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**Winery Entrepreneurs Rooted in “Their Place”:
How lifestyle decisions, business motivations and perceptions of place
influence business practices and regional initiatives in the wine and tourism
industries**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

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By Daisy Byrd Dawson

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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Winery Entrepreneurs Rooted in “Their Place”:

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This thesis explores the characteristics, motivations and business practices of winery entrepreneurs involved in tourism in two rural, New World wine regions: Central Otago, New Zealand and The Finger Lakes, New York, United States. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with winery owners, managers and additional stakeholders across these regions in 2007. This research clarifies and expands on current understandings of winery entrepreneurship and rural place identity by drawing on multiple disciplines, including tourism, wine, marketing, rural studies, cultural geography, entrepreneurship and business management.

The study offers an analysis of the influence of “place” on the entrepreneurial process, and the influence winery entrepreneurs have on a place. It contributes to an understanding of the entrepreneurship concept by analysing the factors that motivate entrepreneurs, and influence their behaviours. In these rural wine regions, the entrepreneurial process is an economic activity that is also driven by the motivations of individuals seeking to fulfil their personal goals. A typology of winery ownership has been developed from the data that may be extended beyond these regions. Analysis identified three types- *status-seeking* winery entrepreneurs, *subsistence-seeking* winery entrepreneurs, and *lifestyle-seeking* winery owners.

Individuals possess combinations of motivations and goals, which may evolve over time from changes in contextual or personal circumstances. Based on these types, this research explores how differences in motivations and attachments to place influence how an entrepreneur acts. In particular, this thesis focuses on the lifestyle decisions and business practices related to three issues highlighted as particularly important by research respondents: Tourism, Marketing and Seasonality.

The research analyses collaborative regional efforts to influence tourism, marketing and seasonality management, and the challenges that result from conflicting stakeholder agendas and goals. Intertwined in these conflicts are broader disagreements as to how individuals work collaboratively, how they perceive and promote tourism, how they see this place and the trajectory of future regional development. Taken together, the wine and tourism industries provide a particularly useful forum to explore the various entrepreneurial motivations, and how these play out in business practices and collective regional initiatives: the decisions and actions of an individual business can impact all businesses in the region, given producers and operators rely on a collective name and reputation to market their products. While wineries act individually, collective decisions of wineries in the region ultimately influence the development of the region through physical impacts, land use, business practices and representations of a place. This complex phenomenon is represented by a theoretical model, developed to conceptualise findings and address research objectives. The model of Winery Entrepreneurship Process and Place Identity Development (WEPPID) helps explain differences between study regions and can be applied to other places, to be used as a framework to conceptualise the various components that contribute to and influence the entrepreneurial process and place identity development. The entrepreneurial typology and WEPPID model are effective tools for practitioners and researchers, and contributes to our understanding of entrepreneurship in a rural wine and tourism context.

Key words: Wine, tourism, rural, entrepreneurship, rural place identity, rural business ownership, wine tourism, place-marketing, seasonality, Finger Lakes, Central Otago

You people, you think you can just buy your way into this. You CANNOT do it that way. You have to have it in your blood, you have to grow up with the soil underneath your nails, the smell of the grapes in the air that you breathe. The cultivation of the vine is an art form. The refinement of the juice is a religion that requires pain and desire and sacrifice (Miller, 2008).

It's largely a cliché, but true – wine is part science, part art. It's also a big part experience; experience of your own environment, of your conditions. Like any creative process, it comes from inside you. It's not something that is taught.

You can learn the science of winemaking, the chemistry, but the great winemakers are people who understand when to back off and when to do just a little bit of this and not too much of that. Small decisions. Intuition. And often, you don't even know why you're doing it (Winery respondent, Central Otago).

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It's very difficult to keep vines alive. But it's not just the rich who should be able to do it. Poor people also have the right. Before, these hills were covered with small plots. Everyone cultivated them. There were vines everywhere. Now people have become carried away by consumerism. They've lost their identity. They don't know where they come from, or where they're going... Wine has to reflect the place it comes from. Otherwise it's just a brand name.

(Mondovino, 2004)

1.1 Introduction

I have long harboured a secret (and slightly irrational) dream of owning my own winery. I envision al fresco meals overlooking my vineyards, savouring the latest vintage with family and friends. Irrational I say, because I have no viticulture or winemaking training, and am well aware that winery ownership is not a particularly lucrative venture; it also requires significant start-up funds. To reaffirm the absurdity of this dream; I have invested an exorbitant amount of time and money into “higher” education, preparing for a very different career path. Like many people in today’s knowledge-based economy, I have been preparing for a “thinking” job, where there is no tangible, finished product to sell or consume at the end of the day; just numbers and ideas on a page, like this thesis. Maybe it is the yearning for a tangible reward and connection to the earth that keeps this pipe dream alive.

