previously a very fragmented industry. People in tourism now talk about 'flying in formation' and are encouraged to see how their business fits into the bigger overall picture of Destination Rotorua. A further achievement of the Council has been the development and acceptance of the Tourism Strategic Plan, and the adoption of a new brand aimed at incorporating the characteristics of the Town and the whole range of tourism products available in Rotorua. Overall then, there is a good private-public sector partnership in Rotorua tourism, which allows the industry to adapt quickly to change and also to focus on its own impacts.

A seventh factor in this high acceptance comes from the sense of control that many locals express in relation to the tourism industry, even if they have no part in it themselves. This appears to come from the presence of long term residents in the industry and the role that those residents are seen to take in the management and direction of the industry. The prominence of the local Council in tourism in Rotorua also appears to contribute to the sense of local control that most residents express.

In spite of this high acceptance, tourism is also a potential source of discontent for a minority of locals. Even those locals who are quite accepting of tourism may express the concern that the Town is more focused on visitors than on locals, saying that the central city development was done in the name of tourism. Of course this is a matter of interpretation, with other people in the community interpreting the same development in a more positive light. They see it as something positive that could not have happened without tourism.

It is easy to dismiss people who feel that the focus is on visitors, however, their view is one that the Council and the industry should be aware of. This is because a council must maintain a balance between providing for the needs of locals and providing for the needs of visitors. In effect, tourism needs to be marketed to local people as much as to visitors. There is evidence that this has happened in the past, and without doubt, the Council are trying to improve the lot of the local community, however, like other Councils around the country, these things need to be made clear to local people.

In spite of the general acceptance of tourism in Rotorua, there is some dissent about how and where further tourism development should take place. Residents in the outlying communities of Tarawera and Okareka have fought hard to prevent the development of more tourist resorts in those areas. While people in those areas do not oppose tourism in its general sense, the development of resorts which could change the nature of their communities and environments are clearly another matter.

Youth and Maori are, perhaps, the two groups who feel the most impact from tourism. The tension here is that while there are potentially lots of activities available, many are out of reach of young people because of their expense. People with families also mentioned that it is generally too expensive for them to visit local attractions. Some young people feel that they are not welcome on the streets of their own town, and they blame tourism for this saying that if it were not for tourism, the Town would not be so concerned about their presence.

Maori are central the tourism product in Rotorua. The impacts on them as a group are both positive and negative. Maori are significantly more likely to work directly in tourism in Rotorua than are Pakeha. On the other hand, two Maori communities – Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu are also seen as tourist attractions. The Whakarewarewa community guides all visitors through the village area, and the village is closed to visitors in the evenings so that residents still have some control over their home area. This is not the case in Ohinemutu, where visitors can wander and drive at will. Ohinemutu residents sometimes mention this as a problem. In addition the Maori community are divided about how their culture and lifestyles should be portrayed for tourist consumption. The reader is referred to Tahana, et al., (2000) for a more in depth discussion of the impacts of tourism on Maori.

These issues are intensified when one realises that Maori are over-represented in figures associated with unemployment, poverty and crime in the District. The restructuring, privatisation and technological change of the last few years has resulted in the disproportionate loss of Maori jobs. At the same time, Maori are not well represented amongst business owners, and they tend to have fewer educational qualifications than their Pakeha counterparts. Therefore as a group, their need for economic development is great and tourism is one way in which Maori economic development may be achieved.

In spite of these less positive impacts, the general feeling in the community is that the benefits of tourism outweigh its costs as this point in time. Perhaps of interest in this study is that people may be aware of many problems that they attribute to tourism and yet they may be very supportive of further tourism development. In a similar vein, people who appear to be very negative about more tourism development in the Town may actually also be quite positive about the benefits that it already affords the community. Ninety seven per cent of the telephone survey sample from this research say that there are benefits from tourism. Overwhelmingly, these benefits are most commonly associated with bringing money into the Town, providing employment and being good for business. Tourism is seen as the one economic sector of the Town's economy which has potential for growth and many also feel that it provides jobs for the unskilled, and therefore it may be able to help relieve some of the problems of poverty and unemployment that the community has.

Whether tourism really can help fix many of the problems of poverty, under-education, and unemployment that afflict the Maori community in particular is open to question. Tourism is seen to provide employment for unskilled workers and yet most of the unskilled jobs in tourism actually require some communication skills. In addition, many of the unskilled jobs are casual and/or seasonal in nature and therefore not always easy for those who are unemployed to take up. Figures from this study indicate that around 75 per cent of the people that are employed in tourism actually have educational qualifications a very large proportion (approximately 2/3) of those are people with some form of tertiary qualification. In addition as a few people noted, tourism does not provide a lot of stable, full-time jobs.

Further benefits that people mentioned were that it provided them with many local activities, it made Rotorua a nice place in which to live and improved local services.

By far the greatest concern that local people had in relation to tourism was crime. For many the concern was the crime would negatively affect the perceptions of visitors, while for others it was a more general concern about crime levels in the Town. Also of interest was that 20 per cent of the sample were concerned that visitors would stop coming, 11 per cent were worried that Rotorua's image might lose its attractiveness to visitors and 14 per cent worried that tourists were not being treated well by businesses. Other problems that people mention are problems with traffic, parking and driving, overexploitation and pollution of some areas, high rates and high prices. The negative impacts of tourism are mentioned in this report, not because they are major at this stage, but because they may help to provide a focus for Council management of tourism in future.

Overall, while the effects of restructuring have had a shattering effect on the Town and particularly on the Maori community there, the Rotorua District Council have shown clear leadership in getting the Town back onto its feet. Their participation in tourism is part of this process and appears to have had positive side effects. By facilitating co-operation in the tourism industry, the District Council appear to have had a positive effect on the community as a whole. The Council has effectively developed a greater degree of community co-operation and trust. However there are still problems associated with poverty within the community and it would appear that to address these problems a broader community development approach is necessary. The current focus on economic development has served the Town well, however, the census figures indicate that there has been little benefit to the groups in the lowest socio-economic groups. These groups actually increased their level of deprivation between 1991 and 1996 while the overall deprivation levels for the community actually decreased.

The Council have shown that they can increase co-operation within a fragmented industry group. It appears that similar facilitation and leadership may be important amongst the dispossessed groups in the community, if the goals they seek from their economic development policies are going to be realised. In other words, while attracting visitors to the area is important, it is also important that the community's aspirations, needs and apprehensions are understood and treated as important by those managing local tourism.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This report discusses how the community of Rotorua (New Zealand) have adapted to tourism. It is the second of four case studies in New Zealand visitor destinations that are aimed at understanding the ways in which communities influence tourism and the ways in which tourism influences them. Tourism is an international industry and is seen by New Zealanders as means of increasing employment opportunities at local level, and as a means of bringing foreign exchange into New Zealand. However, tourism also has negative impacts, most of which manifest themselves at local level. Good management of this growing industry therefore requires us to understand how tourism development occurs at local level as well as how different communities adapt to that development. Increasing our understanding of these processes is vital to the sustainability of the industry and vital if local communities are to reap the benefits that they need from tourism.

Much tourism literature at the current time is based on quantitative surveys of residents' attitudes to tourism, particularly in the New Zealand context (see for example Evans, 1993; Garland, 1984; Lawson, Williams, Young and Cossens, 1998; McDermott-Miller, 1988). These studies indicate that New Zealanders are generally positive about tourism but that there are indications of discontent in some communities such as Queenstown (see Evans, 1993; Lawson, et al., 1998).

Evans (1993:111) in a telephone survey of 1485 people in 15 different New Zealand towns and cities suggests that where season fluctuations in numbers are high and economic dependence on tourism is high, communities will contain a greater percentage of people who dislike tourism. However, some communities do not fit into this pattern. Whitianga, a small community on the Coromandel Peninsula, has only a medium level of seasonality and a very low level of economic dependence on tourism and yet it has a higher percentage of what Evans terms "haters" than even Queenstown, a community with a very high level of both seasonality and economic dependence on tourism. In comparison Te Anau, with a very high tourist-host density at the height of the tourist season and a very high economic dependence on tourism has a very low percentage of "haters" relative to other communities in the survey.

These studies are all based on the idea that as tourist destinations develop, residents become more irritated by tourism. Butler (1980) proposed that tourist destinations move through a life cycle consisting of seven stages. During *discovery*, small numbers of visitors come to the area and adapt well to local life. As tourist numbers increase, some locals begin catering for them during *involvement*. *Development* sees a fast growth in tourist numbers, a steady loss of local control and a rising recognition of the negative impacts of tourism. As the impacts become more obvious, the destination moves into *consolidation* where the increase in visitor

numbers slows to the point at which tourist numbers no longer increase (*stagnation*). At this point, absolute visitor numbers may *decline* unless innovation and or amelioration of impacts set the area into *rejuvenation or stabilisation*.

As the area moves through the life cycle, the characteristics of the visitors to the area change (Cohen, 1972; Smith, 1989) and the level of control changes from local to regional to national to international (Keller, 1987). As a destination develops, visitors change from being highly adaptive and independent to being less adaptive and more dependent on a tourism industry to provide for their needs. Alongside the change in tourist type are changes in ownership which Keller suggests move from local to regional to national and international as more and more capital is required to develop tourist facilities and attractions. As ownership moves to larger centres of capital, so too does control as outside agents move to develop the area according to their wishes rather than those of local people (Keller, 1987). In response to these changes, local people also change their attitudes to tourism. For example, reflecting on a study of Niagara Falls, Doxey (1975) in a classic study of residents' attitudes to tourism suggested that as tourism increases and develops in an area, residents move through four stages from euphoria, through apathy, annoyance to antagonism.

This lifecycle process is a central theme in much of the tourism literature and although it is questioned as a predictive model (for example, Hayward, 1986), it appears to be seen as a useful conceptual tool. In spite of these general ideas, it appears that different places develop in different ways. For example Faulkner and Russell (1997) note that attitudes of residents on the Gold Coast do not fit this pattern. In addition Evans' (1993) findings that people in Whitianga, a town that would most likely be at the lifecycle stage of discovery or involvement, are more negative about tourism than would be expected. In short, the lifecycle concept appears to be most useful when used as a comparison for development patterns that occur in various destinations.

A further important feature of much tourism research has been that it has been largely quantitative in nature, however more recently, qualitatively-based case studies have become more common (see for example Boissevain, 1996; Stonich, et al., 1995; Reed, 1997; Brown and Giles, 1994). These studies are interesting because they look in depth at single communities and have documented the ways in which communities have adapted to manage tourism development. They also show how the history of an area and its power structures are reflected in the impacts that tourism has on the place in question.

This series of FoRST funded studies are aimed at trying to understand the differences and the similarities between different New Zealand communities' responses to tourism development using a case study approach where local history, geography, power structures, as well as the New Zealand context can all be taken into account.

In summary, Rotorua is the second of four case studies. The aim of this report is to outline how the Rotorua community experiences tourism and tourism development and how they have adapted to it. It is designed to be read in conjunction with the associated reports looking at other aspects of tourism in the area (a list of which appears at the end of this publication).

The objectives of this report are to:

- Give an historical account of the history of the development of tourism in Rotorua.
- Give an account of broader community issues which influence the community's attitudes to tourism development in their town.
- Record the perceptions that residents have of tourism and show how these have changed over time.
- Describe how the host community copes with the type of tourism development that exists in the area.
- Suggest what factors might be important in influencing residents' perceptions of tourism and their adaptation to it.

This report argues that the community in Rotorua is generally very accepting of tourism, and that tourism in the town is well managed due to the proactive role taken by the local Council in relation to tourism development and promotion. Local people see tourism as a source of stability at a time of great change. For local decision-makers, tourism is a means to address the problems of unemployment and poverty which appear to be increasing in the area (Rotorua District Council, 1998). The history of the Town, the ways in which the town has been influenced by economic and political processes occurring at national and international level, and the relationships of the different people within the Town, provide the context within which the processes associated with tourism are embedded. As with the Kaikoura case study and other studies into tourism (see for example, Fisher, 2000), it is difficult to pinpoint exactly what impacts (either positive or negative) might be attributed entirely to tourism. Tourism is essentially just another factor amidst a network of forces and relationships that impact on the evolution of the Rotorua community. In other words, while tourism impacts on the social, economic and political processes of the community, the social, economic and political processes of the community also impact on tourism.

1.2 Report Structure

This report, therefore, aims to discuss the impacts of tourism within the context of the geographical, historical and social characteristics of the Rotorua area. To do this, the report is organised as follows:

- Chapter 2 discusses the methods used for studying the Rotorua community and the ways in which tourism has affected its evolution (and *vice versa*).
- Chapter 3 provides information about the geographical, historical and political context in which the community and tourism in the local area are currently evolving.

- Chapter 4 outlines the current management structures related to tourism in Rotorua and the recent evolution of those structures. These are largely public-sector-based, however, they do also include the participation of iwi and private sector groups.
- Chapter 5 looks at residents' perceptions of tourism: how residents feel about tourism, how it affects their everyday life, and the ways in which they act to adjust to its different (positive and negative) effects. It draws from a telephone survey and uses information gleaned from observations and interviews to illuminate these results.
- Chapter 6 provides a set of conclusions for the Rotorua case study.

Data from both primary and secondary sources are mixed together throughout this report. While all the data from the quantitative telephone survey are confined to Chapter 5, both primary and secondary qualitative data from observations, interviews and the literature search are intermingled throughout the entire report as necessary to present an overall picture of the community and the ways in which it has adapted to tourism.

Chapter 2

Methods

This section outlines the methods that were used to collect and analyse the information that is presented in following chapters of this report. As in the Kaikoura case study, a range of different methods has been used to understand tourism development and its impacts on the local community in Rotorua. Qualitative methods allow depth of understanding because they lend themselves to obtaining detail and understanding complexity and change over time. Using qualitative methods, one can collect detailed data and explore situations that may not be familiar to the researcher. This is simply not possible using quantitative methods. An illustration of this is analysing history – something that has been important in understanding the impacts of tourism both in Kaikoura and Rotorua. Understanding these histories required both an analysis of records (itself a qualitative method) and an analysis of informants' interpretations of what happened. The issues are often complex and interwoven and therefore do not lend themselves to the development of survey questions. It is theoretically possible to run a series of quantitative studies to track change over time. However, in practice it is unlikely that one could quantitatively collect the data needed to understand change over time (Gregersen and Sailer, 1993). Qualitative methods also lend themselves to the analysis of interactions between individuals and groups within a community. Understanding local politics, for example, is best achieved using qualitative methods.

However, this level of detail and the time required to complete and analyse interviews and observations make it impractical to apply qualitative methods across a large number of people. In comparison, quantitative methods allow more people to be contacted, although the price of such wide coverage is that the information collected is relatively shallow. Using quantitative methods, researchers may gain insight into the spread of various opinions, for example, but they will not gain understanding of why each individual holds those opinions, nor how those opinions change.

This study was mainly qualitative in nature. Data were collected from October, 1998 until May 1999, when the researcher lived in Rotorua. Qualitative data were collected using semi-structured, in-depth interviews, participant observations and a review of local records and research. In addition, APR Consultants were employed to implement a telephone survey between April and June, 1999. This section outlines these methods in more detail and looks at the characteristics of the telephone survey sample.

2.1 Qualitative Methods

Much of the information in this report comes from participant observations, in-depth interviews, and library research carried out over a six-month period in Rotorua. Participant observations included a wide range of informal activities and conversations that occurred over the time that the researcher lived in Rotorua. The researcher recorded conversations and events in a diary kept during her stay in the Town. They occurred in a range of settings from volunteer activities, to cultural and sporting activities and events, along with generally

participating in everyday life in the Town. These observations proved to be an excellent source of information for understanding what issues were important to locals and in gauging people's overall attitudes towards tourism.

Thirty-five key informants from the local community were interviewed on a more formal basis. Informants were chosen using a snowball sampling method (see Lofland and Lofland, 1984), or because of their position as in the case of individuals such as the Mayor of Rotorua, or the General Manager of Tourism Rotorua. Where possible, and where interviewees agreed, interviews were tape-recorded and, in every case, the interviewer made detailed notes. The notes and tapes were then transcribed onto computer for later analysis. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours with most taking about one hour.

These interviews were used to track the development of Tourism Rotorua, to understand the Rotorua community and the problems that it currently faces, and to see what local people regard as important. They also provided insights into the ways that the various players in the public and private sectors interact with each other, and how these interactions influence the management and development of tourism.

Unlike Kaikoura, the Rotorua community has been the subject of much research. There are a number of Masters and Ph.D. theses on different aspects of Rotorua (for example, Ateljevic 1998; Te Awekotuku, 1980; Chrzanowski, 1997; Morriss, 1986; Renata, 1996; Schlotjes, 1993; Terpstra, 1999; Waaka, 1982; White, 1973), and the Rotorua District Council is involved with a considerable amount of social research. The Social Policy Unit produces analyses of community needs (for example, Rotorua District Council, 1999; Rotorua District Council, 1998a and b). Tourism Rotorua (a Council unit) monitors tourism in the area, and the Business and Economic Development Unit publish Rotorua demographic and economic data (for example, APR Consultants, 1998; 1997). Historical data were also an important part of this research, so much time was spent reading accounts of Rotorua's history. Much of this research was therefore involved with reviewing past research into different aspects of the Rotorua community.

2.2 Quantitative Survey

A questionnaire was developed towards the end of the study period (see Appendix 1). The qualitative information collected during the early part of the study period was used in the design of the questionnaire. In addition, some questions were adapted from the survey of Kaikoura residents in an earlier case study. While it would have been ideal to use identical questionnaires in Kaikoura and Rotorua, the different characteristics of the two communities and the increased understanding that the researchers gained through the completion of the Kaikoura project meant that differences were necessary.

APR Consultants in Rotorua ran the telephone survey during April, May and June, 1999. In order to randomise the process of contacting respondents as much as possible, the team of interviewers were requested to use the following procedure. Using a computerised version of the Rotorua phone book, each interviewer was given a randomly selected list of numbers which they were to dial and ask to speak to the person in the household over 15 years of age with the next birthday. If that person was not available, then they were to call back later.

Five-hundred telephone interviews were completed. Unfortunately, no records were kept of refusals or the number of unanswered calls.

2.2.1 Characteristics of the sample

The telephone survey sample was significantly different from what might be expected, based on the 1996 New Zealand census. Unlike Kaikoura, Rotorua appears to be subject to much market research by telephone interview. The resident researcher was rung several times during her six-month stay in the Town, whereas in Kaikoura there were no such calls. The frequency of such calls many mean that people are more inclined to refuse telephone interviews.

Females were over-represented being 63.8 per cent of the sample which is significantly different from the 51 per cent recorded during the 1996 census ($\chi^2=6.55$, $df=1$, $0.025 < p < 0.005$). Discussions with other researchers indicate that this is not unusual, as male respondents more often refuse interviews.

Age group also shows some deviation from the expected, with a very low representation of people aged less than 30 and a significantly high over-representation of those aged over 50 ($\chi^2 = 55.083$, $df=2$, $p < 0.000$; see Table 1). Again this is similar to other surveys which have noted an overrepresentation of the older age groups (Lawson, et al., 1998; Horn, Simmons and Fairweather, 1998).

Table 1
Age Groups of Rotorua Survey Sample and Data From 1996 Census

	Census	Census %	Sample	Sample %
15-29	14,289	30.16	72	14.81
30-49	18,693	39.46	226	46.50
50+	14,394	30.38	188	38.69
Total	47,376	100.00	486	100.00

Only 19 per cent of our sample were Maori compared with 28.7 per cent of the population over 15 years of age who identified as Maori on census night ($\chi^2 = 22.879$, $df=1$, $p < 0.000$). Other surveys have noted the same pattern (Lawson, et al., 1998). Low responses to other surveys have also been explained in terms the inappropriateness of these research methods in a different cultural context (for example Berno, 1996). The low number of Maori respondents is a concern for this survey. However, this problem is compensated by the associated research (see report Tahana, et al., 2000) that focused specifically on how tourism affects Maori in Rotorua and which used different (and arguably more appropriate) data collection techniques.

This pattern may also be partly explained by the fact that Maori are over-represented in the lower socio-economic groups in Rotorua. In this sample, there are fewer people than expected with no formal educational qualifications. Twenty-four per cent of our sample are in this group as compared with 33.9 per cent at the time of the last census. In addition, only 2.8 per cent of our sample declared themselves unemployed as compared with overall figures for the District of 6.5 per cent.

Within some of the poorer suburbs in Rotorua, many households do not have a telephone. For example, at the time of the last census, 28 per cent of households in the Fordlands suburb had no telephone (Rotorua District Council, 1998a). Another factor in the low response rate may be that as Belenky, et al., (1986), found in a qualitative study, people from lower socio-economic groups in the USA tended to be unwilling to talk to strangers and will actively discourage family members from talking to others. It appears that this may be similar in New Zealand and it makes getting these people's opinions very difficult, no matter what form of researcher-respondent contact is used.

As well as age, gender and ethnicity, there are biases in level of education with and over-representation of people who have tertiary or trade qualifications and an under representation of people with no qualifications (see Figure 1).

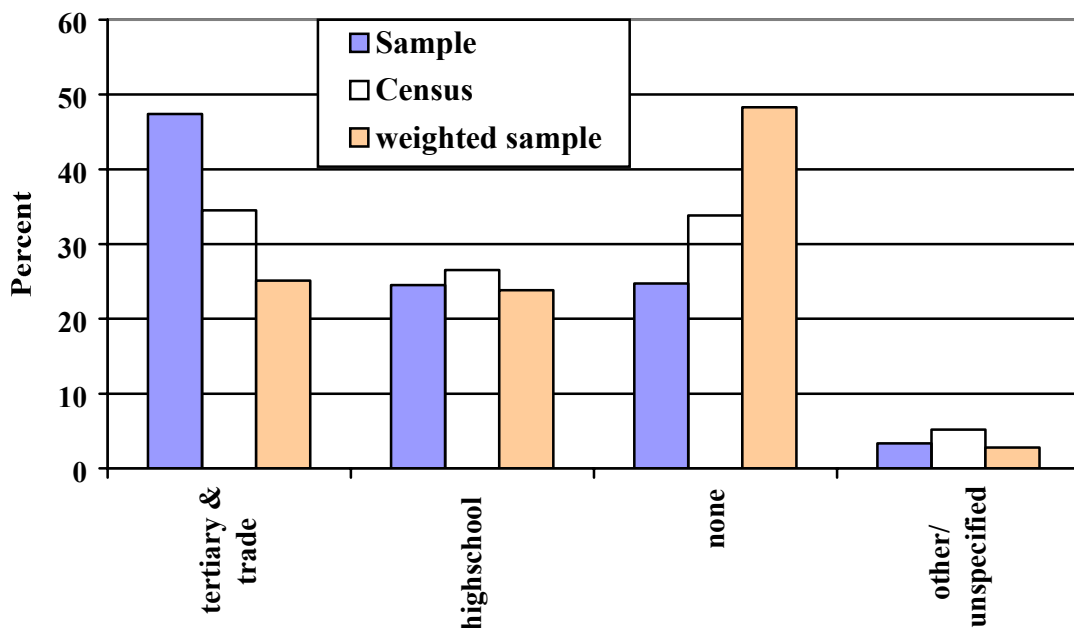


Figure 1
Comparison of Sample, Weighted Sample and Census on Qualification Levels of Respondents

In summary, the people that we will have most difficulty accounting for in this sample will be young, male, Maori, unemployed people with no formal academic qualifications. Because of these biases in the sample, careful consideration has been given by the authors to weighting the data.

2.3 Weighting

Our sample data have clear demographic biases and so they were weighted by age, gender and ethnicity, as outlined in Appendices 2 and 3¹. Further comparison with the census reveals that this weighting does not correct the biases in education that are present within our sample (see Figure 1). Further weighting by education was ruled out by the relatively small nature of the sample and therefore the relatively high number of cells generated in the pivot table represented by either zero or very few respondents in our sample. *Weighted* data are presented in the main body of this report, while the unweighted data are presented as in Appendix 4 for comparison. There are however few differences between the two data sets.

Regardless of the problems outlined above, the results presented here are broadly supported by other studies and by the large amount of qualitative data collected during the study period.

2.4 Presentation

Ethical considerations make it necessary to protect the identity of all informants. For this reason, information gained from interviews and observations is not referenced. No forms of identification are used at all, since doing so may lead the reader to conclude that they know (rightly or wrongly) who said what, particularly where readers may put together several quotations from the same subject. Any information that came from written or published sources *has* been referenced. Where there may be some confusion about the source of information, I use the generic term “informants” to show that the information was gleaned during the course of interviews and observations.

¹ The first author of this report disagrees with this strategy and questions the validity of weighting data in this particular context. There are several reasons for this:

1. The sample is subject to sampling error since it was implemented as a telephone survey. At the time of the last census, 8.3 per cent of the Rotorua population had no telephone, and in some suburbs this percentage was as high as 30 per cent (Rotorua District Council, 1988a). These figures were not improving. These are all people in the lower socio-economic groups. In addition, for reasons outlined later in this report, people in these same low socio-economic groups are more likely to refuse to participate in a survey, even when they do have a telephone. Those who do speak to an interviewer are unlikely to be representative of the group as a whole if only because they are inclined to speak.
2. To weight the data, one must assume that the sub-samples that are weighted are themselves representative of that same sub-group within the population. Disaggregating the data and comparing sub-groups with 1996 New Zealand census data, shows that this is not the case for this sample.
3. Weighting the data gives the impression that the sample presented is now representative of the population as a whole, however tests on the weighted data reveal that this is not the case when other variables are compared with census data.

A further discussion of weighting and its merits (or otherwise) is to be found in Appendix 2

2.5 Limitations of Research

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this research arose from the biases in our telephone survey. According to other researchers who use telephone surveys frequently, these biases are common to most projects since telephone marketing surveys became commonplace and as people become more inclined to refuse to participate. These are difficult biases to overcome since simply weighting to correct those biases that are obvious may inadvertently accentuate any less visible biases.

Similarly as with any research, it is difficult to be sure that one has “covered the field”. The researcher tried to talk to a range of people from different walks of life, however some groups are more difficult to contact. The views of people in the lower socio-economic groups are under-represented in this research, however efforts were made to contact people with links into that part of the community.

Only 35 people were interviewed formally in this research. This is a small number for a place with a population of 67,000. Ideally it would have been good to interview more people. However the large amount of research that has already been completed by a range of people means that some people in Rotorua are starting to feel over-researched and that the returns are very small. While nobody actually refused an interview, a few people did express reservations about doing another interview and the researcher was careful not to interview people for the sake of it. In addition, much information was collected through more informal conversation with people around the town. In this capacity, a much greater range of people were able to express their opinions and to help in building a picture of the impacts of tourism in the Rotorua community. In addition the researcher spent much time reading the results of past research done in the region, which contained information from the interviews and surveys of others.

Chapter 3

The Rotorua Context: History and Social Patterns

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the demographic, geographical and historical contexts within which tourism in Rotorua operates. It therefore provides background for the discussion that follows, which outlines how tourism is managed in Rotorua (Chapter 4), and how residents perceive its impacts in the area (Chapter 5). The data for this section come from both primary and secondary sources. Included are demographic data from the New Zealand 1996 Census, a review of past historical and geographical research and data from the interviews and observations conducted during the course of this research. These data show how tourism has developed in the Rotorua context and outline the social patterns that underlie some of the issues currently facing the local community.

While tourism is the focus of this report, its role in the economy must be seen in relation to farming and forestry; two other important sectors in the Rotorua economy. The volcanic nature of the soils in the Rotorua area meant that agriculture was initially less than successful with livestock suffering from a disease known variously as bush sickness, the skinnies or Tauranga disease. Livestock with this disease would lose condition and eventually waste away in spite of having a good quantity of feed available to them. Only in 1935 did scientists find that the cause of bush sickness was a cobalt deficiency in the soil. Once this was discovered, farming in the area was able to develop further (Mulligan, 1980). However, Steele (1980) suggests that farming never really became the boom industry that it did in other places around New Zealand because of the Town's dependence on Government and on tourism. In spite of this, farming has been an important part of the Rotorua economy since the 1930s and it is considered so today.