Is it this visceral reaction that so often inspires the stories of disenchanting individuals “escaping” the grind of their daily lives and moving to the country to produce wine? Media and popular culture (films, documentaries, wine and travel magazines, guide books) abound with romanticised notions of wine production and the individuals that produce wine. These narratives depict the small wine producer defending history, tradition, roots, place and attachment in face of the disempowering and homogenizing effects of globalisation and

modernization. But what is the reality behind owning a small winery? Does it match the selective narratives and images portrayed?

This thesis explores the characteristics, motivations and business practices of winery owners in two rural, “New World” wine regions: Central Otago, New Zealand and The Finger Lakes, New York, USA. This research clarifies and expands on current understandings of winery entrepreneurship and rural place identity by drawing on multiple discipline areas including tourism, wine, marketing, rural studies, cultural geography, entrepreneurship and business management. This thesis explores how a particular place develops, and is constructed, by way of economic, environmental, socio-cultural and political contexts, as well as by the decisions and actions of individual agents in the ongoing social construction of their place, and through the direct, tangible impacts they have on a place. Of particular interest are the entrepreneurs, whose decisions and actions influence regional development. Entrepreneurship in a rural wine and tourism context highlights the variations in structures, guises, lifestyle and business motivations which influence the concept of entrepreneurship. The wine industry also represents a particularly important and interesting case study of the way place retains a niche within the emerging global economy.

1.2 Research Context

There has been a growing interest among scholars regarding the restructuring of the social, economic, political and cultural spheres of rurality (Murdoch, 2006) particularly in terms of the consumption-based activities that occur in the countryside (Roberts & Hall, 2001) and the associated commodification of rurality (Woods, 2005). Rural areas across the developed world have experienced demographic, social and economic transformations, and are increasingly defined by heterogeneity and hybridity. A key component of these changes is an increasingly diverse population moving to, and living in, rural areas. The present research project focuses on two industries (wine production and tourism), which in their particular context, are indicative of the restructuring of rural economies. The wine and tourism industries attract entrepreneurial in-migrants with great variation in lifestyle and business motivations, goals and agendas.

Both the wine and tourism industries rely heavily on a regional image and a collective regional name and reputation. Therefore, the way in which the collective regional body (including development of the region and its image) is important and relevant to each stakeholder. However, not every stakeholder's agenda and goals are articulated through regional initiatives, and it is a challenge to understand *whose* interests and version of place identity is promoted at the regional level. This research analyses the outcomes of regional initiatives that are particularly important for wineries, including marketing, seasonality management, and wine tourism development, as it is argued that the individual motivations and goals of winery entrepreneurs will influence business decisions and practices related to these three issues, both at the winery, and at the regional level.

This study has used a qualitative, interpretive research design in order to document the subjective nature of real world phenomena, elicit unanticipated findings and embrace the context of the study. Data was gathered from two case study areas using semi-structured in-depth interviews. Data collection and analysis procedures have been designed to capture and represent a range of perspectives, as well as preserve the richness and detail of individual winery owner experiences. The overall research design has been guided by the literature, from which the research questions and objectives were developed. I have chosen to focus on two collective case studies so that similarities and differences could be analysed and common themes could be considered in relation to winery entrepreneurship. The two case study regions were chosen based on their relevance to the objectives of this study. At the initial stages of this research, the case study regions seemed to share many similar characteristics: the regional wine industries had developed over a similar period of time (the past 30-40 years), and to comparable degrees; there are a similar number of wine labels in both regions (90-100 at the time of this research), most of which are small-scale "boutique" wineries. Both regions have experienced recent expansion of wine tourism, and are classified as rural, New World, cool-climate wine regions, which experience marked seasons. Despite these similarities at the surface, this research illustrates *how* and *why* these regions are, in fact, strikingly different in terms of winery ownership style, outlets for wine sales and wine tourism. These differences mean that the two regions face distinct challenges. The nuances and complexities of these two places, and the differences between them, have

given rise to an interesting and provocative body of data through which to explore winery entrepreneurship. The aim of this research is to present the data in a clear and simple manner, but also in a manner which does not violate the true complex nature of the phenomena being studied

1.3 Significance of Research

It has been said that globalisation is literally redrawing the world wine map, pushing it out from the Old World where most of the earth's wine is still produced to many New Worlds where both production and consumption are on the rise (Veseth, 2011). As wine becomes more of a global phenomenon, with changing players and changing interests, questions and controversy arise as to the future of the wine industry. As wine economist Veseth (2011) notes: The battle for the future of wine is all about [money and] power - Whose idea of wine will dominate and whose tastes and interests will prevail?...Who will "call the shots" in the wine market of the future? Who will set the price? Whose palate will prevail?..Whose idea of wine will dominate?