Forestry has been a very important part of Rotorua's economy for a considerable period. According to Boyd (1980), the first mill in the area was opened in 1888 for the processing of the indigenous timber that was being harvested from around the District. Up until the late 1890s, all forestry was concentrated on the indigenous forests. During the late 1890s a nursery which was capable of propagating thousands of seedlings for a planting programme was set up next to Whakarewarewa. Local Maori provided most of the labour to run this nursery. By 1899, large scale planting had begun. The first harvesting began in 1935, however the wood was not of high quality for a number of reasons – mostly to do with the processing of the timber. With an eye to improving the quality of these forest products, the Forest Research Institute (FRI) was set up in Rotorua during 1948. Maturing forest crops and farming developments around the time of WWII added to the economic base of the area.

Restructuring and technological changes have been an important part of recent changes that have occurred in Rotorua as in the rest of New Zealand. Their effects have been felt throughout the different economic sectors from forestry and farming through to manufacturing, retail sales, the State Sector as well as tourism. This chapter also outlines the effects of these changes, which have affected the way in which residents perceive tourism in the area.

3.2 Geography and Population

Rotorua lies in the Bay of Plenty region of the North Island. The area under the jurisdiction of the Rotorua District Council covers 2,611km in area and is about 300m above sea level (Rotorua District Council, 1997). Rotorua's position in the central North Island makes it accessible from the main population centres of Auckland, Wellington and Hamilton and allows local residents access to a variety of recreation opportunities.

This area contains many natural resources on which the economy now relies. Perhaps most important to the locals are the large number of lakes in the area which offer excellent opportunities for boating, fishing, swimming and sightseeing. Added to this are the more unusual geothermal features, which are linked geologically and hydrologically with the nearby volcanoes and lakes. It is these features which are, and were, a major drawcard for tourism in the area.

On census night, 1996, the Rotorua Territorial Local Authority (Rotorua District Council) was 16th in size of the 74 Territorial Local Authorities in New Zealand, with a population of 64,509 people. More recent estimates indicate the local population has grown to 67,200 of which 82 per cent live in the Rotorua urban area (Daily Post 18/11/98: p3).

Overall, the Rotorua community is slightly younger than the national average with 34.1 per cent of the population (20,772) aged less than 20 years compared with 30.2 per cent in the whole of the New Zealand. Each of the age groupings above that age are lower than their national averages. Demographers predict that the median age of the population will continue to increase as it will for the rest of New Zealand and as it has done since 1981 (Rotorua District Council, 1998a).

In Rotorua, 33.9 per cent of residents identify themselves as Maori as compared with 14.5 per cent across New Zealand as a whole. This high proportion is likely to increase because 45.5 per cent of people aged 5 to 24 identify themselves as Maori (Rotorua District Council, 1998b). Most of the Rotorua Maori population claim links to the Arawa Canoe, however within the Te Arawa Iwi grouping are many different sub-groups. The groups most commonly mentioned in connection with tourism include; Ngati Whakauae (associated with much of the land around Rotorua, and with Ohinemutu), Tuhourangi (associated with the Pink and White Terraces and Whakarewarewa), Ngati Rangiwewehi (associated with Hamurana springs) and Ngati Pikiarau (who are closely associated with the Kaituna River and Lake Rotoiti).

3.3 History

This section briefly outlines some of the historical background of tourism development in the Rotorua area. Much is written on the history of Rotorua. It is not our intention to provide a comprehensive history.² Rather, the focus is on events and processes that provide a background for understanding the history of tourism in Rotorua and its importance in the Town's identity and economy.

Rockel (1980: 55) states that "Rotorua has a more complex legislative and administrative history than any other settlement in New Zealand." The early New Zealand Government set up the township of Rotorua because they saw its special geothermal features as having potential for tourism. For many years, the Government owned the land in the Town and leased property to businesses and residents. This government ownership and its central position in the North Island meant that the State Sector was an important part of the Rotorua economy up until the Government restructuring that took place during the 1980s (Schlotjes, 1993). Forestry and farming are also important parts of the local economy alongside tourism. The role of Maori in tourism and forestry has been important in the ways that these sectors have developed.

3.3.1 Tourism Development, 1843 to 1900

The first Pakeha visitors to the Rotorua region were missionaries and scientists (Stafford, 1986). Ateljevic (1998) suggests that the work of early scientists such as Ernest Dieffenbach, who wrote about Rotorua geothermal resources in 1843, helped to raise outside awareness of the area. According to Steele (1980), Dr John Johnson is credited with being the first tourist to visit the Rotorua area. He came in 1846, like many tourists who followed, staying at Ohinemutu, swimming with the natives either in the lake or in the hot pools around the area. He also published an account of his visit to Rotorua in 1847 (Ateljevic, 1998). Sir Governor Grey visited the area in 1849 and was impressed with the curative effects of the hot water and its potential for tourism. Similarly, Governor George Bowen in 1872, visiting after the land wars, thought that Rotorua could become for New Zealand and Australia what the Swiss and German baths were to Europe.

The land wars of the 1860s, surprisingly, had a positive effect on tourism in the area. Te Arawa chose to support the British during these wars largely because inter-tribal politics at the time were such that it suited Te Arawa to fight with the British instead of against them (Belich, 1996). Whatever the apparent cause of this co-operation, the result of it was that the British built a road from Tauranga to Rotorua to increase access into a friendly area. This road allowed British soldiers to visit the area during the war and their impressions of the place then helped to establish Rotorua's reputation as a good place to visit. Once the wars were over, the access and the reputation, together, helped increase tourism in Rotorua. A further boon to tourism in Rotorua was the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Alfred in 1870 who came to thank Te Arawa for their part in supporting the Government during the land wars of the 1860s (Steele, 1980).

² For more detail on the history of Rotorua, the reader is referred to Stafford, Boyd and Steele (1980), Stafford (1986, 1988), Te Awekotuku (1981), Ateljevic, (1998) and Schlotjes (1993) among others.

The local Maori were adept business people who, in the beginning at least, were able to use the colonisers to their own ends. They quickly adapted to the idea of money and therefore understood the concept of having paying guests (Steele, 1980). Their adaptability meant that they were always an important part of tourism in Rotorua. Ngati Tuhourangi took up the opportunity of profiting from tourism at Te Wairoa, a village situated out towards Lake Tarawera. These people developed a thriving economy based on taking travellers to see the Pink and White Terraces (Te Tarata and Otukapuarangi) on Lake Rotomahana (Yates, 1991: 4). Even at that time there was some argument within the Maori community as to how appropriate it was to take tourists to these sacred sites. Some felt that doing this was disrespectful of the sacred nature of the sites and that it was courting disaster. Until the Tarawera eruption in 1886, which destroyed the village and the terraces, Te Wairoa included two hotels, a schoolhouse, a flourmill, a bakery and a mission station (Yates, 1991). In addition, Ohinemutu was the principal settlement of Ngati Whakaue and was a commercial centre in the area. It was an important stopping point for visitors passing through to see the Pink and White Terraces. The same was true of Whakarewarewa, a village three kilometres from Ohinemutu (Te Awekotuku, 1981).

The eruption of Mt Tarawera in 1886 was seen by some Maori as retribution for the disrespectful use of the Pink and White Terraces for tourism. The eruption annihilated the Pink and White Terraces, greatly increased the size of Lake Rotomahana and opened a huge rift which is now known as Waimangu Valley. Although the Pink and White Terraces were a major attraction in the Rotorua area, their loss during the eruption did not have a long-term effect on tourism. Instead, activities focused on places such as Whakarewarewa and the Waimangu Valley. Whakarewarewa became the home of the Tuhourangi who survived the eruption. They took up residence at the site and continued guiding by taking visitors around the geothermal areas at that site (Te Awekotuku, 1981). Whakarewarewa and the guiding activities remain important attractions in Rotorua today. In addition the Waimangu valley which opened up during the Tarawera eruption also proved to be a popular place to visit, particularly over the time in which the Waimangu Geyser played (Keam, 1980). Te Wairoa village was largely forgotten until the 1930s when a new landowner began clearing it for farming purposes and found the sites around the village. The village was uncovered and some parts of it were restored. It now operates as another visitor attraction. The site is still being developed today with the recent addition of a small museum and a series of interpretive panels which record much of the history of the site. Figure 2 shows key attractions within the study area.

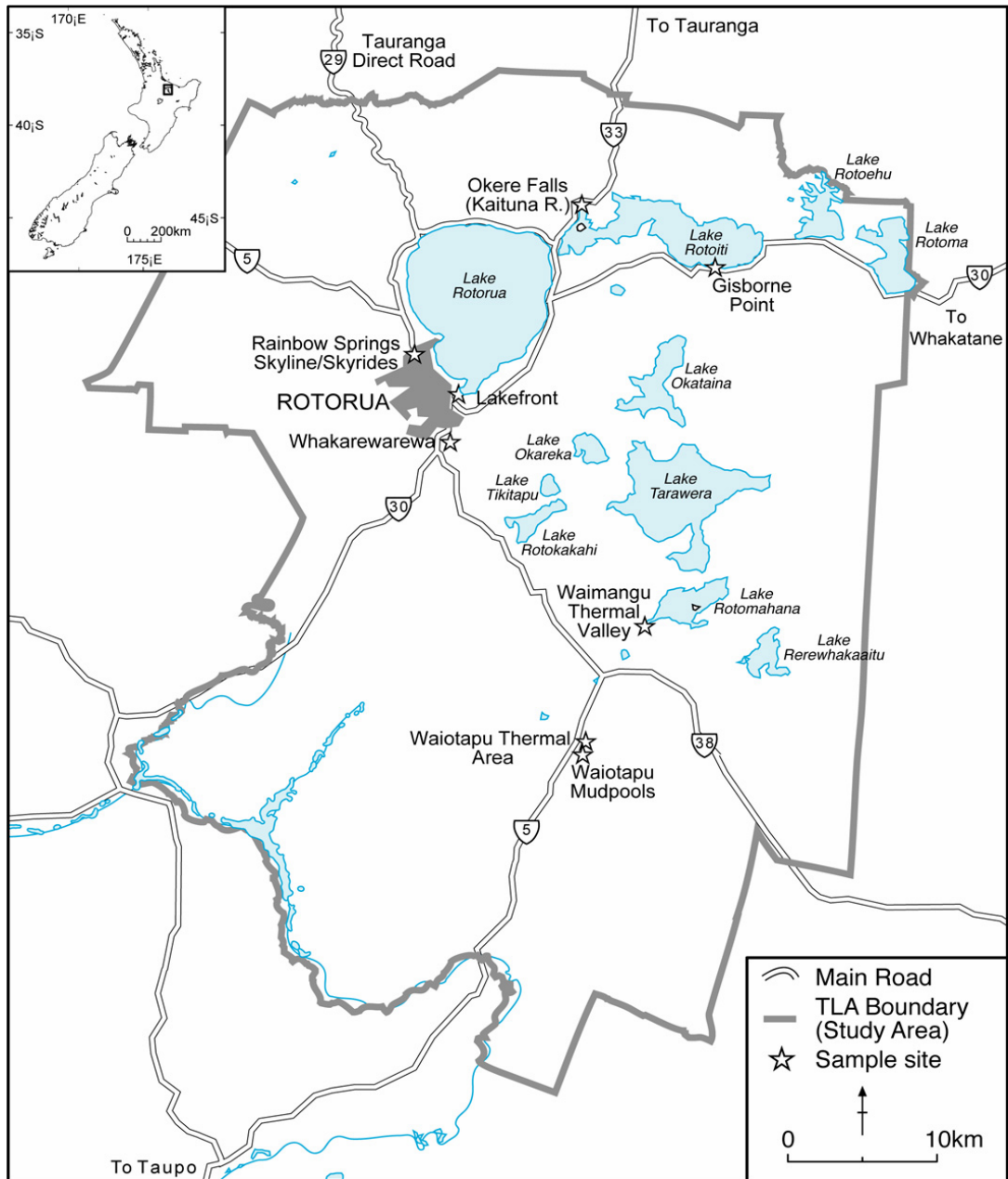


Figure 2
Map of Study Area Showing Major Attractions

3.3.2 The Township and the Role of Government

From its inception in 1881, the township was in Government control. On the 22nd November 1880, Francis Fenton and the leaders of Ngati Whakaue, Uenukukopako, and Rangiteaorere met in Tamatekapua (the meeting house at Ohinemutu) to discuss the possible development of a town and setting aside of thermal springs (Te Awekotuku, 1980). An agreement was drafted as a result of this meeting which described an area and outlined how it would be surveyed, administered and leased. In late September 1881 the Thermal Springs Districts Act came into operation with Rotorua coming under its jurisdiction. This Act was designed to open up localities with hot springs and thermal areas for colonisation and settlement. Rotorua was officially proclaimed as a township on 12th October, 1881.

Te Awekotuku (1980) concluded that the Government was incompetent in administering the new township so that all parties associated with the development had difficulties. The Maori landowners did not receive the income they had expected. The Land Court, for example, proved very slow in making decisions about ownership which made it difficult and complex for potential new tenants, so the expected development was not fast as originally hoped. Furthermore, the Tarawera Eruption in 1886, annihilated the area's main sources of income (the Pink and White Terraces), which temporarily made investors much less enthusiastic. After all this, in May 1890 the Crown agreed to purchase the township site (an area of 1973 acres) from Ngati Whakaue for a total of 8,250 pounds. Over the next few decades, all land in Rotorua was therefore leased from the Government, rather than freeholded as in other areas around New Zealand.

In 1901, the New Zealand Tourist and Health Resorts Department was set up by Sir Joseph Ward after whom the Ward Baths in Rotorua were named. This Department took over control of resorts at Rotorua from the Department of Lands and Survey and in 1907, it took over control of Rotorua Township as a whole when the Rotorua Township Act was gazetted (Collier, 1997; Rockel, 1980). The interest of the New Zealand Government at this time benefited Rotorua considerably. By 1901, Rotorua was one of the few towns in New Zealand to have both a sewerage system and electric power (Ateljevic, 1998). The Government further invested in the Town to the tune of 40,000 pounds, in the building of a bath house designed by the first superintendent of the Rotorua Sanatorium (Stafford, 1988). This bathhouse still exists today, as the Rotorua Museum (Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa). While this early government involvement gave Rotorua a head start in some ways (for example, electricity and sewerage facilities), there were drawbacks. For example Rockel (1980) argues that Rotorua was well behind other New Zealand towns in the standard of its streets and that it was not until the 1940s this was remedied. Rotorua finally became an independent borough in 1923 (Rockel, 1980; Stafford, 1988).

3.3.3 Steady Tourism Development, 1930-1980

Over the next few decades, tourism continued to develop in Rotorua. During the 1930s, Paradise Valley and Rainbow springs were developed and air transport in Rotorua began. In January 1930, the old Blue Baths Swimming Pool and the Duchess and Pavilion Baths were demolished and construction began on a complex that had been designed by the Public Works Department. The new Ward Baths (named after Sir Joseph Ward who had instigated the development) were opened in September 1931 (Stafford, 1988). The Second World War

meant that little further tourism development occurred during the 1940s, however, the 1950s saw the advent of international air travel which began to increase the number of tourists visiting New Zealand (Collier, 1997).

Difficulties arose for people managing the Town as strong growth in tourism was paralleled by strong growth in manufacturing. In 1950, there were 120 manufacturing and trade factories in Rotorua, a figure which had more than doubled by 1960. Furthermore, during the 1950s accommodation houses trebled in number and yet they could still hardly keep up with demand. In 1952, there were 20 000 visitors to New Zealand but by 1962 this had increased to 90,000. At that stage figures indicate that 80 per cent of visitors to New Zealand visited Rotorua, so tourists coming to Rotorua rose from 16,000 to over 70,000 (Steele, 1980: 28). These two forms of development created some tensions as the area struggled to develop its manufacturing whilst still remaining attractive to visitors (Morriss, 1986).

The present Rotorua Airport was opened in late 1963, and 1969 saw the first floatplane flying to and from the lakefront area. In the early 1960s the Tourist and Publicity Department began upgrading Whakarewarewa and Waimangu thermal areas. In addition to this the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute came into existence through the actions of the Government of the time and changes were made to formalise the activities of Maori Guides. Furthermore, the 1960s saw the advent of fishing and hunting guiding in the area and two deer parks were opened in the area as deer farming began in the Rotorua area (Stafford, 1988). By 1964, 90 per cent of international visitors to New Zealand came to Rotorua. In spite of this, the economy continued to diversify well by 1966, so that less than ten per cent of total employment in the area was estimated to be related to tourism (Lowe, 1966, cited in Steele, 1980:28).

The 1970s saw continued increases in tourism. Jet aircraft services to New Zealand were increasing (Collier, 1997), and tourism businesses were proliferating. In 1975, the New Zealand Tourism and Publicity Department published a list of 60 Rotorua-based tourist attractions and tours. These businesses had 207 full-time and 43 part-time employees. In addition, souvenir shops employed 62 people and over 1000 people were employed at the time in accommodation-related jobs. A wide range of commercial transport serviced the area (Ateljevic, 1998:148). The Agrodome (now one of the most successful attractions in Rotorua) was opened in 1970 by Godfrey Bowen and George Harford, and in 1972, the New Zealand Government sold the Ward Baths which were taken over by the Lobb family from Wellington. That these pools were sold to an outsider at the time was an area of contention for many locals who felt that it should have been sold to a local family. These baths are now known as the Polynesian Pools. Hamurana springs and the Waiotapu geothermal area were handed over from the Tourism and Publicity Department to the Department of Lands and Survey. Following the demise of the Lands and Survey Department in 1987, the Department of Conservation now administers concessions to private businesses which manage these areas. Waimangu Valley is also retained by the crown and leased to a commercial operator.

The 1980s saw increasing development from private sector investment. Large, capital intensive investments were made over this decade including two new hotels and four major hotel upgrades. Skyline Skyrides, the Orchid Gardens and Rainbow Farm, an addition to Rainbow Springs were also opened during this decade (Ateljevic, 1998).

3.3.4 Summary

Rotorua was originally gazetted as a tourist destination, with its central attractions being the geothermal activity and Maori culture. Other attractions such as the Agrodome, Rainbow-Fairy Springs, and Skyline Skyrides have increased the diversity of the Rotorua tourism product. At times, tourism has created some tension for decision-makers who have had to balance the needs of sectors such as manufacturing and forestry with those of tourism.

The town has had a strong government involvement in its development, a feature that was to affect it considerably during the 1980s when the New Zealand Government restructured its activities. Government restructuring has had a profound affect on New Zealand as a whole and Rotorua is no exception. The restructuring process is critical to understanding the issues of unemployment, poverty, and crime, which are important issues for people in Rotorua at the current time.

3.4 Restructuring, 1984 on

As elsewhere around New Zealand, the effects of economic restructuring have been profound in Rotorua. The 1980s were a difficult time for tourism in Rotorua, as both social and environmental problems began to take their toll. Between 1987 and 1990, employment in the area decreased from 14,165 full-time equivalents to 12,619 full-time equivalents. By 1990, unemployment in Rotorua was at 22.5 per cent compared with 15 per cent for New Zealand as a whole (Schlotjes, 1993). These problems were connected to changes that occurred across all sectors in the local economy including farming, forestry and the State Sector.

Restructuring is largely considered to have begun in 1984 with the election of the Fourth Labour Government, however many of the changes that occurred from this time onwards were a continuation of changes in technology. For example, part of the restructuring of forestry was a result of increasing automation which meant there was less call for labour as new technology was introduced into the industry. The changes in the forestry sector had a major effect on the community, because this aspect of restructuring had a big effect on the economic circumstances of the many individuals that lost their jobs and their homes during this time (McLennan and Durand, 1987). These changes left a lot of people with relatively specialised job skills looking for work in a shrinking job market. Many people working in government departments also found their jobs disappearing or changing over this time. The loss of many jobs from these two major sectors along with the evolution of two major environmental problems precipitated a time of crisis by the late 1980s to the early 1990s.

Government involvement in forestry changed considerably during the 1980s when the forestry sector was restructured, partly because of privatisation and partly because of increasing automation. This restructuring had a profound effect on Rotorua and surrounding towns such as Minginui and Murupara. Many people lost their jobs and the jobs available required more skills than those that had been previously required, particularly for wage and contract workers, 70 per cent of whom were Maori. In addition to facing unemployment, many people were faced with increasing costs associated with housing which previously had been provided cheaply by their employer (McLennan and Durand, 1987).

Many local businesses were struggling at this time. An indication of this was an increase in vacant commercial/retail floor space in the Town from 2209 square metres in 1987 to 41,363 square metres in 1990. Manufacturing declined in the Town by 37 per cent between 1987 and 1991, considerably higher than the average New Zealand decline of 27 per cent. The largest manufacturing decrease came in the area of wood processing and wood products resulting from a decline in the forestry processing industry during those years. Enterprises changed from being predominantly locally-owned and small, to being outside-owned and part of a larger chain of manufacturers and retailers (Schlotjes, 1993). The many empty shop premises meant that the general appearance and ambience of the central City declined during the 1980s, a fact reflected in the wider environment of the area. Farming also went through considerable change during this period, however the changes in this sector do not appear to have had quite the same impact on the Rotorua economy and the community as those in the other sectors.

The State Sector also shrank considerably between 1985 and 1990 with most of the job losses occurring from the state owned enterprises. In Rotorua, Postbank, New Zealand Post, Telecom, New Zealand Rail, Works Consultancy, Works Construction, Housing Corporation and Landcorp accounted for 85 per cent (624) of State Sector job losses over that time (Schlotjes, 1993). Furthermore, the last 15 years have seen a decrease in the level of central government's services in the regions (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996; Boston, et al., 1996), a change which has resulted in some local stress.

3.4.1 Summary

Rotorua as a regional economy has been severely affected by the withdrawal of government services and the loss of employment as a result of restructuring. The loss of employment is also connected with changing technology. In Rotorua this was of particular importance in forestry where unskilled workers have been laid off as machinery develops to replace human labour. In addition, many jobs in the State Sector disappeared or were moved to larger centres thus adding to the loss of employment in the area. Unemployment is therefore of major concern to the Rotorua community – as is it to many small communities in New Zealand. It is of particular concern to those in the Maori community which has been affected most severely by these changes. The next section outlines how unemployment and the resulting poverty are manifest in Rotorua today and how those processes affect the community as a whole.

3.5 Unemployment, Poverty and Council Response

Interviews and past research (for example, Hill Young Cooper Limited, 1997) indicate that unemployment is of considerable concern to the Rotorua community. In spite of their long association with tourism in the area, the Maori community in Rotorua had an unemployment rate of 20 per cent at the time of the last census. This figure was higher than the New Zealand unemployment rate for Maori (17.5%). It is also significantly higher than the 9.6 per cent unemployment rate for the District as a whole. Furthermore, the Rotorua district had higher unemployment than the country as a whole (that is, 9.6% compared with 7.7%) (APR Consultants, 1998a). Many of the problems of unemployment and poverty seem to arise from the restructuring and technological changes of the last 15 years.

At the time of the last census, Rotorua also compared unfavourably with the New Zealand average on indicators of poverty (Rotorua District Council, 1998a). A Rotorua District Council report on poverty in Rotorua found that, at the time of the 1996 census:

- 21.5 per cent of families in the Rotorua District were single parent families as compared with the national average of 15.7 per cent.
- 8.3 per cent of household in the area had no telephone as compared with 4.9 per cent across New Zealand. The figure is as high as 31 per cent in one area unit.
- The average annual household income was \$1200 lower than for New Zealand as a whole. In the lower socio-economic areas of Rotorua, the mean household income in three suburbs was around \$28,000 when the mean New Zealand income was around \$45,000.
- 15 per cent of dwellings are ‘high occupancy’³ dwellings as compared with a national average of 13.1 per cent.
- 12 per cent of all households had no motor vehicle as compared with 11.5 per cent across New Zealand (high considering the lack of cheaper forms of public transport in Rotorua).
- 36.7 per cent of Rotorua people aged 15 or over have no formal academic qualifications as compared with the national average of 34.7 per cent.
- As a mean of all area units (as defined by Statistics New Zealand) in the Town, overall higher levels of deprivation as defined by the NZDep96 index (6.4 points) when compared with the mean for New Zealand (5.5 points). Fourteen of 39 area units (36%) had a deprivation score of nine or ten (ten being the most deprived). Furthermore, although the average deprivation score for the District improved between 1991 and 1996, the most highly deprived areas in 1991 actually increased their level of deprivation. In other words, the “trickle-up” effect so commonly described between centres of capital and their peripheries (see for example Keller, 1987; Schlotjes, 1993; Pearce, 1993), occurred within the community in Rotorua and the poor got poorer between 1991 and 1996, while the rich got richer .

The area units with the greatest levels of deprivation are also the area units with the highest proportion of Maori. These are also the areas where unemployment and the incidence of crime is highest according to two police informants. According to Hill Young Cooper Limited (1997), and to interview informants from this research, there is considerable concern within the community about the increasing gap between rich and poor, and some see this as something that Council should be working on. This may indicate a need for community development work on the part of the Council.

³ Dwellings defined as high occupancy in this report (Rotorua District Council ,1998) were:

- Single bedroomed dwellings with 3 or more occupants
- 2 bedroomed dwellings with 5 or more occupants
- 3 bedroomed dwellings with 7 or more occupants
- any other dwelling with 8 or more occupants

Currently, the Rotorua District Council has no community development officer. Such a position did exist during the 1980s, however once Central Government stopped the funding for it, the community development role was terminated. Some community informants felt that the position was terminated because the results of the community development work were too uncomfortable for Council at that time. This was because as more groups within the community were mobilised and became more able to lobby, the Council's job became more difficult.

The Social Policy Unit was set up in the early 90s in response to community pressure for Council to include a social focus in their work. This need surfaced particularly as a result of restructuring and the (continuing) loss of social services provided by Central Government. The Social Policy Unit is charged with social monitoring – providing research about the community in Rotorua. An example is a recently-completed project that looked into the needs and wants of youth, a project that appears to have resulted in the development of a youth festival that took place in the Town for the first time in September this year. Similarly, they have published summaries of census data related to poverty in Rotorua and on health services in the area.

It is difficult to assess the position of the Social Policy Unit within Council. Certainly, at the time of the research, the Social Policy Unit was isolated geographically from the rest of Council, so that there were few opportunities for this social monitoring work to be disseminated informally around other Council units.

3.6 Community Patterns and Structure

The ways in which power is distributed throughout the community can affect the kinds of decisions that are made with regard to tourism. With a population of 67,000, Rotorua is too big to have all the characteristics of a small town and yet, many residents feel that it does have many of those characteristics. As one interviewee put it;

. . . it's a small town mentality. I mean, a lot of the issues about parking in this town are to do with the fact that people want to park outside the shop as you would in a small town. And it's a terribly gossipy town – I mean we had [some problems] last year and it felt like the whole town was talking about it.

Connected with this feeling that Rotorua is a small town, is the fact that people who have lived in the Town for a few years feel that the community is very interlinked, particularly within the Maori community. As one informant put it:

Rotorua is a very interrelated place – when you start talking about it to people, everyone has relations here. It is a very small town.

It appears that like every other community in the country, there are residents with high standing in the area who are seen as important in the running of the Town. Some respondents mentioned the presence of old families – families that have been important in the Town for several generations. Others talked about the role of money and position:

This Town is driven socially by a very small group of people who are on the top of the mound if you like. They are the people with money. They are people with position. They own big companies or they are successful professional people. But they put a lot back into the community as well. They are the people who organise charities . . . and arts events . . .

These are important patterns, which are reflected in many communities across New Zealand. People with the most power and standing are the ones who are successful in business or in a profession. Those who are most prominent are those who are most involved with community activities. Similarly these are the people who get into local politics, and who understand the processes of public participation and lobbying. As Mulgan (1994) notes, money is important because it takes money to have influence. For example, to serve time on Council one needs to have the resources to take time off work. Thus, like every other Council in New Zealand, the Rotorua District Council is dominated by people in small, successful businesses. People in many other walks of life simply cannot afford the time it takes to do these jobs, since most individual local politicians remain largely unpaid for their work. This is not to say that these people are in any way “bad”. They are all people who give up a lot of their time to work for the community and they are concerned about its well-being, however it does mean that the elected Council are not necessarily a good cross-section of the community as a whole.

There is some Maori representation on Council. However the over-riding impression that one gets is that Maori councillors are even busier than their Pakeha colleagues, because they have many other calls on their time. This may be because of the disproportionate number of Maori amongst the under-educated and unemployed and the sense of responsibility that community-minded Maori feel in trying to improve the lot of their people. The increasing participation by Maori in public decision-making and the work required of iwi committees means that some individuals carry a very high work load.

3.6.1 Maori-Pakeha Relations

Relationships between Maori and Pakeha have been changing considerably over recent years as the Treaty of Waitangi has increased in prominence in New Zealand society. These changes have affected relationships between Maori and Pakeha in Rotorua. This relationship is contested: some individuals (mostly Pakeha) say that the relationship is excellent while others disagree. There appears to be an undercurrent of tension between the two communities that is, to some extent, denied because a good “front” is needed on the relationship for the sake of tourism. There are clear instances of racism and reverse racism, however, focusing on those things does not aid understanding of the relationship between the groups. As in the rest of New Zealand, the relationship between the two groups is changing.

As more credence is given to the Treaty of Waitangi, and as Maori rediscover and renegotiate aspects of their own culture, their voices are slowly becoming more prominent in Rotorua, as in New Zealand. As the position of Maori in New Zealand society changes, so too does the

position of Pakeha who have previously been the more powerful of the two groups. Negotiating these changes between the two groups can be an uncomfortable process for both parties. Maori talk about cultural insensitivity and racism, while Pakeha feel that standards are being lowered, or money is being wasted in the name of political correctness. Because the feelings on both sides can run high, and perhaps because there are insecurities on both sides, there are few places where these issues can be openly discussed. Consequently, communication between the two groups is not always good. Sometimes Maori are not challenged when, perhaps they should be, while at other times they are manipulated or ignored when they ought to be part of decision-making processes.

One Pakeha informant talked about the duality of the community and a clear split between Maori and Pakeha in Rotorua:

... on the surface, they seem to work together but, in actual fact, I believe that they operate quite separately ... there are over 50 marae in the Rotorua district and I don't believe that most Pakeha people have been to any other than the tourist ones. ...

Rotorua depends on the veneer of biculturalism without the hassles and Rotorua accepts that this is what makes the Town work. So that's what everybody does – Maori and Pakeha. They just sit on the lid and every now and again somebody ... will come along and give the lid a good kick and everybody gets worried until it all settles down again.

This split between the two groups is also reflected spatially around the Town. As another respondent noted:

At our [children's] school, we would have maybe nine per cent Maori and there are 30-35 per cent in the Town, and I think that the Maori who live in [our area] have quite different views from the ones I know. ... I think Maori who are more in tune with their culture choose not to live there – they choose to live in places like Rotoiti or out at Ohinemutu or those kinds of places as a conscious decision. ... it worries me a lot because I think – I am very strong that racism is about not knowing people personally and the experience for my children is that they've had almost no ... contact with Maori children which is extraordinary in a town like this one.

These comments highlight the inherent tension in a bicultural society. Paradoxically, to successfully live in a bicultural society individuals need both contact with people from other cultural groups and to be surrounded by one's own culture. A strong cultural identity is required on the one hand, while an understanding of different cultures is important on the other hand.

The last two decades have brought these tensions into sharper focus. Pakeha New Zealanders have not previously had to face cultural difference directly. In the past, Maori with strong Maori identities lived in rural areas and so did not come into direct contact with Pakeha. Those Maori who moved into urban areas initially were encouraged by the social policies of the time to assimilate to Pakeha ways, and therefore many of them became 'Europeanised' (King, 1992; Walker, 1992). The renaissance of Maori Culture and identity and their calls for

more bicultural processes have made life uncomfortable for many New Zealand Pakeha who, ironically, find they are not too sure about their own cultural identity (King, 1999). Both groups, then, are struggling to find ways to manage the process of becoming clear about their own identities while at the same time needing to communicate with and understand each other. Therefore, there will always be some tension associated with negotiating biculturalism or even multiculturalism.

In spite of these difficulties, one must also acknowledge the efforts being made by people to improve this process in Rotorua. Maori in Rotorua appear to be more involved and prominent in the community and its decision-making processes than are Maori in many other parts of the country. The Rotorua District Council is making efforts to consult better with local iwi through a range of mechanisms such as the appointment of Maori staff and through setting up the Arawa Standing Committee, which examines a wide range of Council business and policies on a regular basis. Local Maori are also key players in the Integrated Lakes Management Strategy which is currently being developed for the area with inputs from a range of agencies including iwi, the Department of Conservation, the Bay of Plenty Regional Council, and the Rotorua District Council. While these things all represent progress, there are clear indications that Maori feel that they still have some way to go.

Hill Young Cooper Limited (1997:21-22) for example, list the following points that the Maori community identified as problems:

- A lack of recognition of the land and gifts that Te Arawa have bestowed on the Rotorua community. In fact, many of the public recreation areas around the Town are places that were gifted to the City by local iwi.
- A lack of local recognition of Maori ownership of the land and the lakes.
- A desire by the Maori community to have more representation on Council.
- Institutional racism such as the way that the media portray Maori.
- A desire for more self-determination in tourism and tourism related issues.
- Maori want a greater role in conservation in the local area.
- A need for full and meaningful employment.

Maori are also an important part of tourism in Rotorua, and have been since the beginning of Pakeha settlement. However, even in this sphere, some Maori feel that there is a need for greater self-determination and participation in the decision-making processes involved in tourism. The difficulty is that the people most able to participate are those who run successful businesses and who have the personalities to deal with the associated politics. Mike Tamaki is one such individual, however, because few Maori own well-established businesses, few are available to participate much in the politics of tourism in Rotorua. The issues associated with Maori in tourism in Rotorua are discussed in much greater detail in Tahana, et al., (2000).

3.6.2 Summary

This section has discussed the demographic patterns and the interrelationships of Maori and Pakeha in the Rotorua area. In New Zealand, Maori are disproportionately represented in the economically disadvantaged groups, and Rotorua is no exception. This racial disparity is also an important part of the relationships between Maori and Pakeha in the region. It helps to maintain the stereotypes associated with both races while at the same time both races are struggling to come to terms with their differences and to find ways to manage those differences constructively. Evidence indicates that the poor in Rotorua (as in other parts of the world) are getting poorer, while the rich are getting richer. This increasing gap between rich and poor is of concern to many people in the Rotorua area and tourism is seen as a means of addressing some of the problems of unemployment and poverty.

3.6.3 Environmental Problems

Two major environmental problems came to a head during the 1980s. First, the geysers in the Whakarewarewa thermal area began to play less and less (Grant, 1980; Smith, 1983). This was of major concern both to Maori and to tourism interests. Between 1940 and 1980, over 900 shallow bores were drilled into the geothermal field in Rotorua, largely for heating homes and offices. The proliferation and inefficiency of these bores was pinpointed as the cause of the decreasing activity of the geysers (Rotorua Geothermal Task Force, 1985). This finding and the ongoing monitoring of the decreasing activity at Whakarewarewa led to the closing down of all private bores within a 1.5 kilometre radius of Whakarewarewa in 1986, seven years after the first geyser stopped playing (Stafford, 1988). However many locals with bores fought hard to keep them. Talking about this an interviewee said:

Geothermal . . . used to be important when it was used as a heating source, so it was important to a certain group of people in a certain area of town and a certain age group - like the older age group. So, for instance Sophia St. [properties] had a real extra value - sort of \$10- \$20,000 extra on [them] because it had the geothermal and part of the problem, when they shut the bores down, was the fact that people saw the loss in property values . . . that's why people were so angry, I think.

In spite of the controversy at the time, shutting down the bores appears to have had the desired effect as the geysers have again begun playing more frequently.

Another major environmental problem was that of the pollution of Lake Rotorua caused by the lack of an adequate sewage treatment system. Unfortunately, this deterioration in water quality was accompanied by the invasion of water net (*Hydrodictyon reticulatum*), a water weed which is known for its bad smell. The resulting bloom of the weed in the lake left the lake edges stinking, and the lakefront became a very unattractive area (Coddington, 1991). Reeves (1986), amongst others, comments on the appalling state of the lake's foreshore. A comment from Stratford (1988:102) at the time reflects these problems:

Rotorua is a singularly unattractive town of relentlessly ugly buildings and depressing shops. The lakefront is a pig's breakfast, often smothered in jetsam, rubbish and stinking lake weed.

As the waterfront area became less attractive, locals also perceived it as becoming less safe. As one interview respondent mentioned:

I remember swimming in Lake Rotorua and then not being allowed past the Odean Theatre because that whole lakefront area was a lurky area and us kids weren't allowed to go down there.

Overall, some locals were becoming less than proud of their town. Coddington (1991:106) reports that:

The local people are quick to pass judgement on their home town. A high crime rate is one criticism they quickly offer, high unemployment, tatty shopping centres with empty premises are others. . . .

Litten (1991) found that people said that they were concerned about the lake, but there had been little discernible action on the part of the community to get it cleaned up. It appears that it was not community pressure that caused the Council to improve sewage treatment. Instead, it was the actions of the Maori community and a concern that visitor numbers were dropping at a time when unemployment was high. Perhaps the most important thing to note about these environmental problems is the role that tourism had in sorting them out. One of the reasons for this was that tourism itself began to decline slightly.

3.6.4 Tourism

Along with the above changes, tourism numbers dropped between 1982 and 1990 (see Table 2). This decrease came largely because of a drop in domestic visitor numbers, which may be attributed to a range of factors. First, with the huge economic changes, many New Zealanders were not going on holiday in the late 1980s (Collier, 1997). In addition, Rotorua was getting run down and according to interviewees, many New Zealanders felt as if they had 'been there, done that'. As a destination, it held little further interest. Conversations with domestic visitors during 1999 indicate that many of them stopped visiting Rotorua during this time because it was no longer an attractive destination.

At the time the New Zealand Government was increasingly focusing on international tourism as a means of attracting export dollars. This meant that there was less marketing of New Zealand to New Zealanders than there had been in the past. With the Government's focus becoming more international, it is also likely that New Zealanders as a whole were developing a more international focus, thus increasing impetus to travel abroad for those who could afford it. Added to this, airfares across the Tasman were dropping, making it cheaper (in some instances) to fly to Australia than other New Zealand destinations. Thus for many New Zealanders who could afford to go on holiday, Australia was a more attractive destination than places like Rotorua.

Table 2
Annual Visitor Numbers Between 1982 and 1990
(Rotorua District Council, 1992)

Year	Visitor Numbers
1982	704,526
1988	694,849
1990	678,186

3.7 Conclusion

Central to understanding tourism in Rotorua is the fact that the history of Rotorua (Rotorua did not exist as a town until after Pakeha settlement) is an important part of the history of tourism in New Zealand. From the early days of Pakeha settlement, the geothermal resources of the area were seen as having tourism potential. Some local Maori who also saw the potential of encouraging visitors to these geothermal sites so that right from the very beginning, Te Arawa and their culture have been an intrinsic part of the tourism industry in the Rotorua area. Aside from tourism, other factors have been important in the economic and social development of the area. The State Sector was a very important part of the Rotorua economy, containing almost 43 per cent of jobs in the Rotorua area in 1987 (Schlotjes, 1993) higher than either tourism or forestry. Forestry and agriculture have also been (and remain) of considerable importance to the community. As was the case in Kaikoura, restructuring and its associated global, national and regional changes have affected Rotorua profoundly.

The 1980s were a time of great turbulence with political, social and economic changes having a big effect on Rotorua as they did on other parts of New Zealand. Both the public and the private sectors were trying to adapt to these changes, while at the same time unemployment was increasing. To add to these New Zealand-wide economic changes, Rotorua also suffered two environmental crises which began to affect domestic tourism. As Ateljevic (1998:100-102) writes;

The increasing globalisation of the political economy and the Government restructuring of the 1980s significantly diminished the era of growth bringing crisis to the Rotorua region. The structural changes induced an increase in unemployment. The enthusiasm of the community was lessening Both the Town and its attractions had become complacent, resting on past success. Lake Rotorua was severely polluted. A general contraction of the local economy led to the business and physical decline of the inner City.

Added to this were the problems experienced with the local geothermal field and the fact that Rotorua as a regional economy was disproportionately affected by restructuring (Britton, et al., 1992). Unregulated free markets severely disadvantage those people who have least economic power in a pattern that reflects the centre-periphery patterns that affect the regions as outlined above. Thus, Maori as a group appear to have been more severely affected by

these changes which have left them unemployed, in particular because forestry had been such an important part of their economy. As unemployment continued in these groups, its associated problems of poverty also appear to have increased in recent years.

The late 1980s and early 1990s, therefore, represent a crisis period for the Rotorua community as a whole, and this crisis has left its mark on the Town. The effects of restructuring occurred elsewhere in New Zealand, however the deterioration of the Lake water quality and the decreasing activity of the geysers added to them in Rotorua. References in the media and research on the Town at this time indicate that the community was becoming demoralised. Garland and West (1985) noted that most of the residents that they surveyed felt that they were worse off overall as a result of tourism. In particular, they suggest that Maori, female, and lower class respondents were less enthusiastic about tourism in Rotorua than other members of the community. These kinds of sentiments are hardly surprising at a time when many local people must have felt that they had lost control of their lives and their local environment. However, since that time it appears that the community has regained its confidence partly because of action taken by the Rotorua District Council.

By the end of the 1980s, the environmental problems appeared to be starting to abate. In addition, the 1980s saw a changing role for territorial local authorities as Central Government adopted the idea that local areas should have more control over their own resources. As Central Government has retrenched its services, local Councils have become involved in a wider range of activities to compensate. It was at this time that the local Council began its involvement in tourism and the encouragement of investment and business in Rotorua. The social problems that arose from the changes of the 1980s were largely centred on a loss of employment. The need to create local employment focused the community's hopes on tourism, which was seen as having the potential to grow and employ relatively unskilled individuals. In the Rotorua case, with its focus of Maori culture, tourism is also a good employer of Maori specifically.

This led to the development of Tourism Rotorua, a branch of Council concerned with drawing together the tourism industry and with marketing Rotorua to potential visitors. This marketing push was vital since the environmental degradation of the past few years had made the town unattractive to domestic visitors in particular. A large part of marketing the town therefore was required to attract back the people who had stopped coming to the area. Thus changes in the development and management of tourism continued at the beginning of the early 90s. The following chapter discusses developments that have occurred in both the public and the private sector in response to the crisis of the 1980s. Of particular importance is the creation of a successful partnership between the Rotorua District Council and the private sector. This partnership appears to have been successful also in maintaining a positive attitude towards tourism within the community as a whole. Local perceptions of tourism will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4

The Management of Tourism in Rotorua

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the ways in which tourism in Rotorua is currently managed and some of the recent events that were influential in the development of the management structures. Overall, the management of tourism in Rotorua appears to be very effective and involves the Rotorua District Council, local industry groups, Environment Bay of Plenty (the Bay of Plenty Regional Council), and the Department of Conservation. The tourism industry is often described as being fragmented and is considered to be at a disadvantage because of that fragmentation (Leiper, 1995). In Rotorua, however, the industry appears coherent and many people within it talk about 'flying in formation'. This coherence is largely due to the activities of the local Council. This chapter looks at the organisation of tourism, the kinds of networks that exist both within Rotorua and between Rotorua and other centres and organisations, and at the forms of regulation within which both the public and the private sectors operate.

The Rotorua District Council has been a key player in the organisation and management of tourism in Rotorua, particularly over the last decade. Their involvement in tourism, however, goes back to 1955 when the Public Relations Office was opened (Rotorua District Council, 1997; Stafford 1988). More recently, the Council became involved in tourism because it was concerned about levels of unemployment in the Town. They set up Tourism Rotorua to market Rotorua to the outside world and to develop a partnership between the private and public sectors, the Council set up Tourism Rotorua. Currently the Rotorua District Council puts just under one million dollars into the operation of Tourism Rotorua, which consists of a visitor information centre, a booking centre and a marketing/management unit. In addition to funding Tourism Rotorua, the District Council has been strongly involved in the upgrading of the City centre and the waterfront area. Thus the Council has emerged as a key agent in shaping tourism in Rotorua.

As well as links within the industry in Rotorua, Tourism Rotorua also has links to other tourism bodies around New Zealand. In addition, private sector members of Tourism Rotorua have links to national level bodies such as the New Zealand Tourism Board, the New Zealand Tourism Industry Association (NZTIA), the Inbound Tourism Operators Council (ITOC).

Another part of the management of tourism is environmental management and regulation, and discussion of this forms another section of this chapter. The District Council has a regulatory role which largely occurs through the processes of the Resource Management Act, 1991. Environment Bay of Plenty also has regulative responsibilities through the Resource Management Act, 1991 while the Department of Conservation has an advocacy role through this legislation. Where tourism is associated with the Conservation Estate, the Department of Conservation has a regulatory role under the 1987 Conservation Act.

4.2 The Rotorua District Council

Given the important role played by the Council in tourism, it is important to understand how this came about. To some extent, the Council is in a position to put resources into tourism because the Rotorua City Council and the Rotorua Borough Council amalgamated in 1979 to form the Rotorua District Council. This amalgamation occurred ten years earlier than most other New Zealand Councils. Soon after this, the Council tackled several large projects including a new Council building, and a major upgrade of the City sewerage and water facilities. Once these projects were completed, the money was used for projects such as the development of Tourism Rotorua. In short, unlike many Councils who deferred maintenance and building projects in order to keep rates down, Rotorua District Council 'bit the bullet' and tackled some big projects. They are now in a better position financially than many other Councils around the country as a result of that.

Amalgamation occurred for a number of reasons. According to interview respondents, in the late 70s, the City was growing and the City Council wanted to take over the newly developed areas because there was only one sewerage scheme and one water supply that was shared between the two Councils. At the time, all the newly developed areas in the county area were on septic tanks, which were seen as contributing to the problem of lake pollution. It was therefore important that these areas were reticulated with sewerage and it did not make sense to put in a completely new scheme. The County Council realised that if those urban areas were taken out of the County boundaries then, the County would be left as a marginal authority. Therefore, the County put forward the idea of amalgamation and the Local Government Commission supported that move. After some considerable public debate, the Council amalgamated in 1979 with the first mayor of the District Council being John Keaney, the previous Chairman of the County Council (Stafford, 1988). When the subsequent 1989 amalgamations occurred throughout New Zealand, there was very little change in the boundaries of the Rotorua District Council.

After the amalgamation, the District Council began work on extending and improving water and sewerage and sewage treatment facilities – projects which had been on the books prior to the amalgamation but which took the first nine years of the amalgamated Council's existence. The timing of the development of the sewerage scheme meant that Council were still able to provide a government for the scheme. The development of the treatment scheme was also an important step in rectifying the pollution problems in Lake Rotorua. The quality of water in Lake Rotorua is considerably better at the present time than it was in the 1980s and it continues to improve (Donald, 1997). The way that these problems were managed were also influenced by the increasing acceptance of Maori views and the increasing participation of Maori in processes associated with environmental management. For example Ngati Pikiau successfully prevented the Rotorua District Council from pumping nutrient-rich water from the City's sewage treatment plant into the Kaituna River.

Other facilities were improved. According to interviews, the Rotorua District Council decided that a new civic building was required to bring all the different Council departments under one roof. This was needed to improve the communications between the different parts of the Council, which were then housed in separate buildings around different parts of the Town. The difficulty came with finding the money for the building. At the time, a local poll was required if the Council were to take out a loan for the new building, and the Council of the time felt that if put to a referendum, it would probably be voted out by the community. This meant that the money had to come from income. To

begin their building fund, the Council also sold a number of small pieces of land around Town. By juggling finances and putting up the rates, the money was found for the building, which was completed by 1986. Over the time of building, the Council was putting about one and a half million dollars worth of rates into the building each year. Once “Keaney’s Castle⁴” and the Convention Centre were completed, the Council had about 1.5 million dollars a year to spend in the community, and a community used to a higher level of rates. In spite of the harder economic times, Council were not forced into lowering rates and the money remained for further development projects such as the city centre and waterfront redevelopment and the development of Tourism Rotorua.

Having outlined the Council’s current role in tourism and described the development that they have completed over recent years, it is necessary to examine Council’s involvement in tourism in more detail. The next two subsections examine Council’s increasing involvement in tourism and its links to the private sector before a third subsection reflects on Council’s role in tourism.

4.2.1 Increasing Council Involvement in Tourism

The 1980s were also a time when the local area was experiencing difficulties with promoting tourism. It appears that many in the tourism industry were dissatisfied with the activities of the Public Relations Office, whose approach was no longer seen as adequate. The Rotorua Promotion Society was formed in October 1981. Smith (1982) considered that this was because Rotorua needed to attract visitors back to the area from other destinations in New Zealand.

The Rotorua Public Relations Office was closed in 1983, and the Rotorua Promotions Association (at their own request) took over most of their functions. However, it appears that the Rotorua Promotions Association struggled to survive for a number of reasons. Smith (1982) notes that there were difficulties getting new members, partly because of the \$2000 membership fees and difficulties getting businesses in the industry to work together. While Council granted the Promotions Association \$60,000 per year, the association struggled. Some informants have suggested that the Promotions Society did not have a good vision or plan to guide their marketing activities so the Council was not keen to invest any more in their activities. It appears that many of the Society’s activities relied on volunteer efforts and that made it difficult to continue to meet the changing needs of the industry at the time. A further problem encountered by the Association was its large membership and a lack of leadership, two factors which meant that the group involved were unable to move forward successfully. In the end, the Rotorua Promotions Association operated only for about a decade.

⁴ The popular name given to the new Council chambers at the time - named after John Keaney, the Mayor over the time the building was in progress.

In the meantime, the conditions of the 1980s meant that some sort of Council action was required. As Pike (cited in Ateljevic 1998:151) put it:

. . . Rotorua had the highest unemployment just about in the country. That is the reason that the Council made the investment in tourism, because they said we have farming, forestry and tourism. Of the three, tourism offers the best opportunity to employ lots of people because it is labour intensive. Farming does not employ many people and forestry was downsizing by automating. So that was when the whole basis for Council's investment was to create jobs. We have to increase visitors, we have to increase their spending and therefore that would flow on and create jobs at some stage down the track.

It became clear to the Council that they should re-establish a role in tourism. Between 1982 and 1990, domestic visitor numbers dropped from 535,000 to 370,000 (Rotorua District Council, 1992) and this drop was impacting on the local economy (Ateljevic, 1998). One might also suppose that the drop in New Zealand visitor numbers was also a result of the decreasing attractiveness of the Town as outlined earlier. They created a new staff position in late 1988, appointing Steve Pike as "Promotion and Marketing Co-ordinator, Rotorua District Council". At this stage, Pike was on his own in the office with a telephone, a promised budget of \$250,000 per annum and responsibilities for business development and marketing for tourism. The role was soon narrowed down to a single focus on tourism, and Pike's title became General Manager of Tourism Rotorua.

The image of the Town, by the late 1980s, was negative, and local people were reflecting that in their attitudes. A large part of Pike's work at the time was therefore to try and instil some community pride and to improve the relationship between the community and the tourism industry and between different players in the tourism industry. Beginning with a community pride week and a day when locals could go into many of the local visitor attractions for no charge, Pike began promoting Rotorua to the local community. To do this he used a range of avenues including a weekly column that he wrote in the Daily Post, and local radio talk shows (Ateljevic 1998). Further to these activities, Pike also focused on fostering co-operation in the private sector by doing things such as partially funding joint brochures produced by people who had been fierce competitors (for example, fishing guides or scenic flight operators) (Ateljevic, 1998).

Prior to Pike's appointment, the Council embarked on a new branding exercise. "Rotorua: Full of Surprises" was developed by a Wellington firm after research in 1988 showed that most New Zealanders considered that Rotorua tourism was based on Maori culture and thermal areas and that once you have been there, you had seen it all. The new brand aimed to rectify this problem and was aimed at the Auckland market in particular. It was launched in 1990, however it seems that not everyone in tourism was happy with this brand, since some felt that it did not do justice to the core tourism products in the Town – Geothermal areas and Maori Culture.

4.2.2 Developing Links: a Public-Private Partnership

Also at the time of launching the new tourism brand in 1990, the Rotorua District Council purchased the New Zealand Travel Office from New Zealand Railways (Don Stafford Collection, Rotorua Public Library: Tourism Rotorua resource file). In 1991, the Council launched its redevelopment plan for the central business district including the refurbishment of the travel office, and landscaping on the lakefront and in the Town centre (Ateljevic, 1998). The newly refurbished Tourism Rotorua building was opened in 1993 and houses a new visitor information office, which operates seven days a week, 365 days per year. It also houses the marketing staff and includes a café, a foreign exchange facility, retailing space, thermal footbaths, bus stop area and a shower and toilet facility (Rotorua District Council, 1997).

1991 also saw the advent of the Rotorua Tourism Advisory Board (RTAB), a group comprised of councillors and industry representatives, who inform the Council about tourism matters. In addition, during the early 90s, the Council appointed Tim Cossar as the first Economic and Business Development officer. The Rotorua District Council Handbook (1997:46) states that;

The objective of the Economic and Business Development Unit is to encourage economic and business development through the provision of quality information to businesses or people considering business in Rotorua. The unit is a facilitator for a wide variety of business and economic development projects.

It was also around this time that the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) came into use. Because of its focus on effects rather than activities, the RMA has made business development more complex. It appears that a large proportion of business development is supported by the Economic and Business Development Unit through the processes of assessing environmental effects and obtaining resource consents.

Clearly this facilitation role also had much to do with tourism in Rotorua. In fact it was Tim Cossar who saw the need to develop a tourism strategy for Rotorua through his work in economic and business development. At that time, the industry needed both baseline information and a clear direction. At the same time strategic planning was on the minds of Council because of pending changes to the Local Government Act. These changes required Councils to produce financial strategic plans. What many Councils around the country found was that one could not plan financially without knowing which way the community wanted to go and what projects would be important over the following years.

The result of these Council (and industry) concerns and needs was the 1996-2005 Rotorua Tourism Strategic Plan, which currently informs the structure of Tourism Rotorua, and its activities. The advent of this plan is also seen by some, as the beginning of a new era in tourism management in the District, particularly as one outcome of the plan was the development of a new brand (see Branding for Tourism Rotorua, N.D.). While a new brand is, perhaps, not significant in and of itself, the processes that Tourism Rotorua and their consultants used for developing and 'growing' the brand have provided an ongoing focus for the development of the community as a whole and for the tourism community in particular.

4.2.3 Understanding Council's Role in Tourism

The development of Tourism Rotorua is the result of overlapping national, regional and local imperatives, with the District Council as a central player in the process of managing and adapting to change. Rotorua's strength has come from the early amalgamation of the two Rotorua Councils in the 1970s which then put them in a good position to deal with the increasingly complex and dynamic environment heralded in New Zealand by the 1984 Fourth Labour Government.

The actions of the Rotorua District Council in response to these changes have benefited Rotorua. Their role in developing and maintaining co-operation within a formerly fragmented local industry has been vital to the current success of that industry. As an industry informant put it:

[The tourism industry] . . . are heading all in the same direction - flying in formation - you've probably heard that before. And I also think that we have some very good leaders in the industry here. . . . Council certainly have to be congratulated for what they are doing and even though there are times that we might battle away, at the end of the day they have committed themselves to tourism and we have seen that with the change in Rotorua in the last five years. I mean if you came here five years ago the City was dying - it was losing business, and it was starting to look tired, and once they started to spend the money on the CBD, what happened? Novotel was built, the Rydges were built. The expansion of Lakes Plaza, the Polynesian Spa. . . . [Council] spending the 25 million I think led others into saying well, we've got some confidence now so we'll spend some money on our facility and I think that is extremely important- you've always got to have that. And I think that is the crucial thing - local government has to lead the way.

So local government involvement is really important?

Very important and I haven't seen any region in New Zealand that works without that. A good example would be Dunedin. Look at the problems that Dunedin has gone through in the last 12 months/2 years. That was mainly because local government down there couldn't get their act together regarding the marketing - tourism marketing - it used to have, but then it sort of fell to pieces. . . . to have that private enterprise working together with the local government like Rotorua has, then I think that is where the success has been. I don't think you could write it down to anything else.