The case study regions that are the focus of this research provide interesting vignettes of a broader dialogue regarding the reality of the wine world and the reality behind winery ownership. This research seeks to offer a single piece to the puzzle, focusing on two different corners of the globe where the connection between wine and place retain a niche within the emerging global economy.

This research contributes to intellectual progress in understanding the changing nature of rural regions, and the role that entrepreneurs play in influencing these changes. In a world that many consider to be increasingly globalised, the importance of *place* may be more relevant than ever, whereby people develop associations between globalisation, homogenisation, and perceived losses of tradition, roots, familiar landscapes, and values (Feagan, 2007; Ilbery & Kneafsey, 1998; Pike, 2009). In this situation, rural areas are attractive in the perception that they offer a sense of the "good old days" where connection to place and people has not been lost (Bunce, 2003; Hampton & Wellman, 2003; Wellman, 1987). Idyllic notions and constructions of rurality resonate through popular culture, and

underpin discourses where tourist and property markets are involved (Panelli et al., 2008). The idealisation and valorisation of rural places can be seen also through trends of counter-urbanisation, amenity migration, commercial rural recreation and tourism opportunities, and a renewed appreciation for traditional products marketed as “boutique”, “locally-produced” foods and beverages, often sold at the point of production (Feagan, 2007; Perkins, 2006; Ryan & Mizerski, 2010). Entrepreneurs are responding to these demands, as illustrated by a growing range of rural food, wine, and tourism enterprises in many regions of the world.

Through examining entrepreneurship practices in small-scale wine, food and tourism ventures in rural regions, this thesis explores the need for the conceptualisation of “entrepreneurship” to be broadened. Although the phenomenon of entrepreneurship exists in most places, it is not a homogenous phenomenon; the way entrepreneurs behave is influenced by the cultures, needs and habits of the region. This research explores how and why winery entrepreneurs’ behave the way that they do; and how their decisions and actions influence the social, cultural, economic and physical makeup of the rural places in which they own their businesses. The insights and gaps highlighted in the analysis of entrepreneurship, coupled with a reassessment of the literature on place identity, particularly surrounding “rurality”, has been used to reveal new ways of understanding rural places and the role of rural entrepreneurs in the development and transformation of rural regions. By linking these two broad bodies of research in unique and new ways, research objectives have been developed to address the gaps.

1.4 Research Objectives

A series of research objectives have guided the research design, data analysis and presentation of findings, informed by theoretical considerations. Research objectives have been developed based on a critical analysis of the established research and academic literature: Two literature review chapters are developed, focusing separately on two broad sets of literature: place identity/rural studies (Chapter Two) and business management/entrepreneurship (Chapter Three). Based on a thorough critical analysis of the literature, significant gaps and inconsistencies have been identified in the academic

literature– within and across different research areas. Research objectives were designed to fill these gaps and contribute to our understanding of entrepreneurship, rurality, place identity, tourism management, winery ownership and wine regions more broadly. As Isaac Newton put it: “If I have seen a little further it is by standing on the shoulders of giants”. It is through my understanding of the knowledge gained by previous researchers, and my unique analysis of previous studies, that I have been able to build upon, and contribute to intellectual progress.

As outlined above, the primary aim of this research is to explore how winery entrepreneurs’ lifestyle decisions, business motivations, and perceptions of place influence business practices and regional initiatives in the wine and tourism industries. More specifically, this thesis aims to address the following objectives:

1. To identify the characteristics, motivations and goals of winery entrepreneurs involved in tourism in two cool-climate wine regions.
2. To explore the ways in which the characteristics, motivations, and goals of winery entrepreneurs influence lifestyle decisions and business practices, specifically related to wine and wine tourism.
3. To identify the influence of perceptions of place and regional identity on lifestyle decisions and business practices related to wine and wine tourism.
4. To analyse the influence of environmental, economic, social, cultural and political contexts on the decisions and actions of individual winery entrepreneurs involved in tourism, and on the development of the region.
5. To explore how the lifestyle decisions and business practices of individual winery entrepreneurs involved in tourism collectively shape the development of the wine and wine tourism industry in their respective regions.

1.5 Outline of Thesis

The thesis is divided into eleven chapters. The thesis begins with a review of the relevant literature (Chapters Two and Three), followed by a review of methods used (Chapter Four), and an outline of the background and contextual information of the case study regions

(Chapters Five and Six). The remaining five chapters present research findings and develop the conceptual model that has emerged from this research.