This was a story that the researcher heard often in different forms in Rotorua. Local industry needs an alternative, non-competing organisation to foster co-operation. One of the reasons for this is illustrated in the following statement from an informant discussing the demise of the Rotorua Promotion Society in the late 80s:

. . . the promotion society just grew and grew and I think in the finish it had about 20 board members and you went to a meeting to discuss the previous minutes of the previous minutes of the previous minutes and really got nowhere - too big, too cumbersome and no-one could get any direction. Badly led.

Badly led because nobody had the skills?

Oh I think you had some people with some very strong ideas. To involve an industry - this is why I say it has got to be a combination of local government and private enterprise – because, in private enterprise the people who join those things are usually successful people who have either strong egos or strong thoughts and to get everybody thinking in the same thought pattern [is difficult]. And there is also commercial interest there as well. In those days when they weren't flying in formation, somebody wouldn't give a good idea because they thought that the next door competitor would pinch it, and there was a lot of that went on. I think these days, even where that competitive thing is still there, it is certainly circumnavigated a little bit by having the RTO⁵ involved, and the managers involved where they can steer around those sort of things where you can sit down in a portfolio group meeting where you can have a good chat and a talk and then it can be sifted by the Tourism Rotorua manager for that group and then he'll drive forward. So you've got that sort of independence.

In a competitive industry, then, independent players with good facilitation skills appear to be necessary to manage the tension created by the need to co-operate, particularly in places where there are operators offering similar products and competing for similar markets. Also as the industry became more co-operative different styles were required of the three general managers. For example, the first CEO had to be more directive in order to achieve some co-operation within what was a fragmented industry. In comparison, once the industry began to co-operate the second CEO was able to be more consultative, which then gave the industry a greater sense of participation and control in the direction of Tourism Rotorua. Of course, with a co-operative industry, it would not be possible for a manager now to be too directive in their manner, however with a fragmented industry, a strong and directive leadership style would have been vital in order to make progress.

It is also possible that the difficulties experienced by both the community (unemployment and environmental problems) and the industry (in the disintegration of the Promotions Society) during the 1980s allowed the involvement of Council in tourism to proceed more easily than if none of it had happened. Without the crisis within the community, more ratepayers might have objected to the Council putting money into tourism, and without the difficulties that the industry experienced, they may have felt that it was inappropriate for the Council to come and tell them what to do. Therefore one might also speculate that the

⁵ Regional Tourism Organisation

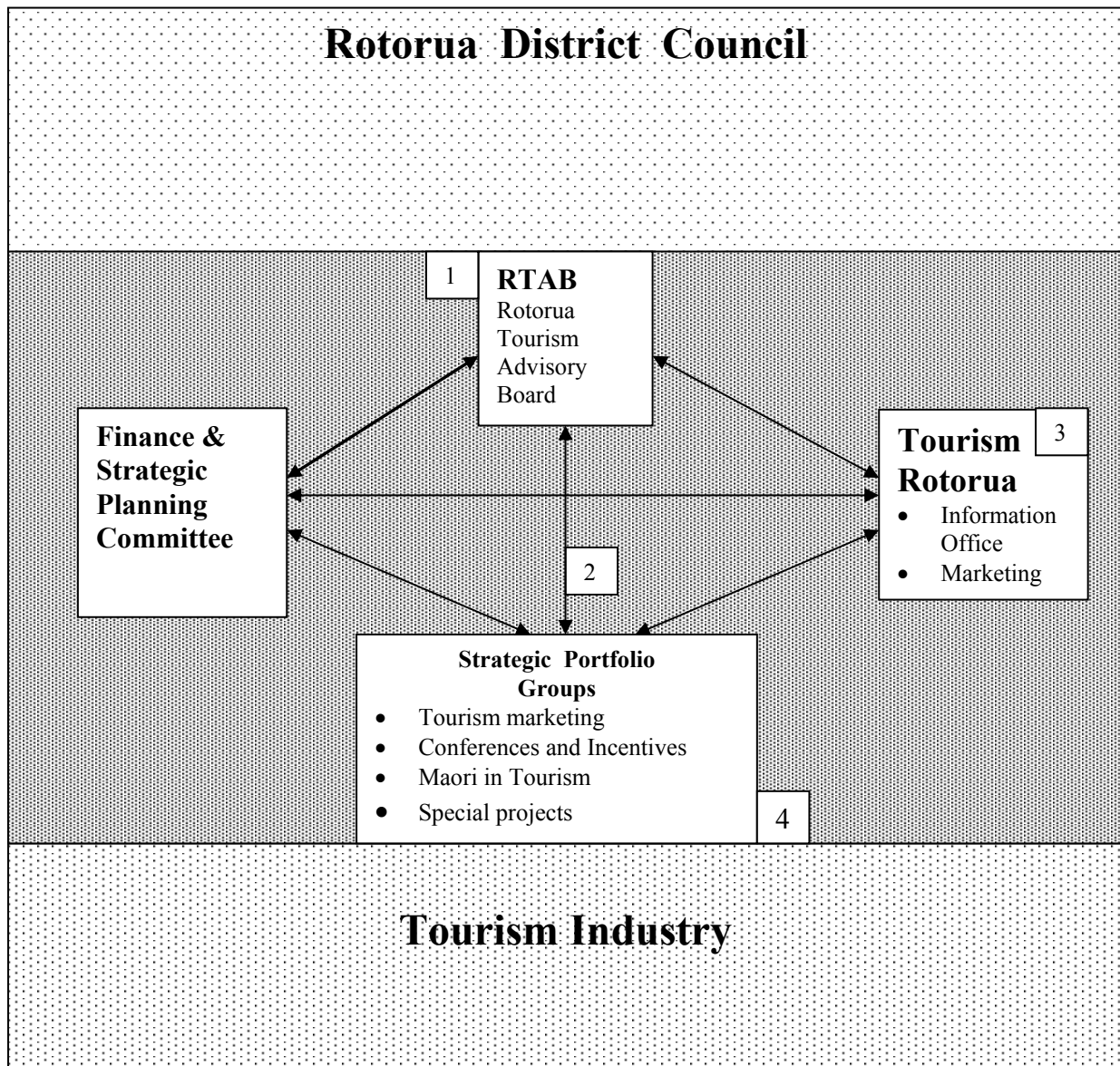
relatively large size of tourism in the Rotorua economy as well as the moderate size of the District Council may have made this process easier in Rotorua than it might be in other places. The large size of the Rotorua industry means that it provides a good financial contribution to the running of Tourism Rotorua, and that politically it has some influence.

4.2.4 Summary

The Rotorua District Council takes an active and important role in facilitating tourism in the area. Their involvement arose from community need, which increased as government restructuring and environmental problems took their toll on the local economy. Tourism Rotorua has been set up to encourage tourism in the local area so as to improve employment opportunities. In addition to setting up Tourism Rotorua, the Council has also worked to improve the aesthetic environment of the town, making it more attractive to visitors. Tourism Rotorua has also been involved with facilitating co-operation within the local industry, a function critical to the industry's ability to adapt to changing and competitive environments. The development of networks and linkages both inside and outside of Rotorua are the subject of the next section.

4.3 Tourism Rotorua Structure and Linkages

This section looks at the formal and informal linkages and networks that exist in and around Rotorua. These linkages are important in understanding the way in which tourism functions in the area and the way in which the local area can influence tourism at the national level. There are clear links between the private sector and the public sector facilitated through the structures of the District Council and Tourism Rotorua (also a branch of Council).



Notes

1. The Rotorua District Council nominates 3 councillors to be members of the Rotorua Tourism Advisory Board.
2. The Strategic Portfolio groups are working groups of RTAB. Each strategic Portfolio Group chair (and at times additional members) are members of RTAB.
3. Tourism Rotorua is the implementation arm of tourism management in Rotorua. It is funded by the RDC and in fact operates as separate unit of the RDC.
4. Individual and business are directly involved in joint venture marketing opportunities.

Figure 5
Diagram of Industry Links with Rotorua District Council

Figure 3 shows these relationships diagrammatically. Currently, a number of elected councillors have direct connections with the tourism industry either through family or through working in the industry themselves.

The Rotorua Tourism Advisory Board (RTAB) provides a formal means of contact between industry and Council and consists of industry representatives, councillors and Council staff. The industry representatives on RTAB are selected through the portfolio groups that support the activities of Tourism Rotorua. The portfolio groups consist mainly of elected industry representatives. Each portfolio group works on different aspects of tourism in Rotorua. Although the portfolio group functions and activities can be changed, they are broadly set out in the Tourism Strategic Plan.

Table 3 shows the strategic directions listed in the Rotorua Tourism Strategic Plan and Table 4 shows the Tourism Rotorua Portfolio Groups as of November 1999. The chairperson of each portfolio group also sits on RTAB, thus providing a clear link between Tourism Rotorua and elected councillors. In addition, portfolio group members are encouraged to discuss issues with members of the industry who are not on the groups. The structure is designed to get good industry participation in the decision-making processes of Tourism Rotorua and there are plans to improve industry participation in these processes.

Table 3
Strategic Directions as Outlined in the Rotorua Tourism Strategic Plan (1996-2005)

	Strategic Direction
1	Developing a new brand identity for Rotorua.
2	Product Development – monitoring needs in accommodation and attractions.
3	Marketing – Domestic, International.
4	The Environment and Tourism in Rotorua.
5	Develop Events etc. To decrease seasonal declines in business.
6	Maori Tourism.
7	Market Knowledge/Research.
8	Training and Education. Important in improving the tourism product in Rotorua.
9	Public Infrastructure. Working with Council in maintaining and developing infrastructure.
10	Transport – developing and maintaining transport links between Rotorua and other places. Includes a particular focus on Air transport.
11	Finance and Funding. Finding ways to lift the marketing and development of Rotorua .

Table 4
Tourism Rotorua Portfolio Groups as of November 1999

Maori Tourism
Domestic and International Marketing
Conferences and Incentives
Special Projects

As part of the Council, Tourism Rotorua also has some direct access to Council staff through, the Director of Community services, to whom the General Manager of Tourism Rotorua answers. This contact can take the form of both information and advice about possible courses of action. Similarly, Mayor Graeme Hall is very supportive of tourism in Rotorua and therefore is in frequent contact with the activities of Tourism Rotorua. The small size of the Tourism Rotorua Unit means that communications within the office are frequent and easy.

The system of portfolio groups allows the participation of many industry people. Further to this, private sector members of Tourism Rotorua can and do contact staff at Tourism Rotorua on a more casual basis. The system in place now offers many more opportunities for industry to participate in the direction and activities of Tourism Rotorua than was the case in the early days of the unit. This is not surprising given that much of the work in the early years of the unit was aimed at fostering the development of sector groups, which had to be in place prior to getting effective participation.

Perhaps the best indication of these changes comes from a quotation from Warren Harford, one of the co-owners of the Agrodome and a prominent figure in Rotorua tourism:

As a long time operator in Rotorua, I've seen many plans and ideas come and go. But since the development of the Tourism Strategic Plan, the environment within Rotorua with coal face industry and local government working together for the region's benefit – is something that Rotorua should stand up and be proud of. In my opinion, the strategic plan and the Tourism Advisory Board and Portfolio Groups have strengthened Rotorua as an icon destination. In the past three years, I've noticed a significant change in the attitude of operators, the internal bickering that used to exist before has been replaced by a 'get up and make it happen' attitude (Tourism Rotorua, 1998, no page number).

In speaking to people in the tourism industry, one hears frequently the term 'flying in formation' a term that Tim Cossar is credited with coining during the strategic planning process. This idea seems to have been taken on board by individuals in the Council and in the industry alike. It encourages individual businesses to think beyond their own bottom line and to consider Destination Rotorua as a whole. It appears that, for the present anyway the businesses within the destination are all pulling in the same direction. Perhaps of greater importance is that everyone spoken to over the research period from both the public and the private sectors, considers that Council leadership has been vital in achieving this level of co-operation within Rotorua. They also note that the ongoing participation of Council in its current role is important for maintaining this state of affairs.

4.3.1 Industry Networks Within and Beyond Rotorua

While formal organisation via Tourism Rotorua and RTAB have played an important role in planning and promoting tourism in Rotorua, there are a number of associations and informal networks that also play an important role in tourism.

Tourism is an industry that involves much networking between operators. To be successful in tourism then, operators have to co-operate while at the same time they have to compete for customers. This is particularly so between operators who supply similar products. There are a number of groups in Rotorua which consist of people who do supply similar products, and on the surface at least they appear to work well. These kinds of groups include everything from the Hotel General Managers' Association to an association of fishing guides. These kinds of groups are formed of people who are competitors and in many cases it appears that many of them formed mainly as a result of encouragement from Tourism Rotorua.

Marketing groups have also formed although these appear to work best between different attractions who see themselves as complementary rather than in competition. Five Star are a marketing alliance that includes the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, The Agrodome, Skyline Skyrides, Paradise Valley Springs and the Lakeland Queen. Another group that many people consider to be growing in strength is the Natural Experience Group, which includes Waimangu, Waiotapu, the Buried Village, Tamaki Tours and Tarawera 4WD Safaris.

These networks depend on the individual organisations being able to compete while at the same time being able to co-operate. It appears that the people doing this most successfully have quite clear formulas for managing this balance. For example, two of the members of the Natural Experience group appear to offer quite similar products. Waiotapu and Waimangu are both geothermal areas leased from the Department of Conservation. However it appears that this co-operation works mainly because the two areas have differentiated themselves in terms of visitor experience, hence they are not so directly in competition with each other. Likewise people in another marketing group said that in the areas in which they do compete with businesses in the same group, they do not compete for customers that another business already has. The competition occurs over new customer groups.

It appears that these formal groups have considerable influence within Rotorua itself. It is difficult to say whether their ability to work on joint marketing activities is also indicative of their ability to work with others at a destination level. For example, Warren Harford who helped to set up the successful Five Star group, is the chair of RTAB. He has a clear ability to work with other people. He appears to be well liked within the industry and has very clear ideas on when it is appropriate to compete with his peers and when he should work co-operatively. He is also very good at communicating with a wide range of audiences, and as a partner in a very successful business, he is able to devote more time into this kind of thing than people with smaller, younger businesses. These are all factors that contribute to his influence.

While many individual organisations have influence at the district level through co-operation, it is also clear that the many small tourism businesses have relatively little influence on marketing and management in Rotorua. These differences in power are the result of personal, economic, social and political factors which converge to give some

individuals within the community more power than others. It also appears that those individuals who say that they have little influence also tend not to be actively trying to have an influence. Of course, this lack of trying may itself be the result of not having enough time, however it does indicate that there are channels that one can use if one wants to participate in the direction of Tourism Rotorua.

One area of concern to tourism operators appears to be that many of the local retailers do not open on Saturday afternoons or on Sundays. This is understandable since for small retailers, Sunday might be their only time off each week and the returns from Sunday shopping may not warrant opening on that day. The relationship between the tourism operators and the retailers does not appear to be a good one, largely for this reason. This divergence in perceptions is also a common situation for visitor destinations, where retailers see themselves as primarily catering for the local residents and therefore not part of the tourism industry (Leiper, 1995).

There are a number of linkages that exist between tourism in Rotorua and tourism in other places around New Zealand and even internationally. At a company level, businesses that are owned from outside the area have links to their parent companies, which may be national or international in scope. In particular, some of the large hotels (e.g., Novotel) have these kinds of links with other hotels in the same chain. Similarly, Skyline Skyrides is owned by Shotover Jet and so have links with the hierarchy of Shotover Jet and with other parts of the company with similar interests.

Individuals in Rotorua are also involved with national level tourism organisations. For example, Warren Harford, co-owner of the Agrodome, and Chair of the Rotorua Tourism Advisory Board is also vice-president of the Inbound Tourism Operators' Council at the time of the research. He has been involved with the New Zealand Tourism Industry Association (NZTIA). Similarly, Mike Tamaki is currently involved with committee work with the NZTIA, and appears to be enjoying considerable publicity on radio and television. Oscar Nathan, general manager of Tourism Rotorua also spends time working at national level, having contact with groups such as the New Zealand Tourism Board and ITOC and the NZTIA. Sir Howard Morrison a well-known member of the community is also on the New Zealand Tourism Board. Thus, Rotorua tourism has many links with national level bodies, although a few people say there ought to be more, given the size and experience of Rotorua's tourism industry.

There are also many other links with businesses outside of Rotorua. Many of these occur through the development of networks for marketing and booking, so that many businesses keep in constant contact with the people that supply their customers and with people who might have information about changing markets etc. While there is much joint marketing that takes place in Rotorua, many of the more established companies have people who make personal sales calls to keep other businesses involved in similar tourism markets informed of products, and product developments. A few companies also do a considerable amount of offshore marketing work in their own right as well.

These linkages are important for exchanging and disseminating information. As well as helping in the marketing of local tourism products, they also help organisations and destinations adapt better to changing market conditions (Pavlovich, 1996). Thus, the better

the communication within and between destinations, the more adaptable and resilient the destination is likely to be. Improving both these levels of communication is therefore pivotal to the ongoing development and marketing of Destination Rotorua.

4.4 Tensions in Environmental Management

So far this chapter has focused on the District Council and the structures and dynamics associated with tourism in the Town. However tourism management inevitably involves issues of environmental management. Critically important here is the tension that develops when the District Council both promotes tourism development and regulates it. This section outlines which groups are involved in environmental management, gives some examples of recent developments, then focuses on the tensions within Council relating to the conflicting roles of development and regulation.

In 1997, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment presented a report on the effects of tourism on the environment (PCE, 1997). Part of the Commissioner's report profiles Rotorua, outlining the different organisations involved in and concerned with environmental management. These include the Rotorua District Council, Environment Bay of Plenty (that is the Bay of Plenty Regional Council) and the Department of Conservation. These three groups have the greatest statutory responsibilities through legislation such as the Resource Management Act, 1991, and the Conservation Act, 1987. However local iwi are proving to have a significant influence on Environmental Management in the area.

For example, Rotorua has an innovative sewage treatment system. Water treated at the sewerage works is then pumped up into Whakarewarewa Forest and irrigated amongst the trees. The clay particles in the soil bind the phosphates and nitrates from the treated water, preventing them from getting into the lake. However this treatment system would not have happened if Ngati Pikiau had not protested at the idea of such water being pumped into the Kaituna River. They won their case and the Council was forced into looking for another solution to the problem of how to deal with the Town's sewage.

There is still concern about the water quality of lakes such as Rotoiti and Rotorua. According to the PCE (1997) and a number of local informants, although sewage from the City is now treated adequately, there are still problems because of run-off from the lake margins. Part of this problem arises because the lake is shallow and very old relative to other lakes in New Zealand. Another part of it is that the management of water quality requires a much more integrated approach than is currently achieved by the different State agencies involved. While the Rotorua District Council is responsible for some of the lake margins, and the Department of Conservation is responsible for others, the Regional Council has responsibility of the water in the area. These problems have led to the development of an Integrated Lakes Management Strategy largely because of the concerns of Te Arawa. The process has included input from all the major agencies involved in the management of the lakes and lake margins and also allowed for comment from the community.

This call for a more integrated approach to the management of the lakes appears to have been given more credence by the environmental crisis of the 1980s and the reliance of the tourism industry on the natural resources of the area. Tourism Rotorua are also concerned about the overall lack of integration in environmental management over the full spectrum of local ecosystems because of the different foci of the different agencies. Tourism Rotorua

and Waiariki Polytechnic are researching how the environment is managed currently with an eye to considering how it might be done better. On balance, it appears therefore that tourism is having a positive effect on environmental management in the Rotorua area.

However, some people in Rotorua would disagree with this assessment. In particular, the Okareka and the Tarawera communities have been vocal in their opposition to tourism development in their areas, and see it as a threat to the high quality environments that exist out in those communities. Both these lakes are surrounded by significant tracts of bush and have high water quality (Donald, 1997). People in these communities, have taken significant action to get the Council to protect the environments of those areas better. They successfully challenged the District Plan, an action which has led to the development of the Tarawera Variation (see Rotorua District Council, 1993, 1997). These communities have also recently and successfully protested against the building of a tourist resort. The Council approved the consents needed for the development, however the community challenged this. The developer pulled out of the project before it got to the Environment Court.

This example of failed development is problematic for the local Council who, like many other Councils in New Zealand (Ralph, 1999) are generally seeking out developers. Policy shifts over the last 15 years have created a greater need for local authorities to take on an economic development role. This role is one that conflicts with their roles in planning and regulation a conflict can be seen as both good and bad. The tension between the regulation and developing roles in Councils is not entirely problematic. Having the two functions (in this case planning and development) under the one roof creates opportunities for arguments to be played out both formally and informally. However, this does not necessarily happen.

While councillors generally are pro-development, Council staff are obligated to regulate. In some instances, planners find themselves unable to defend the position of their Council in the Environment Court. This is clearly a problem associated with differing perceptions of the legal and political roles of between paid staff and elected councillors. Planners defend their position by reference to the Resource Management Act. For example, what appears to happen sometimes in Rotorua is that both 'sides' retreat into a rule-based process that allows them to work out the tensions formally. In this situation, outcomes are produced with a minimum of contact between the personalities of the staff involved, based on the processes outlined by the Resource Management Act.

The comment made by individuals in both the Planning Department and the more pro-development departments that 'the Resource Management Act looks after it all' indicates that both groups are trying to appear as if they are not involved personally or subjectively in the processes of planning and development. While the comment that the Resource Management Act looks after it all seems naive at first, this view is a way for the two groups to negotiate their differences in a more formalised way. The process has been "agreed" (this may not have been done formally or consciously) by both parties previously and so can they subject each new case to the same process with a minimum of negotiation. The Resource Management Act effectively has become an "objective" third party, which is used as a way of keeping difficult contact to a minimum.

The Department of Conservation (DoC) also has an important role in environmental management in the area, however there are different views of the DoC in the community. However, some in the community feel that their effectiveness is limited by a lack of

funding, a shortage of staff, and an unsympathetic political and economic climate at both local and national level. In comparison, others in the community feel that the DoC is too inclined towards preservation rather than use. These different opinions indicate that the Department may be doing a reasonable job of balancing the needs of conservation and use as is required by the 1987 Conservation Act.

Overall then, environmental management is fragmented. Some local people feel that the problem is having three major agencies with slightly different philosophies or emphases on use/conservation issues. These differences *can* make it difficult for them to work together, however the complex nature of the environment requires that understandings are realised through the input of many different individuals with different areas of expertise. Thus having different agencies involved may actually lead to better management. However, the basis of good integrated management is therefore good communication between people with very different points of view (See for example Kerr, 1995), and the factors which influence the quality of integration are those which affect the communication both within and between organisations.

Thus, fragmentation is increased by the tight economic limits put on the different agencies, which means that there is little spare time or money available for the kinds of discussions and negotiations needed for good integration. In addition, the ways in which differences and disagreements are played out are influenced by the personalities of the people involved as well as by the overall situation in which they find themselves. Individuals with training in environmental management may not have the skills needed to be good communicators, hence negotiations may become competitive struggles in which individuals aim to impose their own views on each other without trying to understand other perspectives. Without these skills, it is nearly impossible to negotiate good outcomes for complex issues that require input from many different individuals with many differing perspectives.

It would also seem that some form of strategy developed by all agencies to guide the activities of all agencies would make good sense.

4.5 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the current management of tourism in Rotorua. The Rotorua District Council takes an active role in the marketing and management of tourism in Rotorua. They have been involved in this since the 1950s through the work of the Public Relations Office, but the changing needs of the industry and the community during the 1980s led to its demise. The local tourism industry then formed the Rotorua Promotions Association, and membership grew, however the size of the organisation and the lack of clear leadership proved to be their downfall and they were disbanded in the early 90s. In the meantime, the local Council again saw a role for itself and Tourism Rotorua came into existence.

Tourism Rotorua has achieved a great deal of cohesion within a very fragmented industry. There are now many different industry groups who co-operate at a number of different levels. Those who market their products together tend to be attractions that are essentially different but might appeal to similar groups of tourists. There are also groups of operators with a similar customer focus and the main purpose of these groups seems to be in lobbying Tourism Rotorua and in maintaining or developing industry standards. The

tourism industry and the Council exchange information formally (through meetings) and informally (through the networks that occur because of these formal interactions) through Tourism Rotorua's Portfolio groups and through the Rotorua Tourism Advisory Board.

The local Council has also participated in tourism through the redevelopment of the waterfront areas and the upgrading of the City centre – both developments which make the Town much more attractive to tourists and therefore to businesses. Currently the Rotorua District Council puts just under one million dollars into the operation of Tourism Rotorua.

The Rotorua District Council has successfully developed a partnership with the local tourism industry. The efforts of the Council appear to have the industry 'flying in formation' in a much more cohesive and constructive way that might have been possible without their input. Pavlovich (1996) and Tremblay (1998) argue that the development of co-operative networks are important in helping the industry adapt successfully to changing market conditions. The complexity of the tourism product is such that tourism cannot be seen as just another industry and that it might be better seen as a network of businesses. Effectively the tourism industry in Rotorua appears as a very coherent network with Tourism Rotorua as its hub. Added to this is the role that the hub plays in maintaining formal and informal networks that do not include the hub itself. The role of Tourism Rotorua is thus vital to the coherent functioning of the local tourism industry.

Connected with the management of tourism is environmental management. There are tensions in environmental management between the different roles that the Rotorua District Council performs with regard to development. These tensions are important in that development is clearly necessary as is regulation and having tension in the system allows for a balanced approach to managing tourism in the local area.

Local groups including Tourism Rotorua are beginning to express concern at the fragmented nature of environmental management in New Zealand. This fragmentation may also be highlighted more in Rotorua because of increasing recognition of Maori worldviews in which the natural and socio-cultural environments are a seamless whole. There are several organisations involved in managing the different environmental effects of tourism. These include the Rotorua District Council, Environment Bay of Plenty (the Bay of Plenty Regional Council), the Department of Conservation. Each has their own role in managing resource use and conservation in the local area. Again these different functions and responsibilities can be seen both positively and negatively, however with increasingly tight budgets, it also becomes more difficult for the different organisations to communicate as much as might be needed for good outcomes. In addition the quality of communication is influenced by the training and personalities of the individuals involved.

Chapter 5

Residents' Perceptions of Tourism in Rotorua

The preceding chapters have presented contextual information on the town, its history, geography and the mechanisms in place for managing tourism. This chapter presents a range of data on the nature of residents' perceptions of Tourism in Rotorua and of Rotorua itself. The current attitudes and perceptions of residents result from the place that tourism holds in Rotorua historically, economically and socially. The long history of tourism in Rotorua means that tourism development is not seen as something new but instead continues something that began in the area 150 years ago. Economically, tourism is the one sector of the economy that promises employment growth at a time when the community needs employment and socially, tourism is generally seen to offer people opportunities and services that they might otherwise not have access to in a town of 67,000 people.

The following data represent a snapshot of people's views in 1999, with most of the information coming from the telephone survey of 500 local people conducted in April/May. Where appropriate, the survey data are interpreted in the light of data from interviews, observations and past research. In general, Rotorua residents are positive or neutral about tourism with many saying that it does not affect them very much at all. This amounts to a very high acceptance of tourism.

However, the reader should note that the results from this survey will differ from those of surveys which ask residents closed-ended questions. There is a big difference between asking an individual whether there are economic benefits from tourism or asking what are the benefits of tourism. This survey asked questions in the latter format. This means that answers to these questions will occur less frequently than if we had asked the questions in the former format. Answers respondents' give to open-ended questions will only include issues that are foremost on their minds and so they are highly influenced by what is in the media at the time immediately before the survey was implemented. Because the sample characteristics did not compare well with the census figures, data from the telephone survey have been weighted. The advantages and disadvantages of this approach were discussed in Chapter 2 (refer also Appendices 2 and 3).

The first section of this chapter looks at recent tourism figures for Rotorua. These indicate the volume and types of visitor that come to the area, providing information that is important for understanding tourist-host encounters. The following sections then outline:

- What local people like about Rotorua;
- Locals' perceptions of tourism as outlined in recent research, and their attitudes towards further tourism development.
- How residents perceive what they say are the costs and benefits of tourism;
- The places where they meet visitors;
- What locals notice about tourism and the factors which seem important in mediating these perceptions.

5.1 Estimating Total Visitor Numbers and Types

Estimating total visitor numbers to Rotorua presents difficulties because there is limited recent data on visitors who are not included in the Rotorua Visitor Monitor. The Visitor Monitor keeps track of visitors in commercial accommodation and those staying in private homes. However APR Consultants (1995) tried to ascertain how many visitors are not recorded in the commercial accommodation monitor. These include visitors staying at local marae, using private accommodation such as a bach or rented house as well as people who visit Rotorua for the day. This section draws on these two sources to estimate total visitor numbers to the area.

Recent Statistics New Zealand figures from their commercial and private accommodation monitor as released by Tourism Rotorua indicate that just over 1.2 million tourists visited Rotorua last year. Table 5 presents the figures from the Rotorua Visitor Monitor for three years – Jan 1996 to December 1998 (from APR Consultants, 1998d).

Table 5
Numbers of Visitors Staying in Commercial Accommodation and in Private Homes in Rotorua January 1996 to December 1998

	1996		1997		1998	
	Numbers	Nights	Numbers	Nights	Numbers	Nights
January	124,094	379,456	136,343	391,547	135,335	400,572
February	97,226	230,367	116,195	269,464	127,568	273,410
March	112,384	261,688	114,693	253,514	93,272	208,804
April	102,080	237,055	100,041	210,148	107,916	236,010
May	91,457	234,849	89,199	211,346	85,692	198,534
June	78,106	168,241	65,125	154,103	67,509	153,477
July	81,854	174,056	104,075	209,861	90,367	213,224
August	71,526	144,918	84,564	172,468	83,383	173,203
September	81,703	192,781	83,114	164,401	91,362	203,772
October	92,287	203,072	105,615	219,203	100,581	220,999
November	107,729	222,552	107,099	210,002	97,344	223,692
December	122,299	289,142	124,153	301,995	126,629	316,886
Totals	1,162,745	2,738,177	1,230,216	2,768,052	1,206,958	2,822,583
Source: APR Consultants, Dec. 1998						

APR Consultants (1995) tried to ascertain the number of visitors not included in the commercial accommodation monitor. These visitors include people on marae stays and day tours, people staying in baches and holiday homes, day visitors who come from outlying areas to shop, and people visiting for special sporting and recreational events. APR Consultants (1995) found that local marae and operators running day tours were reluctant to provide information that they felt might prove to be sensitive. They estimated that in 1994, about 15,000 visitor nights were spent on marae in the Rotorua District and 55,000 visited Rotorua as part of a day tour. Of this latter group, nearly 100 per cent stayed for a meal, more than 90 per cent bought goods or services in Rotorua and most spent a full day there. A further 29,848 people were estimated to stay in holiday homes for an average of seven nights per year, 50 per cent of which occur during the December – January holiday period. 30,000 day visits per year are generated by sports events such as marathons, tournaments, etc.

Overall this means that between 130,000 and 150,000 visitors may not have been counted in the Tourism Rotorua annual statistics in 1994. The figure of 150,000 includes shoppers who live out of town (an estimated 200,000 visitor-days are generated from shoppers from the regions around Rotorua however it is difficult to say how many of these are actually “tourists” since they could live within the District Council Boundaries). These figures are the most recent ones available for estimating current (1998/9) visitation rates, and given the recent improvements to the area, one would expect this figure to be generally increasing. It appears that an estimated overall figure of 1.5 million visitors over the last year is reasonable.

Of note in these figures is the high percentage of domestic visitors to Rotorua. Table 6 shows the proportion of domestic to international visitors from 1982-1998. This table shows that, except in 1996, the proportion of domestic visitors to Rotorua has been consistently greater than 50 per cent over the last few years.

Table 6
Proportion of Domestic and International Visitors to Rotorua

Year	% International	% Domestic
1982	45	55
1988	42	58
1990	24	76
1992	30	70
1993	33	67
1994	37	63
1995	47	53
1996	58	42
1997	48	52
1998	35	65

Source: Don Stafford Collection, Tourism Rotorua Statistics and Ateljevic (1998:184)

Domestic visitors appear to have similar activity tastes and preferences to those of locals (see Moore, et al., 2000). New Zealanders spend more time using attractions such as the mountain bike tracks at Whakarewarewa Forest or the lakes for swimming and other watersports (see Moore, et al., 2000). The outcome of these different visitation patterns is that local people not working in tourism are more likely to meet domestic visitors than they are to meet international ones. Domestic visitors are likely to have relatively less impact on the host community, if only because they are not easily identified as visitors.

In a town of 67,000 people, New Zealanders look just like any other unknown local. Thus, although New Zealanders may add to crowding in favourite recreation areas, they are not easily categorised as ‘other’ (or outsider) and so are not as often blamed for the problem as more obviously different international visitors might be (See, for example, Owens, 1985). Thus the impact of domestic visitors is likely to be less than those of the international visitors in Kaikoura who comprise 86 per cent of the people staying overnight. To add to this, the small population in Kaikoura means that Kaikoura people are more likely to recognise New Zealanders as outsiders where Rotorua people cannot because of the relatively large size of their town.

In summary, approximately 1.5 million visitors come to Rotorua each year and in recent years most of these have been domestic visitors. Because domestic visitors are less obviously different than international visitors, they have less impact on residents. The high proportion of domestic visitors therefore contributes to residents' high acceptance of tourism.

5.2 What Do Locals Like About Rotorua?

Local people like many things about living in Rotorua. In their community visioning research, Hill Young and Cooper Limited (1997:7-16) discuss a number of 'value themes' which summarise the things that Rotorua people most valued about Rotorua, as it was at the time. These themes were:

- Rotorua as an area with good natural resources. These included resources such as the lakes, geothermal areas, bush and forested areas, and rivers;
- A strong sense of local identity related to the local environment, Maori, history and recreation opportunities in the area. Connected with this theme is concern for local community problems such as youth at risk, a poor reputation for some schools, unemployment and the increasing gap between rich and poor;
- Rotorua as a hub, with links to a range of natural resources, cities, towns and to other countries;
- Rotorua as a town of the "right" size allowing good access the central City as well as to recreation areas around Town. Participants felt that the small size of the Town meant that generally the recreation resources were not overcrowded; and
- Rotorua as a caring community. This theme was reflected in a concern for problems of unemployment and poverty that are problems in parts of the community in Rotorua.

These themes were reflected in the findings of our telephone survey. Answers to this question in our telephone survey are presented in Table 7. Ninety-eight per cent of respondents had one or more answers to this question.

Table 7
What Residents Like About Living in Rotorua

	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
Central to places in the North Island	157	30.9
Natural resources	131	25.9
Family and friends	128	25.2
There's lots to do here	103	20.3
Lifestyle/pace of life	70	13.9
I just like it	65	12.9
Climate	45	8.8
Facilities/services are good	47	9.3
Size of town – just right	43	8.5
There's work here	30	6.0
Other	20	4.0
Cultural diversity	14	2.7

Note: Multiple response question. Percentages do not add to 100

Each of the main themes in Table 7 are now explored further.

5.2.1 Centrality, Natural Resources and Access to Recreation Opportunities

The central position of Rotorua in the North Island mean that it is close to other cities such as Auckland, Hamilton and Tauranga, which are all within two to three hour's drive from Rotorua. Rotorua people therefore can use the recreation opportunities offered by these cities. This central position also allows good access to recreation resources such as beaches, snow, bush and mountains. Its central location was something 31 per cent of the sample said they liked about Rotorua.

The above theme is linked to the answer that many respondents gave that the natural resources such as the lakes, the bush, the beach and the snow are an important aspect of living in the area. Interviews and observations indicate that many local people place a high value on the recreation opportunities offered by the lakes and Whakarewarewa Forest in particular. Locals use the lakes extensively for swimming, boating, kayaking, windsurfing, fishing and waterskiing. In addition the forest is a very popular place for walking, running and mountain-biking. Another group of people also say that they like the scenic beauty of the area. Clearly, natural resources are central to residents' enjoyment of Rotorua.

In addition, many locals made the comment that "there is lots to do in Rotorua". While this latter comment reflects the presence of many cafés and visitor attractions around the Town, it also reflects the natural recreation opportunities in the area.

The lakes are highly valued by local people. This was also a clear finding of Hill Young Cooper Limited (1997). The importance of the lakes to both Maori and Pakeha are highlighted at the current time as Te Arawa negotiate their claim to the Lakes with the Crown. Many locals appear to fear that their access to the lakes will be restricted if Te Arawa take over ownership of the lakes.

5.2.2 Family and Friends

“Family and friends” also rated highly in our survey. The importance of family in Rotorua was also mentioned in interviews and conversations. As an example, one person mentioned that there is a strong network of relationships in the Town. This seems to be particularly the case in the Maori community.

Some people say that Rotorua’s population has become more stable over the last ten years. The prevalence of the State Sector in Rotorua meant that many professional people came to the area as part of a career path and then moved on within a few years, therefore that part of the population was transient. In recent years, however, the State Sector has declined (Schlotjes, 1993). Professional people who now live in Rotorua are now more likely to be there for the longer term.

5.2.3 Geothermal Resource

From observation and conversation, the geothermal resource is the most unique feature of Rotorua in the minds of international visitors. Geysers, mud pools and hot pools are all features that attract visitors to sites such as Waimangu, Waiotapu and Whakarewarewa and the Polynesian Pools (once the Ward Baths). What is surprising is the fact that the geothermal resource, which is seen as so intrinsic to Rotorua by outsiders, does not appear to be major importance to many locals. Few people mentioned the geothermal activity as an important part of life in Rotorua and when questioned about the importance of the geothermal resources in the area, people generally agreed that it was not as important as the lakes and bush. A typical comment was:

... no, in terms of everyday life geothermal is very unimportant and like, even thermal baths – I don’t go. The Polynesian Pools are very expensive and so people come and say oh, thermal baths – don’t you go every week? And we say no, we don’t. So in terms of what we do for recreation, going to the lakes would be a key thing for us.

Few locals visit the Polynesian pools on a regular basis because of the expense of doing so. There are some concessions available at the Polynesian Pools, however they do not suit the needs of many locals. There is some local resentment of this. This resentment is also framed in terms of the managers of the attraction being more interested in the lucrative international markets rather than the local one. Some residents are not impressed by the way the owners of the Polynesian Pools delayed the redevelopment of the nearby Blue Baths by refusing the developer access to geothermal water, arguing that they had sole rights to the geothermal water in that area. It now appears that the Polynesian Pools will allow access to some hot water, however their initial refusal has resulted in the original developer losing interest in the project. It appears, however, that the redevelopment of the Blue Baths may now go ahead.

Locals are more likely to be found out of Town at places such as Waikite (south of Rotorua) or any one of a number of natural sites. However for many people living in the centre of Rotorua, these trips are infrequent, since they involve travelling some distance.

5.2.4 Other

Many residents also like the pace of life in Rotorua. They feel that life is not as fast as life in a bigger city. They also like the size of their town, which, they say is neither too big, nor too small. It is easy to get around and it has many facilities and services that smaller towns do not have. Many residents feel that the facilities and services in the Town are better

because of tourism, a fact that is reflected in people's assessment of the benefits of tourism discussed later. A small number of residents mention diversity in cultures as an important and nice part of life in Rotorua. This last response was given by only 16 individuals, 14 of whom were women⁶.

5.2.5 Summary

In summary, alongside the presence of family and friends, Rotorua people value their recreation resources highly. These recreation resources include the facilities available in other North Island cities as well as the many opportunities offered by the beaches, lakes, hills and bush in or near the district. Perhaps most surprising is the relative low local use of the geothermal resources, which appear to be secondary in importance when compared with other local natural features.

5.3 Local Perceptions of Tourism

Overall most recent studies of tourism indicate a good acceptance of tourism in Rotorua (APR,1995; Evans, 1994). Using self-administered questionnaires composed of five point Likert scale (from strongly agree to strongly disagree), Lawson, et al., (1998), found that relative to people in nine other tourism centres in New Zealand, the 115 Rotorua people that they contacted were:

- Positive about the pay and conditions in tourism employment;
- Positive about the ability of their Town to cope with the demands of visitors;
- More inclined to the opinion that tourism has improved shopping facilities, the standard of service available from businesses in the Town and the quality of life in the Town;
- Less inclined to link tourism and crime in Rotorua;
- Not inclined to avoid places with many tourists nor to feel like a stranger in their own town, and
- Only slightly concerned about visitors' driving standards and behaviour.

As these authors note, the perceptions of Rotorua people are more akin to those of people from Christchurch or Auckland than to those of tourism centres such as Queenstown or Kaikoura.

⁶ Note that these figures have not been weighted.

In assessing Rotorua as a place to live and work, APR Consultants (1996) found that people who already live in Rotorua have a more favourable impression of the place than those who do not live there. APR Consultants talked to 42 people during the course of four focus group discussions and completed an unspecified number of telephone interviews over a four day period. A clear point to come from this study was that people who move into Rotorua are surprised by the low visibility of tourism in the Town. APR Consultants (1996:14) note that:

... attendees were in general surprised by the lack of visibility of tourism to people who live here (unless directly involved in the tourism industry). They said that Rotorua was not blatantly commercialised, and it was as if there were two cities – one inhabited by the residents and one visited by the tourists – with very little interaction between the two.

This is contrary to their expectations of what it is like to live in a town that is known for tourism. This view was further supported by the field researcher's own experience and the experience of many people whom she talked to during her six month stay in the area. As one woman who had lived in the Town for 12 years said:

... when I came here, ... I didn't want to come here because it was a tourist centre and I didn't want to live in a tourist centre but the reality is that tourism – I mean that because I ... [have a tourism-related job], it impinges on my life. But the reality is that tourism does not impinge on the rest of my life at all. I don't live in the tourism part of the Town.

Does anybody?

No, not really. So that's interesting. I don't know whether it would be different, for instance in Queenstown, but you certainly could live in this town and not be affected by tourism at all really. And it's not even very overcrowded

People that were not directly involved in tourism often appeared surprised when asked about tourism in Rotorua – most professing that it did not really affect them. One memorable individual even felt that he was more likely to notice tourists in Queen Street in Auckland (where in aggregate, tourist density is lower) than he was in the streets of Rotorua.

5.4 Attitudes to Tourism Development

The telephone survey and observations found that some residents have a positive attitude towards tourism while many others show a general lack of concern towards it. People were asked how they felt about further tourism development. On a scale of one to five, “1” meant ‘there is too much tourism in Rotorua already’, “3” represented the position ‘tourism is at about the right level now’, and “5” represented ‘we could do with a lot more tourism.’ For analytical purposes, the answers were collapsed to three categories. Figure shows the percentage of each response given by males and females.

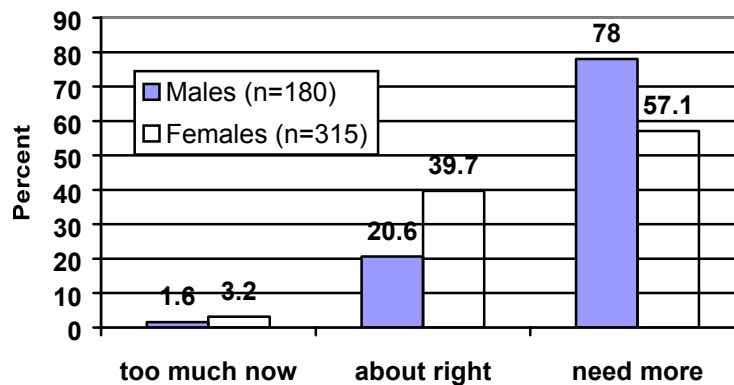


Figure 4

Males' and Females' Perceptions of the Level of Tourism Development in Rotorua

Males and females were significantly different to each other in their replies to this question ($\chi^2=22.559$, $df=2$, $p=0.000$). Males in the sample more often wanted to see expansion in tourism development, whereas women were almost twice as likely as men to say that the level of tourism development is about right now. There were no other significant differences from this sample on this question.

Only 13⁷ out of 500 respondents (2.6%) felt that there was too much tourism development in Rotorua now, reiterating the conclusion that Rotorua people are generally positive or neutral in their attitudes towards tourism. Appendix 7 gives a profile of the 13 people who felt that there was already too much tourism in Rotorua.

The following sections outline what benefits and costs Rotorua residents perceive tourism to have. The reader is reminded that these were open-ended questions. The response rates for each category of benefit or cost is therefore different (and generally lower) than would be expected for questions which ask directly about each kind of benefit or cost. One must therefore be careful about comparing response rates between this study and other studies, which ask respondents directly about each category of benefit or cost.

5.5 Benefits of Tourism

Overall, 96.8 per cent of the sample were able to list tourism benefits when asked an open-ended question about them. Table 9 shows the benefits of tourism for local residents. Conversely, only 16 people (3.2%) said that they could not think of any benefits from tourism. A closer look at the profiles of these individuals reveals inconsistencies in their replies (see Appendix 7). Therefore, rather than indicating a dislike for tourism, it appears that most of these replies result because respondents could or would not think of answers at the time of the phone call.

⁷ This figures are unweighted.

There were no significant differences between Maori and Pakeha, people with different levels of education, or people in different age groups on this question. Similarly, males and females were not significantly different in their assessments of the benefits and costs of tourism, which is surprising in the light of the differences in their attitudes towards tourism development. However they differed significantly in their assessment of whether the economic benefits of tourism were a *personal* benefit to them. While males and females said that there were economic benefits from tourism at a similar rate, only 30 per cent of females compared with 41 per cent of males felt that they got personal economic benefits from tourism ($\chi^2=6.9915$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$).

Table 8
The Benefits of Tourism in Rotorua for Local Residents

	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
Economic/financial	345	68.0
Jobs	180	35.6
Cultural diversity	88	17.4
Nicer place	70	13.8
Lots of activities	49	9.6
Good for business	37	7.3
Local image	35	7.0
Better local services	21	4.1
Other	25	5.0

Note: Multiple response question. Percentages do not add to 100

By far the most frequently cited benefit was economic/financial with 68.0 per cent of the sample citing them. Somewhat fewer respondents mentioned employment, with 35.6 per cent of the sample citing it as a benefit. In addition, people also suggested that tourism was good for employment and good for business – benefits that are clearly linked to economic/financial benefits.

In Rotorua, tourism is seen to be a good potential employer of school leavers, particularly females and Maori who find it difficult to get jobs in Rotorua (Cocker, 1991). As noted earlier in this report, the creation of employment opportunities was the major reason that the Rotorua District Council became involved with tourism. It is perhaps surprising that Table 9 shows that only 35.6 per cent of the sample mentioned employment as a benefit of tourism. However the clear connection between economics and employment means that many people who mentioned the economic benefits of tourism may have included employment in them.

Only 102 people or 20.1 per cent of the survey sample said that they were employed directly in tourism in any of the sectors outlined in Table 9. Overall it appears that around 20 per cent of Rotorua people are employed directly in tourism although about half of them are in part-time employment only.

Table 9
Age Groups Direct Employment in Tourism

Works in tourism?	Age Groups (Weighted N=507)		
	15-29	30-49	50+
No	96 (69.1%)	155 (79.1%)	150 (87.2%)
Yes	43 (30.9%)	41 (20.9%)	22 (12.8%)
Total	139	196	172

$\chi^2=15.305$, $df=2$, $p=0.000$

As has been documented in other places, a greater percentage of people in the younger age groups work in tourism than do those in the older age groups ($\chi^2=15.305$, $df=2$, $p=0.000$).

Only about half the respondents who said they worked in tourism had full-time work (46 of 93 people or 49.5%). The distribution of this sample indicates that young people may be more likely to be involved in part-time or casual employment rather than in full-time employment. In this sample 70.7 per cent of the 15-29 age group working directly in tourism are employed part-time, whereas 32.4 per cent 30-49 year olds employed in tourism work part-time. Amongst the 50+ age group, 42.9 per cent of those working in tourism are part-time. However the result is *not* significant for the population as a whole with this sample size ($\chi^2=12.765$, $df=4$, $p\approx 0.012$).

Table 10 shows the number for Maori and non-Maori who report working directly in tourism. A greater proportion of Maori than non-Maori respondents worked in a job involved directly with tourists. This reflects the importance of Maori and Maori culture in the tourism product in Rotorua. Despite the importance of Maori culture, there are no clear indications that Maori are more likely to work in any particular aspect of tourism. However further research into employment patterns might help explain the qualitative data, which would lead one to think that there should be more Maori involved in entertainment and attractions. Certainly, informants in the industry felt that Maori employment was concentrated into these spheres and that Maori needed to increase their participation in business outside that traditionally associated with Maori.

Table 10
Maori and Pakeha Employment in a Tourism-Related Job

Works in tourism?	Ethnicity (Weighted N=507)	
	Maori	Non-Maori
No	94 (69.1%)	308 (79.3%)
Yes	42 (30.9%)	63 (17.0%)
Total	136	371

$\chi^2=11.711$, $df=1$, $p=0.001$.

There are no significant differences between males and females as to whether they are employed in a tourism-related job. Just as in Kaikoura, it appears that the idea in the tourism literature that women are employed in tourism more frequently than men (Purcell, 1997) is incorrect in Rotorua. It may be that this is a New Zealand phenomenon where the outdoor and activity-focused nature of tourism means that there are more jobs for males.

So for example, in Rotorua, males may be more likely to be fishing guides or to own a motel business, whereas women may be more likely to work in a souvenir shop or clean in a hotel or motel. Certainly, while the field researcher met women who cleaned in motels, she did not meet any males doing this job. Most of the fishing guides, rafting guides, kayaking guides, hunting guides, and launch drivers that she heard of were also male. It is also possible that a more even balance in tourism employment between the sexes occurs more in places where there is high unemployment. Higher unemployment implies fewer job choices, and so men may work in jobs that are traditionally taken up by women.

Many locals mentioned that tourism is a potential employer of unskilled workers. However this sample indicates that the people currently employed in tourism are often people with secondary and tertiary levels of education. In fact, the largest proportion of those employed in tourism in this sample had tertiary or trade qualifications. Table 11 shows that, of the people in this sample aged 15-19 who are working in tourism, over half of them have a tertiary or trade qualification. Furthermore, only about 17 per cent of those in this age group (in our sample), who are working in tourism, have no formal educational qualifications. New Zealand Census (1996) figures showed that 31.8 per cent of the 15-29 year old population in Rotorua have no educational qualifications, a proportion higher than the sample.

The reader is cautioned that these are indications only. These figures are based on the replies of only a small number of individuals (see Table 11), however they may indicate some trends across the population which would only be ascertained with a bigger sample size. Furthermore, if people in the less educated and younger age groups talked to us because of their interest in tourism (see discussion in Appendix 2), then the data may *overestimate* how many young, less-educated people are working in tourism. In other words, an even smaller percentage of people with no educational qualifications may be employed in tourism in Rotorua. Therefore it is not possible to make any strong inferences to the population level from the data we have here, however, it appears that this might be usefully researched in more depth in the future.

Table 11
Educational Qualifications by Age Group of People Working in Tourism

Qualifications	Age Groups (Weighted N=507)			Totals
	15-29	30-49	50+	
None/unspecified	7 (17.1%)	12 (28.6%)	5 (22.7%)	24
High school	12 (29.3%)	11 (26.2%)	8 (36.4%)	31
Tertiary/trade	22 (53.7%)	19 (45.2%)	9 (40.9%)	50
Total	41	42	22	105

There was also some concern from a few community members that although tourism offers employment, the employment is often insecure, part-time and seasonal.

Sadly we have a very high unemployment rate because of Rogernomics [*Government restructuring*]. We are in need of more unskilled jobs, especially in the Maori community. The tourism industry provides much part-time and seasonal employment and not much full-time, secure employment which is what people need. They need regular pay packets. Growth in tourism has created opportunities but they tend to be short term and insecure. They have not really replaced the jobs that were lost to restructuring in the 80s.

Table 12 shows how many of the individuals in our sample were in full-time and part-time employment and how employment is spread across the different tourism sectors. It appears that the sector with the greatest level of employment is the accommodation sector.

Table 12
Type of Employment in Tourism by Work Status

	Weighted (N = 507)			Total
	35 or more hrs/week	10-35 hrs/week	<10 hrs/ week	
Accommodation	12	8	3	23 (24.7%)
Attractions/guiding	8	7	6	21 (22.6%)
Cafés/restaurants/bars	10	7	0	17 (18.3%)
Other	5	7	4	16 (17.2%)
Transport	4	1	3	8 (8.6%)
Souvenirs	3	0	1	4 (4.3%)
Information/agency	4	0	0	4 (4.3%)
Total	41	42	22	105

Of interest too, is the duration of each individual's employment over the previous year. Using estimates from our sample, 48 individuals had been employed in a tourism-related job for the full 12 months of the last year. Just under half of the people who said that they worked in tourism actually worked full-time although some individuals in the above table may work full-time during the busy part of the year and only part-time, or not at all, for the remainder of the year.

Asked whether anyone in their immediate family works directly in tourism, 21 per cent of respondents (113 people) said one family member other than themselves worked in tourism. Of these 113 family members, 48 worked full-time while 65 worked part-time. Sixteen (3.0%) respondents in the sample had two family members working in tourism, with six of them working full-time and ten, part-time. Seven respondents had three family members working in tourism related jobs.

5.5.1 Other Benefits

That tourism increases the cultural diversity of Rotorua was a benefit that 17.4 per cent of respondents mentioned. From observations, many Rotorua people enjoy meeting people from different cultural backgrounds. They also enjoy the way in which Maori culture is so prominent in the town. However, it is difficult to say what this enjoyment of cultural diversity means, since there are few places in which local people actually get to meet visitors on a one to one level. In addition, few Pakeha seem to attend Maori cultural events in Rotorua.

Over the course of the research period, many people mentioned the improvements in the City centre and the waterfront. For example after mentioning how bad the waterfront area had been one respondent said;

Now the whole place is fantastic. It's nice to feel proud of where you live and with all the development of the Town and the waterfront, I can feel that way. Rotorua is wonderful. It is the right size, it is central so that it is easy to reach the beach and the snow. It is a great place for kids – there are three MacDonaldis, which the boys think is great and heaps of cafés because of tourism. There would not be nearly so many without tourism. My kids have access to lots of opportunities that they would not have if tourism were not here. There are great opportunities to meet people from so many different cultures. There is much more of that kind of thing here than say in Cambridge. Rotorua really is the place to be.

Thus for some people, tourism makes Rotorua a nicer place to live in.

5.5.2 Summary

Overall this section has shown that Rotorua residents are very accepting of tourism in the town and many say that they personally hardly even notice that it is there. Of 507 respondents, 489 specified benefits that they felt accrued from having tourism in Rotorua. Only 16⁸ people (3.2%) could not think of any benefits from tourism, and a closer look at the profiles of these individuals reveals inconsistencies in their replies (see Appendix 6). Rather than indicating a dislike for tourism, it appears that not saying there are benefits from tourism indicates that respondents could or would not think of answers at the time of the phone call rather than that they feel there are no benefits from tourism.

Around 70 per cent of the sample said that there were economic benefits from tourism. Other connected benefits that people cited were that tourism is good for business and that it created jobs. Employment is an important benefit of tourism and is one of the main reasons that the Council has become an active player in tourism. It appears that, although tourism is seen as a good employer of unskilled labour, in fact, over half of the people surveyed during this research who work in tourism have a tertiary qualification.

⁸ This figure represents actual individuals and is not weighted.

While the economic aspects of tourism are clearly most important in the minds of the community, many other benefits were also mentioned including more opportunities for activities, the development of the city centre, better services and the cultural diversity that tourism brings to the area. Having looked at what people consider to be the benefits of tourism in Rotorua, the next section now turns to the more negative aspects of tourism before discussing some of the factors which contribute to residents' perceptions of tourism.

5.6 Problems and Concerns about Tourism

Rotorua people have a high level of acceptance of tourism and a high level of appreciation of the benefits of tourism, however many of them also recognise that there are costs associated with tourism in the Town. In addition, knowing what concerns people have and what problems they perceive is important if those impacts are to be managed well in the future. This section therefore looks at the findings from two questions in the survey which explore what residents think are the more negative aspects of tourism in the Town. In addition to information from the telephone survey, participant observations and interview data are used to interpret the problems and concerns that Rotorua people express in relation to tourism.

Perhaps of greatest note here is the small number of individuals who cite the different problems. Only 38 per cent (193 respondents) of the sample said that they thought there were any problems with tourism. This compares very favourably with the 489 people in the sample who said that there were benefits from tourism in Rotorua. Also of significance is that there are no outstanding problems that many people mention. Their responses are evenly spread against a wider range of answers than was the case where they discussed benefits.

While it may seem that the concerns that people have about tourism may be similar to what people class as problems with tourism, the two questions result in slightly different responses. There was a correlation between the two sets of answers in that people who had concerns were more likely to say that there were problems with tourism. The major difference is that when asked about "concerns" many people said that they were concerned that tourists might stop visiting Rotorua, or that visitors to the town were not treated well enough by local businesses. In other words, one of the major concerns that people had was that tourism depends on visitors wanting to come to the region. In a sense then, asking about people's concerns brought out issues associated with the town relying on something that is associated with impermanent and difficult-to-define things such as people's tastes. In addition it became clear that many people were more worried about how crime might put visitors off rather than about having crime in their hometown per se.

The following subsections discuss briefly the presence of outlying communities who do not want to see tourism development and the impacts of tourism on Maori and Youth. The qualitative data and past research suggest that these are two groups who stand out as being most affected by tourism. Following this, there is some discussion of the findings of Hill Young Cooper Limited (1997) about the concerns that were voiced during the course of their research. Finally, in this section the findings of the telephone survey provide the basis for a discussion of the more negative aspects of tourism for local residents.

5.6.1 Outlying Communities

While the overall community is accepting of further tourism development, there are clear pockets where this is not so. The communities out at Lake Tarawera and Lake Okareka, for example have lobbied strongly to limit tourism development in those areas.

It is clear that Tarawera is a distinct community. They have fought very hard not to have tourism development. They have had two big cases [*one over the District Plan, and one over a resort development*], both of which they have won Both times Council gave consent ... and they just banded together and fought against it and in that case [*their challenge to the District Plan*], they actually got as far as the Environment Court and the Environment Court ruled that it would change the nature of the community and therefore they weren't allowed to have it and the other one I think the developer just decided that it was too hard and pulled out.

A few people in the group that successfully fought these cases, have a good understanding of the Resource Management Act and its associated processes. The challenge to the provisions of the District Plan, have made the Rotorua District Council uncomfortable because they feel that this group are preventing the completion of the plan with their objections. The group themselves are agitated that the amendment to the plan is taking so long to complete. Certainly the process has taken time. The proposed plan was released in 1993 (See Rotorua District Council, 1993) and the Tarawera Variation came out in 1998 (Rotorua District Council, 1998).

5.6.2 Maori and Youth

The importance of Maori culture in the Rotorua tourism product creates tensions in the Maori community. For example, there is debate about what aspects of the culture should be for sale to the visitors. In addition, there are difficulties in balancing a community's need for money with their need for privacy. For example, two of the tourist attractions in Rotorua (Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu) are places where local people actually live. Marae, which host visitors while also fulfilling important local functions for that community, face similar problems. These are issues that simply do not affect the Pakeha community in Rotorua. The effect of tourism on Maori is discussed in greater depth in a separate report (Tahana, et al., 2000).

Given the potentially negative impacts of tourism on Maori, it is surprising that there is no significant difference between Maori and Pakeha on their assessment of how they feel about further tourism development in the area. Overall, most Maori also consider that Rotorua could do with more tourism. This apparent anomaly may be indicative of the dependence of the Maori community on tourism as a form of employment. Their high levels of unemployment and the fact that according to our survey, Maori are more likely to be employed in a tourism-related job may well imply that as a community Maori are more dependent on tourism than are Pakeha. A higher dependence on tourism tends to be linked with a more negative assessment of the effects of tourism (Evans, 1994; Sharpley, 1994) and a subsequent need to put up with those effects. Thus, tourism becomes a two-edged sword for communities with a high dependence on it.

A youth consultation project run by the Social Policy Unit of the Rotorua District Council (Rotorua District Council, 1999a and b) noted that young people like having tourism in the Town, but there were also clear indications that they felt excluded from participating in activities because of expense. A few young people also felt that they were not welcome on the streets of their own Town and blamed the presence of tourism for that, however there were others who clearly enjoyed being able to “hang out” in local cafés amongst visitors from all over the world.

5.6.3 Problems and the General Community

Hill Young Cooper Limited (1997:4) in a study based on 11 focus groups (81 people) also noted that there is a tension between tourism as a positive force and the threat that it might develop too much:

Tourism is perceived in both a positive and a negative light; it is a source of employment and economic growth, it is the motivation for city upgrades and the provision of services that locals can use also, it is an opportunity to show off what Rotorua has to offer and provides a sophistication that isn't seen in other cities of similar size. However there are fears that it will become 'overrun' with tourists to the extent that locals won't be able to access the recreation and wilderness experiences that are so important, or that the centre of town will only cater for tourists, and Rotorua will lose its unique identity.

These fears are expressed frequently in tourist areas in New Zealand, and clearly, despite its long history, Rotorua is the same. Currently, tourism is viewed positively, however residents are mindful of what it could become in the future. It is significant that the major focus of this quote is the potential for tourism to ruin the natural attractions through crowding. It appears that as long as visitors remain in areas that are considered tourist attractions, tourism is all right. If international visitors begin to move out into areas that locals value as uncrowded and natural, then it might become more problematic. Where domestic visitors use natural areas, their invisibility as tourists may well mean that locals assess any crowds as being the result of local use.

Table 13
Locals' Problems with Tourism

Problems with Tourism	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
Driving	43	8.5
Overcrowding/Over-exploitation	36	7.1
Other	34	6.7
Crime	26	5.1
High prices	25	4.9
Traffic/parking	21	4.1
High rates	15	3.0
Inappropriate tourist behaviour	15	3.0
Pollution, litter etc	15	3.0
Outside owners of tourism shops no benefit to Rotorua	12	2.4
Difficult communication	7	1.4
Over commercialisation	6	1.2
Focus on tourists, not on locals	6	1.2
Over-dependence on tourism	5	1.0
Possibility of casino	3	0.6
Health Issues	2	0.4

Multiple Response: percentages do not add to 100

5.6.4 Driving and Traffic

As Table 13 shows, the standard of tourist driving was the most frequently mentioned problem associated with tourism. The qualitative data indicate that many locals are concerned about the danger of some international drivers. A further problem that some residents mention is increased traffic around town and problems associated with parking. Larger campervans appear to be frustrating both in town and on the open road. A few locals also mention traffic as a problem particularly at weekends when many people come down to Rotorua from Auckland.

Traffic and driving problems are not confined to Rotorua. Lawson et al. (1998:253), in their study of perceptions of tourism in ten different New Zealand destinations, write:

One of the most persistent complaints about tourists to official bodies, and one which occurred in every focus group we conducted, relates to frustration with driving standards and the behaviour of tourists on the road.

Traffic problems are not blamed only on tourism. In Rotorua, the forestry sector also comes in for some criticism because of the many logging trucks on the roads around the area, and in fact it appears that some residents feel that having many logging trucks on the roads alongside the tourist traffic is dangerous.

5.6.5 Overcrowding and Exploitation of Local Environments

That Rotorua people have concerns over overcrowding and exploitation of local environments is unsurprising given their enjoyment of the surrounding natural environments. Rotorua people are aware of their environment both because of the recreation opportunities that it offers and because of the lake pollution problems that the Town had in the 1980s and early 90s. These problems have made many people aware that they cannot take their environment for granted. It also appears that people who live in tourist destinations around New Zealand are concerned that they do not become over-developed, although it is by no means clear just what this means to people. Overexploitation is clearly linked to people's concern that tourism be well managed in the area.

Table 14
Locals' Concerns with Tourism

	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
Crime	98	19.3
Need more/worried that tourists won't come	53	10.5
Quality of tourist treatment	38	7.5
Rotorua's image might get worse	26	5.1
Too much for tourists not enough for locals	22	4.3
Overuse of local areas and natural resources	15	3.0
Other	14	2.8
Management of tourism needed	14	2.8
Traffic/driving	12	2.4
Income not of benefit to Rotorua	10	2.0
Litter/pollution, untidy/environmental damage	9	1.8
Maori issues	9	1.8
Costs for locals	8	1.6
Health	7	1.4
Over-commercialisation	5	1.0
No casino please	5	1.0
Rotorua needs an airport upgrade	5	1.0
Lack of respect for locals	3	0.6

Note: multiple response - percentages do not add to 100

5.6.6 Crime

Crime is often connected with tourism although the relationship is not a simple one and researchers are not entirely clear about why this link exists (Moore and Berno, 1995). It is clear from the results of the telephone survey that some residents feel that crime is linked to tourism. Locals most frequently mentioned crime as a concern for them (Table 14) and fourth most frequently as a problem (Table 13). It appears that it has been a local issue for some time. Coddington (1991:106) noted that local people mentioned crime as a problem back in 1991, however she went on to say:

[their statements about] crime are simply unfounded. ... Rotorua Senior Sergeant Philip Spackman said the Town had had half the house burglaries compared with a year ago ... however he says that theft from tourist cars is increasing. ... tourists leave valuables out in full view which tempts burglars.

It appears therefore that back at that time, crime against locals was decreasing although crime against visitors who are easy targets was increasing.

That crime is still important to local Rotorua people is well supported by the public debate and discussion that went on during the research period (see for example Campbell, 1999). It also appears that there is now some justification for this concern. A newspaper article in the Daily Post (Wed. 7th October 1998: p1) noted that Rotorua's crime rate is still increasing. While nationally there was a 3.5 per cent *decrease* in crime, Rotorua crime *increased* by 4.1 per cent. According to the article, Rotorua was one of the few areas in New Zealand to experience an increase in crime. The "increase" has attributed "mostly to drug and anti social offences" which it appears are up mainly because of "the hard work that the police and community had been doing in that area". Presumably this implies that more people have been caught rather than that there are necessarily more of these types of crimes happening. However, according to the article, there was also a four per cent increase in violent crime as compared with a national increase of 0.4 per cent. The newspaper also noted that the crime resolution rate in Rotorua is above average at 42.5 per cent (compared with 38.1% nationally), however the Daily Post (Tiriana, 1999) suggests that this may drop as police numbers are cut back.

A police officer interviewee said that crime is most heavily concentrated in the Maori community and is particularly prevalent in areas such as Fordlands where there is high poverty (see Rotorua District Council, 1998a). Newspaper and radio articles suggest also that Rotorua has a problem with gangs and gang recruitment and that this contributes to the level of crime in the area (e.g. Morning Report, National Radio Tuesday 2nd Nov. 1999). Neither of these sources of crime are directly connected to tourism.

More directly associated with tourism is crime that involves breaking into visitors' cars or into motels. There are reasons why visitors are likely to be targets of this kind of crime. It appears that moteliers have not always told their guests to keep their rooms locked and secure because it might have affected their impressions of Rotorua. In addition, visitors often have cars full of personal effects that are highly visible to anyone who looks through the windows and this makes visitors an easier target for thieves. Local people have banded together to watch over carparks at different tourist attractions during the height of the tourist season. This has helped decrease the frequency of this kind of crime.

While some locals are concerned about crime as an indicator of poverty, many people appear more concerned that visitors might be put off coming to Rotorua. A few of my interviewees mentioned that they had met visitors who had expressed concern at what they had heard about crime in Rotorua. For this reason there are quite a number of people who would prefer that crime was not discussed, particularly in the media where visitors or potential visitors may see articles or letters to the editor, or hear it on radio or television. On the other hand, the people who are concerned more by what crime means for the local community, are more inclined to want to talk about the issue and to take action to try to stop the crime. During the research period there was much community discussion of crime and the need for higher police numbers.

Field observations and interviews indicated that there is a need for higher numbers of police in Rotorua if they are to become more involved with preventing crime, rather than just dealing with it as it arises around Town. However, it is also worth noting that increasing crime levels are likely to be the result of many different factors, from increasing poverty, an increasing gap between rich and poor and the fact that visitors are often easy prey for criminals.

5.6.7 Other Problems and Concerns

Very few individuals in the survey felt that a major problem for Rotorua was businesses that do not appear to benefit local people. However in interviews and casual conversations, people frequently mentioned that they did not want to see businesses owned by outsiders that had little benefit for the locals. The local community wants to feel as if tourism is in local control. For example they felt that Koreans contributed little to the local economy. They note that they come into Rotorua, pay relatively low prices for their hotel beds, travel on buses from Auckland, and to shop in places that are Korean-owned. This means that local people feel that Korean visitors contribute very little to the local economy. Some go as far as to say that this is a form of exploitation.

Hill Young Cooper Limited (1997) also record this concern expressed by people in their focus groups:

... fears of Rotorua becoming too big and losing the values that the residents place on it were common themes. This value also links in to business and business ownership and control. There were different feelings about foreign investment in the District with some people feeling that it is necessary for business to grow, while others were concerned at 'losing control' or foreign businesses 'making money out of us and leaving' ...

Judging from the findings of Lawson, et al., (1998:251), people right across New Zealand are concerned that more of the returns of business investment should stay in New Zealand. They also note that in their study, this feeling was strongest in Rotorua. Thus, it appears that people in Rotorua are generally happy to see tourism development as long as they feel that there is local control over that development.

A few individuals also mentioned that they felt that “the Town” as an unspecific whole is more interested in visitors than they are in locals. This assertion is a matter of interpretation, since many other people say that the upgrade of the town has been very good for local people and that they wouldn’t have had that upgrade if it hadn’t been for tourism in the town. In addition many say that there would not be the level of services and facilities in the town that there is now if it were not for tourism.

Fifteen people (2.9 %) mentioned high rates as a problem. Observations indicate that the group most vocally opposed to local government spending in tourism is Federated Farmers, however of the fifteen who mentioned rates as a problem only four were farmers. The remaining 11 people included two people working directly in tourism, three in professional occupations, two retirees, one unemployed, two in self-employment and one unspecified.

A further 21 people (4.1%) felt that tourism meant that prices in town were higher because of tourism. This complaint is a difficult one to analyse. Overall it seemed that the cost of living in Rotorua was not any higher than the cost of living in Christchurch. It seems most likely that in Rotorua, high prices are a reflection of the fact that there are many more commercial activities for people to do than in most towns of the same size. For residents who want to do these things, tourist activities seem expensive. However as one interviewee said:

... they aren’t really expensive by tourism standards, like when you go to Australia you happily lash out \$80-\$90 to go to theme parks – you’re just in a different kind of mood when you are holidaying.

Part of the problem then, appears to be that there are very big differences between what people are prepared to spend on holiday compared to what they are prepared to spend during the normal course of their everyday lives. What seems quite cheap to visitors as a one-off and unusual event does not feel that way to residents simply because it is something that they live with – even if they have never visited it.

Five people mentioned that they did not want to see a casino in Rotorua. This issue came up in both observations and interviews and was clearly important to people, but because it was not being debated publicly at the time, it was not foremost in people’s minds and therefore does not feature strongly in this survey. The debates about a casino in Rotorua are very similar to those that have happened in Christchurch, Queenstown and Hamilton.

5.6.8 People Who Say There is Too Much Tourism in Rotorua Already

As with the group of people who said that there were no benefits from tourism, there are no clear reasons why the 13 people⁹ who said that there is too much tourism in Rotorua thought that way (see Appendix 7). The profile of the aforementioned group indicates that there are no clear patterns, although it does appear that women may be more likely than men to say that there is too much tourism in Rotorua already. Further qualitative research specifically designed to see if there are differences in the way that women perceive tourism or weigh up its costs and benefits may be interesting. Other studies indicate that there are differences between the sexes in the way that they construct and describe their worlds and this may be important in the way individuals assess and discuss tourism impacts (see for example, Belenky, et al., 1986; Miller, 1986; J. Kiewa, 1999, pers. comm.¹⁰).

5.6.9 Summary

This section has discussed groups of people on whom tourism appears to impact negatively and the problems that people say tourism creates and the concerns that they have about tourism in Rotorua. Of greatest note, is that only 38 per cent of the sample actually were able to specify what problems they perceive as having been caused by tourism. A higher number of people have concerns about tourism, but the data indicate that almost half of these are actually concerns about the stability of tourism itself rather than concerns about any problems that it causes.

5.7 Where Hosts Meets Guests

Some authors consider that the places and ways in which hosts and guests meet are pivotal to how both perceive a destination (see Horn, 1996 for a summary of this). Of particular note is that the more voluntary the contact, the greater the control that hosts feel they have over the amount of contact that they have with visitors. This sense of control is an important factor in residents' acceptance of tourism (e.g., Ap and Crompton, 1993 and Brown and Giles, 1994). In casual conversation with different people around Rotorua, many locals said that they seldom met visitors. A question in the telephone survey asked residents how often they meet visitors when they are participating in their favourite recreation activities and in the course of their everyday life – never, very little, sometimes, or a lot. Two hundred and ninety six people (58.1% of the sample) said that they met them sometimes or often in the course of their everyday life. In comparison, 66.8 per cent of the sample said that they met them sometimes or often when doing their favourite recreational activities. If they said that they met visitors sometimes or a lot whilst participating in recreational activities, they were then asked what those activities were.

⁹ This figure is not weighted.

¹⁰ Working Paper presented at the ANZALS conference in January 1999, at the University of Waikato, Hamilton New Zealand.

Table 15 shows the activities and places that brought locals into contact with visitors. Although we expected people to answer by giving the name of an activity, many actually named a place. In Rotorua the most popular place for walking, running and mountain biking was Whaka Forest. This means that the 117 people who meet tourists when walking or running and the 20 who meet them mountain-biking are likely to come across visitors in the Forest. Therefore Whaka Forest appears to be where locals most often notice visitors. Another important point of contact is the lakes. It is interesting to note that these are the types of outdoor recreation sites mentioned earlier that could be prone to crowding if visitor numbers to the area increase quickly.

Table 15
Places and Activities where Locals meet Visitors

	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
Walking/running	117	22.9
Fishing	39	7.8
Boating and other water sports	22	4.4
In town (shopping etc)	26	5.2
Organised sport	28	5.5
Redwoods, Whaka forest	21	4.0
Parks, lakefront, Government Gardens, Kuirau Park	17	3.3
At tourist attractions	25	5.0
Golf	18	3.4
Mountain biking	20	4.0
Cafés, bars, restaurants	14	2.7
Bowls – indoor, outdoor and 10 pin	11	2.2
Swimming	14	2.5
Hunting	16	3.0
The lakes	9	1.7
Hobbies	10	2.0
Performances – cultural, drama etc	5	1.0
Horse Riding	7	1.3
Driving and 4WD	5	0.9
Craft markets	3	0.7
Church activities	4	0.6
Other	11	2.1

Note: Multiple Response: percentages do not add to 100

Table 15 indicates that locals do not meet visitors often if they are not working in tourism—a finding which supports the qualitative data and explains the finding noted earlier that most locals do not feel that tourism intrudes on their everyday lives. It may also reflect the fact that where domestic visitors are in contact with locals, locals do not realise that they are visitors to the area.

Table 16 shows the places in which hosts say that they enjoy meeting visitors. By far the greatest number of people say they like to see visitors at tourist attractions which makes good economic sense. Of interest is that observations indicate that there is also a sense that tourist attractions are the places that tourists ought to go and that locals do not go to those places very much.

Table 16
Are There Places Where You Like to See Visitors/Tourists?

	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
At tourist attractions	143	28.2
Parks, Lakefront, Government Gardens, Kuirau Park	87	17.2
Cafés, bars, restaurants	68	13.4
Redwoods, Whaka forest	32	6.3
At the lakes	28	5.5
In Town (shopping etc)	33	6.5
At work	6	1.2
Craft markets	3	0.6
Organised sport	5	1.0
Golf	3	0.6
Performances – cultural, drama etc	1	0.02
Church activities	1	0.02
Other	22	4.3

Note: Multiple response, percentages do not add to 100

Many locals that I spoke to do not go to commercial tourist attractions very often and in fact, a surprising number have not been to most of the major attractions. When asked during casual conversation, many locals mention the price of going, however, it appears that there are other major influences. First, some of the attractions are aimed specifically at international visitors (for example, the Agrodome, Rainbow-Fairy Springs) and hold very little attraction for locals – certainly not enough for them to pay the entrance fees. A second important factor in this is that most of the major attractions are not attractions that call for repeat visits. This is partly the reason they are aimed at international visitors. New Zealanders are more likely to be repeat visitors and having visited something such as the Agrodome or a geothermal area once, most see little point in visiting them again. Of course the same goes for locals. A third factor is that one gets the sense that locals sometimes use *not* going to commercial tourist attractions as a way of identifying themselves as local. For many it is almost a matter of pride to be able to say that they have not been to these attractions unless they have done so for free. For many local people, it seems that having some recognition of their status as locals improves the likelihood of their visiting a commercial attraction.

One exception to this is where locals are entertaining people from out of town. In that case, they will take their visitors to see some attractions. As Figure 5 indicates, 38.7 per cent of respondents say that they never go to visitor attractions if they do not take their guests. To encourage this, some attractions give local people free entry if they are bringing visitors in, thus providing some recognition of their local status.

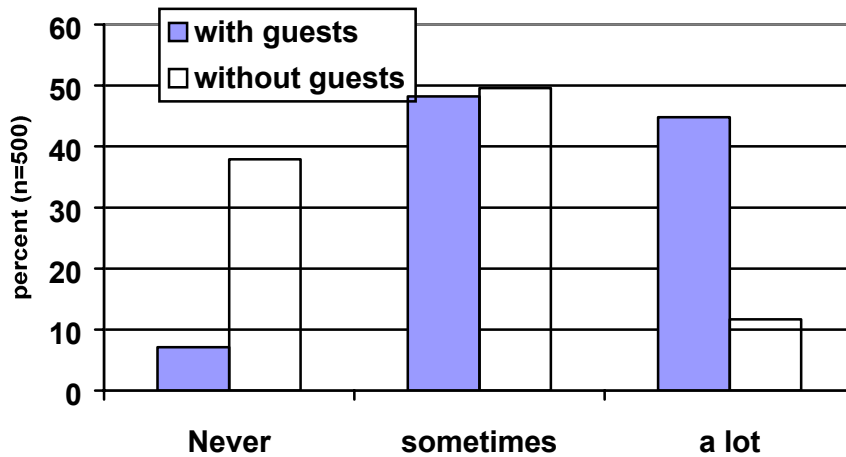


Figure 5
How Often Local People Visit Attractions With Their Guests And On Their Own (Without Guests)

In summary, there are relatively few places where residents meet visitors. This means that it is likely that residents feel that they can easily avoid visitors if they so wish. Contact between hosts and guests therefore is generally voluntary and therefore likely to be more positive than if it were more frequent and less easy to avoid.

5.8 Factors Affecting Host-Guest Contact

Another aspect of the host-guest encounter is that some visitors are more easily identified as visitors than others. As has been noted earlier, international visitors are likely to be more noticeable than domestic ones. The next section looks at resident responses to questions about types of visitor that they particularly liked or disliked. Again, these questions were only answered by a small number of people. It is interesting that they are often answered in terms of international visitors rather than domestic ones. This lends more weight to the idea that domestic visitors have less impact than international ones.

Table 17 shows the types of visitors that residents said that they particularly liked. Eighty-one per cent of respondents had no answer for this question.

Table 17
Types Of Visitors That Residents Particularly Liked

	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
Europeans/Germans	19	3.8
Polite/nice	16	3.2
Asians	14	2.7
Americans	13	2.6
UK	12	2.3
Canadians	11	2.1
Like them all	10	2.0
Other	7	1.4
Young people/backpackers	7	1.4
Australians	6	1.2
Female	5	1.1
No answer	413	82.0

Note: Multiple response, percentages do not add to 100

Table 18 shows which visitors residents profess to particularly dislike. It indicates that cultural distance may be important in people’s assessment of visitors. During observations and interviews, a few people mentioned that Korean visitors have a tendency to spit in public places. This, combined with the fact that some locals feel that Korean tourists contribute little to the Rotorua economy because of their style of travel and consumption patterns, means that many local people are at least ambivalent about their presence. Note that the non-nationality categories – for example, “rude/pushy” tended to be attached to a nationality for example “rude Koreans” or “busloads of Asians”. Cultural distance, which can result in inappropriate behaviour, and visibility therefore appear to be factors that influence local perceptions of visitors.

Table 18
Types Of Visitors Whom Residents Particularly Disliked

	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
Asians	37	7.3
Rude/pushy	21	4.1
Koreans	18	3.6
Japanese	11	2.2
Busloads	11	2.2
Americans	9	1.8
Other (All nationalities)	7	1.4
Those who lack respect for place or people	4	0.7
None	410	80.9

Note: Multiple response, percentages do not add to 100

Table 19 shows what answers respondents gave to the question “are there any places that you would prefer not to meet visitors?” This question had a very low number of responses. Moreover, the second and fourth categories in the table are associated with people’s concerns for the safety and enjoyment of visitors. The rest fit in with the idea that locals want to maintain some level of control over their meetings with visitors. That visitors should not go to locals’ favourite places or to places of special significance to locals was the most commonly given answer. This is reflective of the idea above that local people did not want to see their outdoor recreation areas overcrowded. Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa were considered to be home areas and a few people (mostly Pakeha) felt that it was not appropriate for visitors to be wandering around places where people live. However, this view is one that is debated. A Pakeha interviewee said:

We were talking about signposting down there [Ohinemutu] ... and when you get there, there is nothing to tell you anything about it. Someone that lived there complained quite bitterly about the invasion of privacy. People come in looking, peering into windows and all those kinds of things. I think there is some conflict that I have heard, between them and the operators that do little tours down there and don’t pay any money. But then, other people argue that, well, it’s our home and we don’t want to charge people to come down there, so there is a hospitality sort of issue.

It appears that the issue of privacy may be shared by those who said that they did not like to meet visitors in residential areas.

**Table 19
Places In Which Residents Prefer Not To Meet Visitors?**

	Weighted (N = 507)	
	Frequency	%
Locals favourite places and tapu areas	26	5.1
Poorer, unattractive or unsafe areas of Town	20	3.9
Residential areas	8	1.6
Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa	6	1.2
Places/attractions that are unattractive in some way	6	1.2
Local shopping areas	3	0.6

Note: Multiple response, percentages do not add to 100

Overall the low numbers in Table 19 indicate that most locals are not particularly worried about where visitors go in Rotorua. This may also reflect that, currently, the spatial arrangement of Rotorua means that locals generally feel that they are not adversely affected by the presence of tourists in the area. This is supported by the findings discussed earlier in the report where locals reported that tourism did not impinge on their everyday life.

In summary, this section has discussed the places in which local people meet visitors. Overall it appears that there are relatively few places in which locals meet visitors. This means that locals generally feel that they have some measure of control about whether they go to places where the visitors are. The visitors who have the greatest impact on locals are those who are most different from them culturally and that some forms of inappropriate behaviour are part of the problem. It is interesting that no comments whatsoever were made about domestic visitors who appear to be largely invisible to residents.

5.9 Factors affecting Local Perceptions of Tourism

The last few sections of this chapter have documented Rotorua residents' perceptions of tourism. As noted frequently, many residents are positive about tourism in the area and a large number feel that tourism has little or no impact on them at all. This section outlines the reasons for those perceptions. Most of the information in this section comes from interviews and observations.

Rotorua is fortunate in the way visitors are spread spatially around the Town and the surrounding District. The approximately 1.5 million visitors who come to the area each year, are well spread around the area because both attractions and accommodation are well spread out. Many of the popular attractions are a good distance from the Town centre. For example, from the centre of town, Whakarewarewa is 3km, Rainbow Springs/Rainbow Farm and Skyline Skyrides 5km, the Agrodome 9km, Waiotapu 25km, Waimangu 25km, Hells Gate 15km, Blue Lake (Lake Tikitapu) Maori name 9km, Okere Falls 15km and Lake Tarawera 18km from the Town centre and this represents only a few of the many attractions in the area (see Figure 2) At any one time, then, visitors can be well spread around the whole Rotorua Lakes area.

The Town itself is also well organised, with a concentration of popular cafés and restaurants in the blocks near the lakefront area. The general shopping area is further back from the lakefront beyond an area of office blocks. This means that locals who are trying to shop are less likely to be meeting large numbers of visitors. However, the café area is well frequented by local people and locals in the café zone appear to enjoy the leisurely atmosphere created by the presence of a wide variety of people in a street of cafés. In other words, the separation is not necessarily between visitor and host but between shopper and recreationist.

A second factor is the perceived degree of local ownership of tourism. Some of the models popular with tourism researchers suggest that as tourism develops in a place, ownership of the businesses there changes from local to outside interests (Keller, 1987). Because Rotorua has a long history of tourism, these models predict that many of the tourist businesses there should be owned by outside interests. There are many businesses owned by outsiders in Rotorua – for example many of the retail stores in the town are part of a larger chain of stores nation-wide and the large hotels are outside-owned. However there are also many locally-owned and operated businesses, particularly in the attractions sector. For example the Agrodome is owner-operated, the geothermal attractions are all either leased from the Dept of Conservation by local people (e.g., Waiotapu and Waimangu) or owned by local people (e.g., Whakarewarewa and Hells Gate), the Buried Village and Paradise Valley Springs and the Polynesian Pools are also family businesses and many of these families are in their second generation of ownership.

A third factor is that local people in Rotorua appear to have a sense of control in relation to the tourism industry. A sense of control is important in the way that local people are able to adjust to tourism (Berno, 1995), and one gets a strong sense that both the tourism industry and the community in Rotorua are high in their perceptions of control. This appears to be the result of three main factors. First, the Tourism Strategic Plan and the structures of Tourism Rotorua and the Council give industry the sense that they are in a meaningful partnership with the local Council. Second, while the Asian economic crisis of 1998 hit the Rotorua tourism hard (Ernst & Young Consultants, 1998), the quick recovery of the tourism industry has given them a sense that they can cope with crises of this sort. This confidence is also the result of the long history of the Town with tourism and the longstanding nature of many of the tourism businesses in the Town. As an interviewee involved in tourism in Rotorua put it:

I'm working in New Zealand's most established tourism infrastructure, you know it has had years to learn. It's gone through things like the Asian downturn of last year. When it hit the country, the media flew over it and everyone started saying Rotorua is going to go down and da da da. And the minister himself was amazed when we called a forum here and there wasn't hysteria or anything. He was the one looking more... worried about everything and we were saying oh we've seen it all come and go. We're not complacent but basically there's ways to deal with it and we just need to not cry about spilt milk, and get on with it.

Another interviewee talked in a similar way about the 'Asian crisis';

The collapse of the Asian market was not entirely a surprise but it did happen really fast and with very little warning. It was something that taught everyone valuable lessons and so they have developed strategies and learned to adapt to the volatility of all the external factors that affect the market.

In essence, the long history of tourism in Rotorua and the longstanding nature of many local tourism businesses mean that people in the industry have experienced difficulties previously. They know that many factors that affect their businesses are out of their control, but that when presented with a problem they can generally get through it. The established nature of the businesses probably also means that they are better able to weather any problems that come their way. That they have come through difficult times such as the collapse of the Asian market gives them confidence based on their experience.

A third factor in the community's sense of control is the visibility of people like Warren Harford who are long term locals and who have a strong and public role in the direction of tourism in Rotorua. The PCE report (1997) notes that one of the most influential groups in the tourism industry in Rotorua is the Hotel General Managers group. This is clearly still the case. However, whenever we asked anyone in the community who has the most influence in Rotorua tourism, they did not mention the hotel managers. Instead, the managers of the Five Star group of attractions are considered the most influential. In particular, Warren Harford and Neville Nicholson¹¹, are names that people often mention. These individuals are long-term local residents and have been managing their respective businesses for a substantial amount of time. For this reason, local people know them and can identify them as influential people. In comparison, the hotel general managers' positions tend to turn over, so their position on RTAB and in the portfolio groups is one defined by their position rather than their identity, and they are not well known as individuals.

5.9.1 Summary

This chapter has outlined how local people perceive tourism in Rotorua at the current time. People in Rotorua generally enjoy the place in which they live and many who have moved there from elsewhere at some stage during their life are pleasantly surprised by how invisible tourism is in the area. Overall Rotorua people were much more inclined to say that there were benefits from tourism and most of them mention the economic benefits of the industry. In comparison, a much smaller number of people were able to specify what problems they thought arose from tourism. For those that had concerns, a large proportion of them were more concerned that visitors might stop coming to the area than that tourism was causing any major problems. One must note that the effect of debates within the local media can have a big effect on the responses to open-ended questions which really ascertain the types of things that people have foremost in their mind. Had the questions been more closed in nature (such as those used in most attitudinal surveys) the frequency of response would have been higher for both the problems and the benefits.

While the research was in progress, local crime was debated in the media and this shows up in residents' responses to our telephone survey. Similarly Hill Young Cooper Limited (1997) note that at the time of their research many people mentioned that Rotorua needs a new airport and that this issue had been in the media at the time. Another issue that may have featured more frequently in the survey if it had been more recently debated was whether Rotorua should get a casino or not.

Rotorua people appear to feel as if tourism in their town is locally controlled. It appears that this is an important factor in the high acceptance of tourism in the Town because people dislike seeing outsiders coming in, making money out of the place and then leaving again.

The high acceptance of tourism in the town does not mean that local people are not aware of some of the problems associated with the industry. A very small group indicated that they feel that Rotorua values visitors more than locals. While this may not be a fair assessment, it indicates that the Council needs to remain mindful of the need to communicate with the community as a whole about its involvement in tourism.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that Neville Nicholson manages a business owned by Skyline – a New Zealand company. However, in spite of this, Rotorua people still think of the business as local because of the long-term involvement of Mr Nicholson.

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter draws together the major findings of this study and indicates the reasons why tourism in Rotorua is well accepted by residents there. Rotorua is considered one of New Zealand's tourist icons. Rotorua people are generally accepting of tourism in their Town. Some residents are very positive about tourism while a larger proportion are unconcerned about it, saying that they don't really notice visitors and that tourism does not really impinge on their lives.

Some of this high acceptance appears to be the result of the active participation of the local Council in marketing and managing tourism in the area. The Council's participation in tourism increased after a crisis period during the 1980s when the town was affected by Government restructuring and its associated changes and environmental problems. Rotorua's well-established industry generally works well and Tourism Rotorua, a branch of Council has been a pivotal factor in the development of a co-operative industry.

Given some of the premises of the tourism area cycle of evolution (Butler, 1980), this high level of acceptance is, perhaps, surprising. This and other, connected models of tourism development in the tourism research literature suggest that as a destination matures, locals will more irritated by, or apathetic about, tourism (Doxey, 1975; Keller, 1987). In fact, this research indicates that having a long history of tourism has actually had a positive influence on people's attitudes. Faulkner and Tidswell (1997) also note this phenomenon on the Gold Coast of Australia and suggest, instead, that if people perceive benefits for the community as a whole, they will be prepared to put up with any problems that tourism presents for them as individuals. However, even this explanation does not appear to fit the Rotorua case, where in fact most individuals do not currently feel that tourism affects them negatively. It appears, therefore, that local acceptance of tourism is the result of many factors, from good management, particularly on the part of Tourism Rotorua and their industry groups, to good luck.

6.1 Factors Contributing to Positive Resident Perceptions

Rotorua has been an important New Zealand tourism destination for over 150 years. However, the density of tourists relative to the size of the host population is low when compared with other visitor destinations such as Queenstown, Te Anau, or Kaikoura (Collier, 1997; Simmons, et al., 1998). The Town maintains a relatively large permanent resident population because of the presence of other large sectors in the Rotorua economy such as forestry, farming and manufacturing. Therefore, the Town only partly relies on tourism (see Butcher, et al., 2000) - an important part of the reason why tourism has a relatively low impact on the community.

Second, visitors are widely dispersed around the area because the many natural and built attractions are spread across the region. The positive effects of a low density of visitors adds to the positive effects of having visitors spread throughout the District. Of further significance is that tourists tend to be most concentrated in the places where locals feel that they add colour and life, for example the cafés, the waterfront and some of the public parks.

Third, the design of the central business district means that locals do not generally feel that they have to deal with crowds of visitors during the course of their everyday lives. There are relatively few people who are obviously visitors in the places where locals do their day-to-day shopping. Notwithstanding this, locals can, and often do, choose to go and spend time in the areas of the Town where there are many visitors, for example the waterfront area and the area on Tutanekai St. which is lined by cafés and restaurants. In this case, the presence of a wide range of visitors is seen to add to the character and ambience of the area.

In addition to low density and good spatial arrangements, the fact that most of the visitors to Rotorua are New Zealanders means that they are less often noticed as ‘other’ in the way that international visitors are. New Zealand visitors appear to have similar recreational tastes to the local people in that they visit many of the natural attractions and participate more in outdoor activities. Even when favourite local recreation areas become crowded, the fact that domestic visitors are difficult to distinguish from local residents, means that tourism is less likely to be blamed for the crowding.

Fourth, Rotorua residents are used to tourism, which has been a part of life in Rotorua for over 150 years. They also feel that they need the industry to keep the town going economically. The long history of tourism in Rotorua means that local people have had a great deal of time to adjust to the effects of having tourism in their hometown. Furthermore, locals who have not lived in the area for long are actually pleasantly surprised by the fact that tourism does not impinge significantly on their lives, because if they choose to, they can largely avoid visitors. The long history also means that to Rotorua people, tourism is not connected with the changes that have happened in New Zealand since 1984. In fact, after the turbulence and crisis created by the environmental problems and economic restructuring of the 1980s, tourism is the one sector of the local economy that remains a major employer and offers further opportunities for employment. Therefore, to many people in Rotorua, tourism is a source of stability for local people.

A fifth factor that seems important in the high local acceptance of tourism in Rotorua is that history, the moderate size of the Town, and the size of tourism in the economy have allowed the development of good public sector mechanisms for planning and managing tourism. Tourism Rotorua is considered a leader amongst regional tourism organisations in New Zealand (PCE, 1997). Set up in the late 1980s, this branch of the local Council has facilitated a great deal of co-operation in what was previously a very fragmented industry. The industry in Rotorua now appears to be ‘flying in formation’. This state of affairs appears to be due to the fact that during the early days, Tourism Rotorua was able to facilitate co-operation when their normal mode of behaviour was competition. It seems that Tourism Rotorua’s success is due in part at least to the crisis that the industry was experiencing during the 1980s, the difficulties that the Rotorua Promotions Society experienced, and to the fact that the industry in Rotorua is a mature one.

Rotorua District Council then took steps to put in place a Tourism Strategy which currently influences the direction in which the Council and the industry are moving in partnership

with each other. Part of the strategic direction of Tourism Rotorua has been the ongoing development of a new marketing brand for Rotorua. The process of developing the new brand appears to have been based on extensive consultation with many different parts of the community, the industry and the Council. This process has been a good focal point for achieving the maxim 'flying in formation' and the ongoing process of 'growing' the brand extends this identification with the brand out into the community as a whole, rather than keeping its use within the industry. Looking at it this way, what appears to have been a very lengthy, expensive brand process, now looks like an investment in community development, and community pride as well as in the further development of a cohesive industry.

A sixth factor in this high acceptance appears to come from the fact that most local people feel that there is local control of tourism in Rotorua. While the largest hotels are not locally owned, many of the important attractions are owned or managed by long term local residents – many of whom have had family in the industry for more than one generation. In addition to this, these long-term local residents are prominent in the management processes associated with tourism in Rotorua. While the Hotel General Managers' Group is a relatively powerful lobby in Rotorua, their public profile is relatively low. In comparison people such as Warren Harford and Neville Nicholson, who are long-term residents, have a higher public profile in Rotorua. Most people in the tourism industry regard these people as the most influential in tourism in Rotorua. The prominence of the local Council in tourism in Rotorua also appears to contribute to the sense of local control that most residents express.

6.2 The Community and Tourism

The role of Maori in tourism in Rotorua is clearly important, both because of their important contribution to the tourism product of the Town, and because of their input into the environmental management of the area. The increasing importance of Maori voices in environmental management in Rotorua appears to be having a positive effect on the area. For example, the current sewage treatment scheme owes its existence to the fact that Ngati Pikiau were able to prevent Rotorua's sewerage outfall from being put into the Kaituna River. While this water would have had primary treatment, its high nutrient loading would have had a negative effect on the health of the river. Similarly, local iwi appear to have been an important element in the development of an Integrated Lakes Management Strategy which is aimed at bringing together the separate concerns of many different groups associated with the management of the lakes and the lake margins. This kind of strategy is important since communication between the different agencies associated with different aspects of the lakes, is not always good.

Clearly, however, there would be benefits to Maori from their increased participation in tourism, particularly in enterprises that are not based on cultural performance. As a community, Maori have borne the brunt of the effects of the government reforms of recent years. The restructuring, privatisation and technological change of the last few years resulted in the disproportionate loss of Maori jobs. At the same time Maori are not well

represented amongst business owners although this is gradually beginning to change. They tend to have fewer educational qualifications than their Pakeha counterparts, something that is not helped by what appears to be a certain suspicion of such qualifications in parts of the community.

Whether tourism really can help fix many of the problems of poverty, under-education, and unemployment that afflict the Maori community in particular, is open to question. Because of their complexity, focusing only on economic development will not necessarily address the problems that arise from unemployment and poverty. Belenky et al. (1986:160), in comparing their research with that of others write:

Family psychiatrist Salvador Minuchin and colleagues (1967) depict a pattern of family life amongst the urban poor that is remarkably similar to the pattern that we found in these families among the rural poor. They describe disorganized slum families unable to withstand the demoralizing and shattering effects of poverty. The children tend to be action-oriented, with little insight into their own behaviours or motivations. Since they do not expect to be heard, and if heard, they expect no response, the volume of their voices is more important than their content. They lack verbal negotiating skills and do not expect conflicts to be resolved through non-violent means.

Families that are relegated to the bottom of the social class structure are often shaken by the collapse of an outmoded way of life. Values, symbol systems, and patterns of communication are torn asunder. Parents feel they have lost their way and have nothing to teach.

These comments show why violence is often associated with poverty and how poverty can undermine the confidence of individuals, since they have little sense of control over their world. It may be possible to avoid or mitigate some of the consequences of poverty where there are strong communities (see for example Berno, 1995). However, where poverty is “new” as in some parts of New Zealand society in the 1990s, communities are more likely to be fragmented for the reasons outlined above. Fukuyama (1995), for example, argues that one of the main ways in which communities are maintained is through the associations and interactions that occur when individuals go out to work. Also, strong community requires trust in others, and it is difficult for trust to exist in situations where individuals have little sense of control over their world. This trust and sense of community is what Fukuyama (1995) and Hazeldine (1998) call social capital, and both authors argue that it is vital in the functioning of a prosperous economy.

Poverty has implications for the community as a whole. First, through the processes outlined above, poverty weakens communities. Second, where in large towns, it may be easy for the rich to avoid seeing these problems because they are separated spatially from them, in small towns it is more difficult to ignore the problems of crime and violence that accompany poverty. Thus, the relatively small size of Rotorua City accentuates the community’s awareness of unemployment, poverty and its associated problems. In addition, the figures indicate that these problems are greater than average in Rotorua. Third, the racial patterns associated with poverty will make some community members focus on race as the problem rather than poverty. People who focus only on the local problem may not see that these patterns are similar across a wide range of other

communities around the world and are dependent on poverty rather than race. Fourth, these are difficult problems to solve once there are significant numbers of people living in conditions of poverty because of what is referred to as the poverty cycle. Patterns associated with poverty perpetuate themselves through the generations once they become a way of life.

While tourism is held up as a way to deal with the problems of unemployment and crime in Rotorua, it seems unlikely that tourism will directly help individuals living in poverty. It is considered a good supplier of unskilled jobs, but good interpersonal skills are necessary for most tourism-related jobs. People living in poverty, and who have grown up in families where unemployment has a long history may not have the interpersonal or timekeeping skills required to work in a service industry. Poverty is a complex problem connected with issues of housing, psychological and physical health, and education (see for example Philp, 1999), thus a singular focus on unemployment or welfare and health services or education are unlikely to 'fix' these problems. Community development in its broadest sense is also an important tool in dealing with the problems of poverty, and therefore may be as important a role for local Councils as facilitating economic development.

The Council is to be applauded on the existence of their Social Policy Unit a unit which manages and carries out research on the community of Rotorua. However, in talking to Council staff, the researcher also got the impression that other Council units made little use of the research produced by the Social Policy Unit. For example the Economic Advisory Board, who are involved with economic development in Rotorua for the purposes of increasing employment opportunities, appear to have little concrete interest in the social research. While some credence is given to the interrelationships of economic and social issues, few people working in the area of economic development appear to have read the reports produced by the Social Policy Unit. This state of affairs should be of some concern because without a clear awareness of the community that you are trying to develop, the nature and scope of that development may inadvertently miss the mark.

Tourism is seen to provide employment for unskilled workers and yet most of the unskilled jobs in tourism actually require some communication skills. In addition, many of the unskilled jobs are casual and/or seasonal in nature and therefore not always easy for those who are unemployed to take up. Figures from this study indicate that most of the people that are employed in tourism actually have some formal educational qualifications. Moreover around half of the people in this sample who were working in tourism have some form of tertiary qualification.

On a brighter note, in Rotorua, Maori appear to be more likely to work directly in a tourism-related job than do Pakeha. However, they are also more likely to say that only a few people in the community benefit from tourism. This may be indicative of the fact that Maori are beginning to work towards a greater participation in tourism specifically, and in business in general, because they are realising the need to be in a position of business ownership to reap its benefits. One conclusion is that it is not enough for the community to just aim at more unskilled employment. Ideally, there should be some attention focused on helping more people to acquire the skills needed to run and manage businesses.

In spite of the general acceptance of tourism in Rotorua, there are small pockets of dissent about how and where further tourism development should take place. Residents in the outlying communities of Tarawera and Okareka have fought hard to prevent the

development of more tourist resorts in those areas. While people in those areas do not oppose tourism in its general sense, the development of resorts which could change the nature of their communities and environments are clearly another matter.

Furthermore, a small number of local people express disquiet that the Council is more worried about providing for visitors than it is about providing for local people. This is also reflected by Rotorua people who feel negatively about outside-owned businesses that do not contribute much to the local economy. Many locals feel that if tourists patronise outside owned businesses, the locals bear the costs of having big buses in the Town and coach loads of visitors using the tracks in the forest, but they do not see the benefits staying in the local economy.

However the general feeling in the community is that the benefits of tourism outweigh its costs as this point in time. Perhaps of interest in this study is that people may be aware of many problems that they attribute to tourism and yet they may be very supportive of further tourism development. In a similar vein, people who appear to be very negative about more tourism development in the Town may actually also be quite positive about the benefits that it already affords the community.

6.3 Policy Implications

Overall, the Rotorua community is very supportive of tourism and most community members see it as an important means of supplying new jobs, and bringing money into the area. Council has had an important role in facilitating a good level of co-operation into what is often a fragmented and competitive industry. The maintenance of the current partnership between the public and private sectors will be important for the ongoing success of the industry. This is because of the important role that Tourism Rotorua has in building and maintaining networks both within and outside of Rotorua. This is particularly important in this industry where networks are vital in helping tourism businesses to adapt quickly in what is a dynamic environment.

There are clearly further facilitative roles for the Council in community development if tourism is to benefit the community as a whole. At the current time poverty and associated problems such as crime and a loss of community cohesion threaten parts of the town. Because poverty and its associated problems are complex, it is important that the focus on economic development is broadened to address some of the social issues facing the Town if these problems are to be ameliorated. If these are not addressed, it seems that tourism development will benefit only part of the community and that much-needed jobs will in fact go to people from outside the town who prove themselves more suitable for the available positions.

Although local people are generally supportive of tourism and the Council's role within it, it is important also that Tourism Rotorua keeps local people who are not involved in tourism informed of their activities and how they are aimed at benefiting locals. The whole purpose of developing tourism in the town is to provide local people with jobs and with a pleasant, well managed environment in which to live.

The non-economic benefits of tourism may be as important to many people's quality of life as the economic ones and yet the economic benefits are the focus of most people. In spite of this focus, the things that people most enjoy about living in Rotorua are not economic in nature. The outdoor and commercial recreation opportunities, and the quality of the community in which they live feature strongly in what local people value about life in Rotorua. The implications of this are that environmental management will remain an important part of the management of tourism in Rotorua, and Council may need to be seen to be protecting this as much as it is trying to create jobs. It is also important that Council stay aware of local non-economic aspirations to maintain the high satisfaction that most locals feel in living in Rotorua.

Thus while few people said that there were problems associated with tourism in our survey sample, this low response does not mean that these problems can be dismissed as unimportant. Instead these comments should provide some indications of what aspects of tourism might become problematic on a larger scale in the future if they are not managed well.

Balance is critical to the future success of Rotorua tourism. Clearly the future of tourism in Rotorua depends on a balance being struck between tourism and other economic sectors. At the present time, tourism is seen as the sector that holds the most promise of future development and employment opportunities, however it is the presence of forestry, farming and manufacturing which give the Town many of its tourist features. The presence of these other sectors is also critical in maintaining the relatively low profile of tourism in the area. It is also important that a balance between regulation and development is maintained. The road to balance is a difficult one and one that requires that different parties disagree with each other but in a way that allows open negotiation – this is difficult to achieve – as is the balance between co-operation and competition within the tourism industry.

Finally, Rotorua as one of New Zealand's oldest tourist destinations is currently providing a good model of public sector involvement in tourism. The strengths of the destination as a whole come from the level of co-operation that has been achieved within the industry with the help of the local Council. Part of that strength appears to have come from the focus that Tourism Rotorua has had on its relationship with the community as a whole.

Tourism as a community based industry relies on the community as a whole and while the focus of the industry is on what visitors want and need from tourism, it is equally important to keep in touch with what the community as a whole want from tourism. If they do not get what they need from it they are likely to become dissatisfied and that dissatisfaction can then reflect back on visitors to the area. The community must remain a central focus of the activities of Council and Council should consider extending its role to include some aspects of community development. In many senses the work that has gone on in the tourism industry is indicative of what could be achieved at a wider community level. Furthermore if tourism and other forms of economic development are to be successful in the long term, some forms of community development will be necessary alongside them to help deal with the problems associated with poverty and unemployment.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

Residents' Survey

Interviewer instructions appear in italics - please do not read these to the respondent.

Introduction

Hello. My name is _____, and I am working for Lincoln University. We are trying to find out what the local community thinks of tourism and the visitor industry in Rotorua.

To make sure that we have a random and balanced survey, I need to interview the person in the household who is 15 years or over and who has the next birthday. Is that you?

[If not: May I speak to that person please? Repeat introduction : if necessary....]

Is it convenient to ask you a few questions. This questionnaire takes about 10 minutes to complete and the answers are kept entirely confidential. We do not even need to know your name

If not, Is there a more suitable time when I could arrange to call you back?

Proceed . . .

If you feel that this person just needs some encouragement to participate:

[Your views are important and we are trying to get the views of many different types of people within the community, so it does not matter whether you feel that you have anything to do with visitors to the area or not. We would still like to hear what *you* think of tourism here in Rotorua]

Please note that this questionnaire is for people who reside in Rotorua and not for bachowners or owners of holiday homes who do not live in the area

Q. No.

Interviewer:

Date:

time:

This questionnaire is in 3 parts. You do not have to answer every question.

THE FIRST SECTION : asks some general questions about living and working in Rotorua

1) How long have you lived in Rotorua?

(Delete one) Years/ months

(if respondent mentions family / other connections, please note here- no probe)

2) What do like about living in the Rotorua area? (Record in order as answers are given)

1
2
3
4

3) In the last year, have you worked casually, part time or full time in any of the following tourism-related jobs - tell me as I read them out (try to get an estimate of the average number of hours per week worked in each & length of time they worked for (months))

	✓ Average hrs/wk	Time Period
Accommodation e.g. motels, hotels, backpackers,		
Transport e.g. bus/ taxi driver		
Restaurants/ cafes/ bars		
Travel agency/ information centre		
Tour guiding or tourist attractions		
Souvenir shops		
Other (specify) _____		

4) Does anyone else in your immediate family living in Rotorua work full time or part-time in tourism-related jobs?

	(✓) Full time	Part time
No (✓) <input type="checkbox"/> (if yes) Person 1		
Person 2		
Person 3		

THIS SECOND SECTION of the survey is designed to gauge your overall reactions to visitors and the tourism industry in Rotorua.

5) What, if any, benefits are there from tourism and visitors in Rotorua?

Record in order as spoken.

If not clear, check whether this is a community benefit and/or one that affects them individually (or both). **There are** **none**

	Community (✓)	Personal (✓)
1		
2		
3		
4		

7) What, if any, problems are caused by tourism and visitors in Rotorua?

Record in order as spoken

If not clear, check whether this is a community benefit and/or one that affects them individually (or both). **There are** **none**

	Community (✓)	Personal (✓)
1		
2		
3		
4		

6) Do you think the community as a whole benefits from tourism and visitors in Rotorua ?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Unsure 4. Only some in the community benefit
(if 4) specify who _____

8) What are your greatest concerns about tourism and visitors in Rotorua?

1 _____
 2 _____
 3 _____
 4 _____

9) Have you ever been concerned enough about these things to do something like write to a newspaper, or contact the council or an MP?

1. Yes 2. No

If yes: What did you do?

10) How often would you meet visitors/ tourists while you are doing your favourite recreation activities? *Read out options*

If 3 or 4: what recreation activities?

- 1. Never
- 2. Very little
- 3. Sometimes
- 4. A lot

11) Overall how often would you meet visitors/ tourists in Rotorua? *Read out options*

- 1. Never
- 2. Very little
- 3. Sometimes
- 4. A lot

12) The next few questions use a 3 point scale: never, sometimes or often

Have you ever:

Changed your shopping times to avoid crowds?

Changed your local recreation patterns to avoid crowds?

Gone away at busy times to avoid crowds in the Rotorua area?

Do you ever take your own visitors to local attractions?

Do you ever go to these attractions without visitors?

(If other things are mentioned note below)

(✓)		
Never	s/times	Often

13) Are there any places in Rotorua that you enjoy seeing and meeting visitors / tourists?

14) Are there any places in the Rotorua area that you would prefer not to see visitors/ tourists?

15) Are there any types of visitor / tourist that you particularly like or dislike?

Like

Dislike

16) I have a 5 point scale here I would like to know where you would place yourself on it. 1 means that there is far too much tourism now, 3 means that there is about the right level of tourism now and 5 means that we could do with a lot more tourism.

1	2	3	4	5	
There is far too much tourism now		There is about the right level of tourism now		We could do with a lot more tourism	

THE QUESTIONS IN THIS FINAL SECTION will allow us to check that we have a good cross section of the community and to make comparisons with census data. As I said before, your answers are completely confidential.

17) What is your main form of employment?

Not applicable ⁸⁸	
Farming ¹	
Tourism (accommodation, transport, attractions) ²	
Cafe, restaurant, bar ³	
Retail Services ⁴	
Forestry ⁵	
Manufacturing ⁶	
Trade (eg. mechanic, plumber, electrician) ⁷	
Local government ⁸	
Professional (doctor, dentist, private consultant, nurse, teacher etc) ⁹	
Other govt. Depts ¹⁰	
Student ¹¹	
Homemaker/ housewife ¹²	
Retired ¹³	
Unemployed ¹⁴	
Other (specify)	

18) Are you

1. male or 2. Female

19) What age group are you in? (stop me when I reach your age group)

- 1. 15-19 5 50-59
- 2. 20-29 6. 60-69
- 3. 30-39 7. 70+
- 4. 40-49

20) What is your highest educational qualification?

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1. Some high school | 6. TOPS course or similar | |
| 2. School Certificate | 7. Partial tertiary qualification | |
| 3. 6th form certificate/ UE | 8. Uni degree/polytech/teaching/nursing | |
| 4. 7th Form, Higher school cert. | 9. Overseas qualification | |
| 5. Apprenticeship/ trade qualification | | |
| 10. Other (please specify) _____ | | |

21) In the last year, what income group was your household in (read until respondent stops you)?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|-------------|
| 1. Nil income or loss | 7. \$30,001-\$40,000 | | |
| 2. \$1-\$5,000 | 8. \$40,001-\$50,000 | | |
| 3. \$5,001-\$10,000 | 9. \$50,001-\$70,000 | | |
| 4. \$10,001-\$15,000 | 10. \$70,000 - \$100,000 | | |
| 5. \$15,001-\$20,000 | 11. \$100,001+ | | |
| 6. \$20,001-\$30,000 | 12. Don't know | | 13. Refused |

22) To find out how close you live to a tourist attraction or a main road, we would like to know what street you live in.

Is the number of your address odd or even?

What is the nearest side street?

23) What is your ethnicity? Tick only one.

1. Maori (if possible, specify Iwi & hapu group?) _____
2. Pakeha/ European _____
- 3 Both Maori and Pakeha /European (iwi/hapu?) _____
- 4 Other (specify) _____

If Maori (1 or 3):

Another part of this study is looking at tourism issues that are important to Maori in Rotorua. Would you be prepared to participate in this part of the study?

If you agree, we will record your first name and phone number will be passed onto our researchers so that they can contact you at a later date.

Thank you very much for your time

Appendix 2

Weighting

Weighting data is a technique used by statisticians. It is used when one is aware of biases in a sample and when there is a good theoretical reason for adjusting the data to address these biases. It is a technique that is subject to some debate in the social sciences because biases in a sample are not only caused by sampling error, but may arise because human subjects can refuse to participate in a survey.

Sampling error occurs when the methods used for sampling are not entirely random. There are biases caused by sampling error in this report because respondents were contacted by telephone. This means that the 8-10 percent of households in the Rotorua area with no telephone stood no chance of being contacted. Since these households are all in the lower socio-economic groups, this will result in some of the biases evident in this sample. Non-response bias or biases caused by individuals refusing to participate are also worthy of attention and thought.

This appendix outlines a valid use of weighting using in a piece of tourism research, then looks at the arguments associated with adjusting non-response biases. An example of how weighting is used can be found in Simmons, Horn and Fairweather (1998) in their report outlining visitor surveys in Kaikoura. In this study, visitors were randomly selected for face to face structured interviews in a public place. Alongside this survey there was also a survey looking at the economic impacts of tourism and one using traffic counters to estimate the total number of visitors to Kaikoura over the study period. What Simmons et al. found was that they over-sampled visitors staying for 2-3 days and under-sampled day visitors.

In this case, to get a good estimate of the total number of visitors to the area, one has to increase the weight of the under-sampled group (the short stayers) and relatively decrease the weight of the over sampled group (the longstayers). This strategy is valid only as long as one has a good theoretical basis for the weighting given to both groups and only where one can be certain that each of the two sub-groups represents the whole sub-group in the population. In this example, where a random sampling technique was used and where the refusal rate was low, one can be reasonably certain that every day visitor to the area on a particular day had an equal chance of being sampled. This means that there should be a good representative sample of day-visitors. Equally, on the same basis there should be a good representative sample of overnight visitors. The only problem with this sample, therefore was that the relative number of day visitors and overnight visitors was incorrect. In this instance, where one is fairly certain that both sub-samples are representative of the population sub-samples, weighting the data to get overall population estimates is valid.

It must be noted here that what is happening in this case is that the data is initially being disaggregated into two sub-samples. One can investigate both sub-samples perfectly adequately without weighting the data. For example, we can easily describe the sub-sample of day visitors and can differentiate it for the purposes of analysis from the sub-sample of overnight visitors. It is only when one wishes to provide an estimate of the population as a whole that one needs to weight the data. It is also important to note that one needs a good theoretical basis from which to calculate the appropriate weight. In this case, the weight

was calculated on the basis of economic data gathered at the same place at the same time, and corroborated by the use of visitor counts using traffic counters (Butcher, Fairweather and Simmons, 1998; Fairweather and Simmons, 1998).

Weighting was also used in this report at the request of Fairweather and Simmons. However, the first author of this report (and the second author of the report outlining the above example) feels that where weighting data in the above example was valid, in the context of this study in this community, weighting is not valid. The following paragraphs endeavour to outline the reasons why this is the case. Whether one has a philosophy which regards weighting as a standard practice or whether one has a philosophy of avoiding weighting appear to be based on a subjective judgement. This paper argues that in fact the decision to weight data ought to be made only in the context of each research project. Although the decision is effectively a judgement, this judgement can only be made in the context of the particular sample characteristics. Weighting is something that should not be done as a general rule of thumb. Equally, a decision against weighting is not something that should be generally applied across all studies without due consideration of the sample context and characteristics, and without a clear theoretical basis on which to do so.

General Philosophies

There are two differing schools of thought as to the ways in which one should weight data. Weighting helps to correct the biases in the demographic characteristics of the sample. These demographic variables are sometimes (although, not always) an important part of the patterns associated with attitudes towards tourism. For example, imagine a sample where men are under-represented, and their responses to a variable are significantly different from those of women. In this case, weighting up the replies from men, and as a corollary, weighting down replies given by women, makes sense when one is trying to infer how the population as a whole might reply to the same question (assuming, of course, that the two groups were representative of the answers that the same population groups would have given).

A second school of thought attaches more importance to the fact that it is not entirely clear what effect correcting these demographic biases might have on biases that may exist in the data simply because people refuse to participate in the study. It is possible, for example, that respondents could have self-selected on the basis of their opinions about tourism. Potential respondents were initially told that the survey was about community attitudes towards tourism in Rotorua, so in groups with high refusal rates, there may be a bias that stems from the attitudes of the people that did respond towards tourism (in this case). This means that in groups where there were clearly many refusals (for example, young, male, Maori), the few that were prepared to participate in the survey may be atypical of that group as a whole. Indeed, in the case of this sample, the individuals of that description in our sample, are atypical of others like them in the population simply because they spoke to an interviewer. Judging by the weight accorded to each individual of this description (>4), at least three out of four individuals in this group appear to have refused to participate (see Table A1).

By increasing the weight of these groups, we may also inadvertently increase the unseen bias in their responses. For example, it appears that, as a general rule, for surveys in New Zealand, males are more likely to refuse to take part (Lamb, pers. comm; Shaw, pers. comm., 1998). This may mean that the males that did speak to our interviewers are people with stronger or more clearly formed views (either positive or negative) about tourism than

those who refused. It may also mean that they are males who are more gregarious and who do not mind talking to people, or they may be males who are less busy than the ones who refused. Any of these scenarios could result in some kind of bias. For example we may have an over-representation of males who felt strongly about tourism (either positively or negatively) and an under-representation of males who were neutral. Or we could have an over-representation of males who have a positive attitude to life as indicated by their willingness to talk. We may also have an over-representation of males who are well educated because they could have made a distinction between a marketing survey and a survey on community attitudes to tourism. Weighting up the contribution of the males in the sample will also increase the relative influence of these possible hidden biases. The difficulty in all this lies in the fact that non-response bias is not something that can be finally proven either to exist or not exist. Neither can we say exactly what the bias is likely to be. Therefore, it is a subjective judgement as to how much importance should be attached to it in the decision as to how to weight.

Although the presence and meaning on a non-response bias is a matter of judgement, it appears that rather than being something achieved completely "in the dark" it is rather more of a calculated guess that is best made on the basis of one's knowledge of the community in question and one's assessment of the sample data. That weighting data three ways to correct biases does not correct other visible biases in the data - e.g. in this case, unemployment and education - must raise serious questions about the representativeness of the sample groups that are being weighted.

This discussion also raises the issue of recording refusals. Ideally, to be sure of the presence or absence of a non-response bias pertaining to tourism, it must be more important to screen refusals on the basis on the subject in question (i.e. attitudes to tourism) rather than on the basis of sex or age, which may have little bearing on the subject itself. Only when the attitudes of refusers have been compared with the attitudes of respondents could one be sure about the effects (or otherwise) of non-response bias.

Thus, while the demographic characteristics of the sample may be improved by weighting, there is no guarantee that the data pertaining to tourism are represented any better. With these arguments in mind, individuals within this second school of thought prefer to weight data only on a variable by variable basis and only where there is good theoretical reason to do so. For example, imagine a case which there is a clear under-representation of people in the younger age groups in the sample, and we know from our sample, that people in the younger age groups may be more likely to be employed in a tourism-related job. It makes good sense to weight the data about employment by age to get a better estimate of employment throughout the population, with the proviso, of course, that this data may still be biased by the differences between individuals who responded to the survey and those who did not.

Where there is no significant difference between say males and females, there will be little advantage in weighting since weighting will not significantly change the estimate for the population as a whole. However, weighting globally may well risk the internal validity of the data because of non-response bias (although it is noted that reliability - the chances of similar responses in the next survey run along the same lines - may not be affected since refusals are likely to take place on a similar basis).

It is important to note here, disaggregating the data into sub-samples for comparison may actually tell us much more about the sample and the population. In this example, we could state the opinions of older, well-educated women with a good degree of confidence, whilst stating the opinions of young, less-educated women with less confidence. This way the analyst does not hide the weaknesses of the sample data from the reader, while the more robust aspects of the sample can be used to good effect. Disaggregating data may therefore provide a more solid and reliable method of analysis than global weighting across all data. It is also better ethically since it keeps the reader alerted to the strengths and weaknesses of the sample.

Technical Issues

There are also technical issues associated with weighting in this particular sample. This sample does not lend itself well to the more traditional statistical approach of weighting similarly across the whole sample because of the number of the ways in which the sample differs from the proportions of the 1996 census data. Because of low numbers in the sample, we simply do not have the numbers to adequately weight the data by all the variables required. An illustration of this comes is shown by the group of Young Maori males in our sample - a group that is only represented by seven individuals. As any statistician will tell you, the chances of error when you have a sample size of only seven is much higher, so the chances of having non-representative responses from this group of seven individuals is higher than if they were a group of 20 individuals (with or without any kind of non-response bias). Making inferences about the whole population of young male Maori from the seven individuals in the category in our sample is not good statistical practice. A rule of thumb recommended by statisticians is 20-30 in each weighted category (Young, pers comm 1999). Since weighting by age, gender and ethnicity does not correct the education biases in our sample, it would be sensible to weight by education, however doing so will only increase this problem.

In addition, there are some variables that have a low response rate because of the open-ended nature of the questions in our questionnaire. The small number of answers means that any distortions in responses will be accentuated where data are weighted without careful consideration of that particular variable. The low number of responses do not lend themselves to inferences across the whole population anyway except in a very general sense and so there seems to be little point in weighting and yet clear risks in doing so.

In summary, the two schools of thought agree that attention needs to be given to weighting a sample, which is clearly biased on demographic variables, but they disagree on how the weighting should be handled. There are clear statistical reasons for weighting a sample a priori to any analysis, and these are of considerable merit where there are no reasons to suspect non-response bias (or self-selection by human subjects). Weighting across all variables improves the representation of under-represented groups in the sample so long as the answers of individuals in the sample subgroups are typical of the sub-groups that they represent in the population. However, the smaller the number of individuals in the subgroup that is under-represented, the greater the potential for inaccuracies (the smaller the sample, the greater the likelihood of invalid and unreliable data) and unfortunately, the greater the weight given to their answers in the sample.

In addition, with the increasing amount of research being done by telephone in this country, these non-response biases are becoming more likely. As people become more

frequently surveyed, they become more likely to refuse to participate. A potential (and not unreasonable) corollary of this is that individuals will become more likely to participate only in those surveys in which they have an interest (be it positive or negative). Where there is a risk of respondents self-selecting because of their attitudes towards the subject of the survey, it seems that it is disadvantageous to weight the same way across all variables, rather than considering each variable on its merits. This is because global weighting risks the validity of the inferences about the community's perceptions of tourism from the sample (for example, possibly over-representing those with either positive or negative views whilst under-representing those who are quite neutral in their views).

While there are clear instances in which weighting data is a useful and valid technique, this discussion has highlighted the need for analysts to think carefully through the issues associated with sampling and non-response biases before taking steps to weight data. Weighting up the answers of a non-representative sub-group will only increase the non-representativeness of the sample as a whole. Where one is fairly certain of the representativeness of sub-groups, weighting becomes a valid option for making inferences about a population. Disaggregating data and looking at different sub-groups individually provides an alternative or complementary means of analysis where weighting is questionable.

Appendix 3

Calculation of Weights

Table A1
Comparison Of 1996 Census Data With The Sample Data And The Weights Used For Each Group

	Census	Census %	Sample	Sample %	Weight
NZ Maori, 15-29, Male	2820	5.952	7	1.446	4.116
Non-Maori, 15-29, Male	4152	8.764	22	4.545	1.928
NZ Maori, 30-49, Male	2409	5.085	17	3.512	1.448
Non-Maori, 30-49, Male	6591	13.912	59	12.190	1.141
NZ Maori, 50+, Male	1110	2.343	9	1.860	1.260
Non-Maori, 50+, Male	5715	12.063	66	13.636	0.885
NZ Maori, 15-29, Female	3147	6.643	17	3.512	1.891
Non-Maori, 15-29, Female	4170	8.802	26	5.372	1.639
NZ Maori, 30-49, Female	2892	6.104	34	7.025	0.869
Non-Maori, 30-49, Female	6801	14.355	115	23.760	0.604
NZ Maori, 50+, Female	1257	2.653	11	2.273	1.167
Non-Maori, 50+, Female	6312	13.323	101	20.868	0.638
Totals	47376		484		

Appendix 4

Presentation Of Data Weighted By Age, Sex And Ethnicity

Table A2
What Residents Like About Living In Rotorua

	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
Central to places in the North Island	165	33.0
Natural resources	135	27.0
Family and friends	123	24.6
There's lots to do here	91	18.2
Lifestyle/pace of life	74	14.8
I just like it	65	13.0
Climate	50	10.0
Facilities/services are good	49	9.8
Size of town – just right	46	9.4
There's work here	38	7.6
Other	21	4.2
Cultural diversity	16	3.2

Note: Multiple response question. Percentages do not add to 100

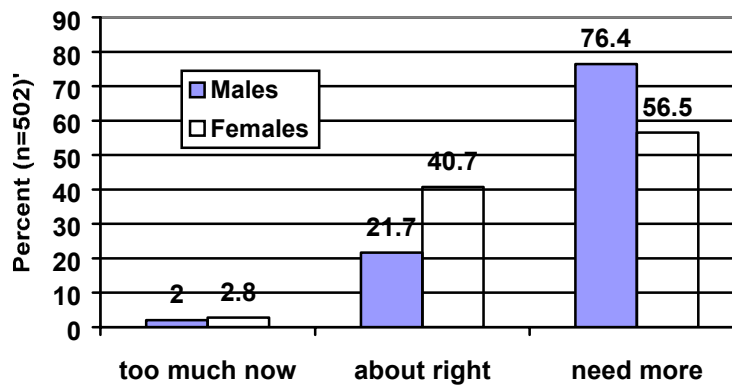


Figure A1
Respondents' Perceptions Of How Much Tourism Is Enough (Weighted Data)
(Pearson's $\chi^2=22.559$, $df=2$, $p=0.000$)

Table A3
The Benefits of Tourism in Rotorua for Local Residents

	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
Economic/financial	344	68.8
Jobs	173	34.6
Cultural diversity	87	17.4
Nicer place	76	15.2
lots of activities	49	9.8
good for business	36	7.2
local image	26	7.2
Better local services	29	5.8
Other	25	5.0

Table A4
Age Groups And Employed Directly In Tourism

	Unweighted		
	15-29	30-49	50+
No	52 (72.2%)	180 (79.6%)	159 (84.6%)
Yes	20 (27.8%)	46 (20.4%)	29 (15.4%)
Total	72	226	188
<i>($\chi^2=5.226$, $df=2$, $p=0.073$)</i>			

Table A5
Educational Qualifications by Age Group of People Working in Tourism

Qualifications	Unweighted			
	Age Groups			Totals
	15-29	30-49	50+	
None/unspecified	5 (25.0%)	14 (30.0%)	8 (28.0%)	27
High school	4 (20.0%)	13 (28.0%)	9 (31.0%)	26
Tertiary/ trade	11 (55.0%)	19 (42.0%)	12 (41.0%)	42
Total	20	46	29	95

Table A6
Type of Employment in Tourism by Work Status

	Unweighted			Total
	35 or more hrs/week	10-35 hrs/week	<10 hrs/week	
Accommodation	13	10	3	26 (31%)
Attractions/guiding	10	6	3	19 (23%)
Cafes/restaurants/bars	8	7	0	15 (18%)
Other	3	3	1	7 (8%)
Transport	3	1	2	6 (7%)
Souvenirs	4	1	1	6 (7%)
Information/agency	5	0	0	5 (6%)
Total	46 (55.0%)	28 (33%)	10 (12%)	84

Table A7
Comparing Maori and Pakeha Employment in a Tourism-Related job

Works in tourism?	Unweighted	
	Ethnicity	
	Maori	Non-Maori
No	69 (72.6%)	332 (82.4%)
Yes	26 (27.4%)	71 (17.6%)
Total	95	403
$\chi^2=5.226, df=2, p=0.073.$		

Table A8
Locals' Problems with Tourism

Problems with Tourism	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
Driving	36	7.2
Overcrowding/over-exploitation	34	6.8
Other	33	6.6
Crime	30	6.0
High prices	24	4.8
Traffic/parking	23	4.6
High rates	15	3.0
Inappropriate tourist behaviour	15	3.0
Pollution, litter etc	13	2.6
Outside owners of tourism shops no benefit to Rotorua	12	2.4
Difficult communication	5	1.0
Over commercialisation	5	1.0
Focus on tourists, not on locals	5	1.0
Over-dependence on tourism	4	0.8
Possibility of casino	2	0.4
Health issues	2	0.4

Multiple Response: percentages do not add to 100

“Other” problems

Fluctuation in work hours.

Climate of greed.

Greed and gambling.

Some locally view tourists as an annoyance.

Too many Japanese!

Greed.

Too many Asians.

Under current resentment (few).

Could influence teenagers incorrectly.

Not enough advertising promotion.

False image!

Bus drivers not going to all attractions if having to pay for things that you never had to.

Services not up to standard.

Clash of cultures.

Tourism changed & become geared towards youngsters - not looking at it as a whole.

Changing environment.

Not enough public toilets.

Herb gardens 1/2 closed down.

In some areas there's oversupply.

When raining, what is there to do?

Ripping off visitors

A lot of money wasted!

Thriving experiences.

Certain shop prices are higher for tourists.

Dissent at Whaka about 2 years ago.

Impression given could be bad.

Intolerance by locals towards some tourists.

Rapidly shifting population.

Roads.

Some areas are too exposed.

Too many hotels and motels.

Losing a bit of our privacy.

Not enough for children.

The division in the attractions at Whaka.

Segregation of Maori to other in workplace numbers here.

Needs education to protect the natural places.

**Table A9
Locals' Concerns with Tourism**

	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
Crime	107	21.4
Need more/worried that tourists won't come	52	10.4
Quality of tourist treatment	40	8.0
Rotorua's image might get worse	28	5.6
Too much for tourists not enough for locals	18	3.6
Overuse of local areas and natural resources	15	3.0
Other	15	3.0
Management of tourism needed	14	2.8
Traffic/driving	13	2.6
Litter/pollution, untidy/environmental damage	13	2.6
Income not of benefit to Rotorua	8	1.6
No casino please	7	1.4
Maori issues	7	1.4
Health	6	1.2
Costs for locals	6	1.2
Lack of respect for locals	5	1.0
Over-commercialisation	5	1.0
Rotorua needs an airport upgrade	3	0.6

Note: multiple response- percentages do not add to 100

Appendix 5

“Other” Concerns

Language and communication.

Too many shops.

Rich get richer, the poor get poorer.

Make sure those going into bush are properly equipped.

Privacy for host.

City is divided, for and against tourism

Beneficial to bring educated nationalities here, eg, displaced persons.

Not easy for locals to tap into sales areas for local crafts to sell to visitors.

Too many Asian tourists.

Lack of acceptance.

More tourism needed in rural areas as cities are all the same and NZ offers much in rural areas.

Tourist Board is not helpful!

Turn into a spa centre.

Visual pollution.

Local jobs not secure in tourism.

That drivers are given back hander.

Learning the cultural aspects.

Table A10
Places and Activities Where Locals Meet Visitors

	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
Walking/running	119	23.8
Fishing	37	7.4
Boating and other water sports	22	4.4
In Town (shopping etc)	22	4.4
Organised sport	21	4.2
Redwoods, Whaka forest	20	4.0
Parks, lakefront, Government Gardens, Kuirau park	20	4.0
At tourist attractions	19	3.8
Golf	19	3.8
Mountain biking	17	3.4
Cafes, bars, restaurants	14	2.8
Bowls - indoor outdoor and 10 pin	13	2.6
Swimming	12	2.4
Hunting	12	2.4
The lakes	12	2.4
Hobbies	11	2.2
Performances – cultural, drama etc	5	1.0
Horse Riding	5	1.0
Driving and 4WD	5	1.0
Craft markets	4	0.8
Church activities	4	0.8
Other	13	2.6

Note: Multiple Response: percentages do not add to 100

Table A11
Are There Places Where You Like To See Visitors/Tourists?

	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
At tourist attractions	143	42.4
Parks, Lakefront, Government Gardens, Kuirau park	87	25.8
Cafes, bars, restaurants	54	16
Redwoods, Whaka forest	38	11.3
At the lakes	33	9.8
In Town (shopping etc)	27	8.0
At work	5	1.5
Craft markets	4	1.2
Organised Sport	3	0.7
Golf	3	0.7
Performances – cultural, drama etc	2	0.6
Church activities	2	0.6
Other	24	7.1

Note: Multiple response, percentages do not add to 100

What do locals notice?

Table A12
Types Of Visitors That Residents Particularly Liked

	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
Europeans/Germans	18	3.6
Polite/nice	14	2.8
Asians	13	2.6
Americans	13	2.6
UK	10	2.0
Canadians	9	1.8
Like them all	8	1.6
Other	7	1.4
Young people/backpackers	6	1.2
Australians	4	0.8
Female	3	0.6
No answer	420	84.0

Note: Multiple response, percentages do not add to 100

Table A13
Types Of Visitors Whom Residents Particularly Disliked

	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
Asians	37	7.4
Rude/ pushy	24	4.8
Koreans	20	4.0
Americans	11	2.2
Japanese	10	2.0
Other (All nationalities)	10	2.0
Busloads	9	1.8
Those who lack respect for place or people	4	0.8
None	403	80.6

Note: Multiple response, percentages do not add to 100

“Other” disliked Visitors

- Israeli (1)
- UK (2)
- Samoan, (1)
- Australian, (1)
- Central Europeans (1)

Table A14
Places In Which Residents Prefer Not to Meet Visitors?

	Unweighted	
	Frequency	%
Locals favourite places and tapu areas	27	5.4
Poorer, unattractive or unsafe areas of Town.	15	3.0
Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa	7	1.4
Places/ attractions that are unattractive in some way	7	1.4
Residential areas	5	1.0
Local shopping areas	4	0.8

Note: Multiple response, percentages do not add to 100

Appendix 6

Profile of People Saying There Were No Benefits From Tourism

A look at the profiles of the few (16) people who said there were no benefits from tourism is instructive even if no clear statistically based conclusions can be drawn about these people. There are no clear patterns associated with this group, and in fact it appears that respondents don't necessarily feel that tourism is bad just because they cannot say what the benefits of tourism are. The profile below indicates that many of the individuals who did not specify any benefits from tourism were probably people who couldn't bring anything to mind when asked or who were not really interested in answering questions, but had not managed to refuse to participate in the survey.

- Eight of these people were male, eight were female.
- Their length of residence in the Town varies from one year to 69 years with an even spread across that gap.
- Four of the 16 (25%) say that they are employed in tourism,
- All say that there are things they like about living in Rotorua,
- Nine (56%) of them said that they met visitors never or only occasionally,
- Eight of these people were over 50 years of age, while six of them are aged 30 to 49 and two are aged 15-29.
- Four (25%) of them were Maori and
- Eight of them did not give their household income but the other eight had household incomes between \$15 000 and \$70 000.
- When asked 'overall does the whole community benefit from tourism?' seven said yes, seven said no and two said that only some parts of the community benefit.
- Twelve (75%) of them had no concerns about tourism and eight (50%) said that there were no problems.
- Only one of this group felt that there was far too much tourism in Rotorua already. In fact four (25%) of the individuals who said that there were no benefits from tourism said that they strongly believed that Rotorua could do with a lot more tourism!

Appendix 7

Profile Of People Who Say There Is Too Much Tourism In Rotorua Already

As with the group of people who said that there were no benefits from tourism, there are no clear reasons why people who said that there is too much tourism in Rotorua thought that way. The 13 people that answered in the negative are:

- Both short term and long term residents (these 13 respondents had lived in Rotorua anything from 5 to 50 years)
- All but two of these individuals said that there were things that they like about living in Rotorua.
- Eight of the 13 say that Rotorua as a whole benefits from tourism
- Four of the 13 have no concerns about tourism and four say there are no problems.
- These respondents are evenly spread across the different age groups.
- They are more likely to be female with ten of the 13 of them being female, however with these low numbers this is not enough to infer a difference between males and females across the whole Rotorua population.
- Only one of these people was unemployed, and
- Only one said that there were no benefits from tourism in Rotorua.

A few individuals do feel that tourism has its costs, however, a glance at this profile indicates that there are no clear patterns, although it does appear that women may be more likely than men to say that there is too much tourism in Rotorua already. Further qualitative research specifically designed to see if there are differences in the way that women perceive tourism or weigh up its costs and benefits may be interesting. Other studies indicate that there are differences between the sexes in the way that they construct and describe their worlds and this may be important in assessing tourism impacts (see for example, Belenky, et al., 1986; Miller, 1986; Kiewa, 1999, pers.comm.)

Appendix 8

Responses To Open-Ended, Coded Questions

Are there any visitors that you particularly like?

From Hawkes Bay .

Ones I know.

"SERVAS" World peace through understanding.

All of them.

Americans - all others.

If female, doesn't matter.

European tourist - younger people.

European.

French, Dutch, German.

Swedish women.

Swiss, Canadian.

Single backpacker chicks.

English, Scots.

English Canadians.

English/European.

Backpackers.

Of similar age groupings.

Asians – Japanese.

Female Asians Japanese are quite friendly.

Japanese and other Asians.

Japanese, Americans and Canadians.

Japanese, German, Swiss, English, American.

Japanese.

Oriental politeness.

Caring tourist.

Chatty ones.

Friendly ones.

Japanese polite.

Ones that talk to locals.

Polite tourists.

Respect environment.

Smiling people.

That behave themselves.

Canadian Quiet people.

Canadians, Europeans, South Americans.

Those who appreciate Rotorua.

American, Canadian, English.

American, Japanese, European backpackers.

Americans and British.

Americans.

Aussies, Americans, Cook Islanders.

Most Americans.

Aussies, Americans, English.

Australians.

Backpackers families.
People who are "kookiest" are interesting.
South Africans.

Are there any visitors that you particularly dislike?

Asian drivers.
Asian in groups.
Asian.
Asians - all take, no give, especially Koreans.
Asians - rather pushy.
Asians habits.
Asians pushy.
Asians, Japanese.
Asians. Only shop in Asian shops! Or patronise Asian restaurants.
Bus loads of Koreans and Chinese.
Groups of Asians, because they're rude.
Indians/Samoan.
Korean men. Japanese men (same).
Bus loads of Koreans.
German/Koreans.
Korea - A closed shop group.
Korean - Polynesian Spa spitting episodes.
Koreans - are so rude.
Koreans, Germans. (Language barrier).
Koreans.
None but tour guides are a problem (Koreans).
Japanese - too pushy.
Japanese.
Rich Japanese. Rich Americans.
American and Asians.
American.
Older Americans.
Rude Americans.
Bus loads of tourists.
Groups or bus loads.
Germans
Germans, English.
Anybody that's rude and not respecting the place.
Inconsiderate Asians.
Pushy ones.
Rude people.
Those who spit.
Arrogant Aussies. Don't appreciate what they're shown.
Israelis.
UK.
Disrespect environment.

The non-contributors to Rotorua.
Tourists that do not support NZ!
Tourists that take photos of culturally sensitive activities.
Arrogant Asians.
Central Europeans – pushy.