Chapter Two is the first of two literature review chapters that outline the theoretical perspectives used to explore research objectives. This chapter examines the rural studies literature in order to set the scene for understanding a hybrid, complex and heterogeneous “rurality”. The context in which winery entrepreneurship develops is considered, as well as the role of economic and cultural restructuring of rural areas in shaping the characteristics and conditions in which these businesses operate. Of particular interest are the complex changes occurring in rural areas that have led to conflicting claims to place identity and shared resources. While this chapter examines the rural literature from a social constructivist perspective, it also acknowledges the paramount importance of physicality and geography in defining rurality. Finally, given the paramount importance of place, place construction and place marketing to this research, this chapter provides a critical analysis of the literature on these topics from a rural, wine and tourism perspective.

Chapter Three examines the notion of entrepreneurship, acknowledging how the concept has broadened in the academic literature over time. Today, there are a diverse range of entrepreneurial forms that have been identified. Given the relevance to this research, this chapter analyses the importance of *lifestyle entrepreneurship* in the context of rural wine and tourism businesses, and the different discourses associated with the concept. A broadened view of entrepreneurship also recognises entrepreneurship as a process, highlighting the importance of place and context in this process. The chapter explores how place and context influence entrepreneurial decisions and actions, and how an entrepreneur’s characteristics and motivations influence perceptions of their place. The chapter incorporates discussions on wine, tourism and entrepreneurial networks, given their relevance to research objectives.

Chapter Four outlines the research design, methods and analytic procedures employed in this research. The purpose of this chapter is to justify the approach utilised and to make transparent to the reader how the research proceeded to arrive at the findings and conclusions discussed in this thesis, highlighting also the limitations of this research.

Chapters Five and Six introduce the case study regions, focusing on the wine and tourism industries in Central Otago (Chapter Five) and The Finger Lakes (Chapter Six). These chapters discuss the relevant geographical, environmental, economic, social and political context of these regions.

Chapter Seven focuses on the processes and daily operations of participating wineries, focusing on the personal perspectives and experiences of respondents. The chapter discusses issues related to ownership style, management structure, staffing and labour, and challenges associated with producing and selling wine in the case study regions. The purpose of this chapter is to ground the reader into the processes occurring on these winery properties to set the scene for further analysis of winery entrepreneurs' decisions and practices.

Chapter Eight develops a typology of winery ownership, based on a critical analysis of research respondents. Three distinct winery entrepreneurial types have been identified in the case study regions: Status-seeking; subsistence-seeking and lifestyle-seeking winery entrepreneurs. By categorising winery entrepreneurs in this way, the influence of characteristics, motivations and goals on lifestyle decisions and business practices for each type is revealed.

Chapter Nine focuses on issues related to selling the wine. Drawing on the entrepreneurial types developed in Chapter Eight, this chapter explores the perspectives of winery entrepreneurs regarding tourism and marketing. As developed in this chapter, the various and conflicting interpretations of place, lifestyle and business motivations lead to challenges in collaborative regional initiatives such as marketing, regional image creation and promotion, and tourism development.

Chapter Ten examines the issue of seasonality, which is particularly relevant for seasonal, cool-climate regions such as the case study regions selected for analysis. Winery respondents perspectives of, and responses to seasonality are outlined as a means to examine the different entrepreneurial types identified in Chapter Eight. While seasonality management may seem like a natural domain in which stakeholders collaborate, the various

and often conflicting stakeholder interests often limit the effectiveness of collaborative initiatives.

Chapter Eleven pulls together the findings and analysis developed in the preceding chapters and discusses the emergent conceptual model in more detail as it applies to the case study regions, and its potential to be applied beyond these regions. The chapter revisits and discusses research objectives in light of findings and the conceptual model. Finally, this chapter discusses the broader significance and limitations of this study and the potential for future research based on the current findings.

1.6 Conclusion

This research is unique in that it explores the concept of place and place identity in the context of entrepreneurship studies; and likewise, explores the entrepreneurial concept from a rural studies/place identity perspective – making links where they have not been made before. By analysing issues from divergent perspectives, and from a range of fields, important linkages have been identified. For example, in this thesis the concepts of “sense of place”, “place attachment”, and the “rural idyll” are discussed in relation to issues surrounding entrepreneurship. These unique links have led to important questions such as: What is the importance of “place identity” to the entrepreneurial process, and how does attachment to place influence entrepreneurial behaviour? These questions are incorporated in the research objectives, which have been developed to fill the gaps and inconsistencies in the literature - within and across research areas.

Chapter 2: Rural Place Identity

2.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the literature on rural place identity, focusing on the increasing idealisation and valorisation of rural space, conflicting claims to rural places and the changing populations and industries of rural areas. A rich, and diverse, body of literature analyses the ways that places are both experienced and strategically constructed or marketed. These works highlight everyday experiences of place as well as showing how meanings and power relations are implicated in struggles over place (Dunn et al., 1995; Massey, 1991; Massey, 1993; Tuan, 1974; Panelli et al., 2007). This chapter discusses the complexities and hybridisation of rural place identities, noting trends of rural in-migration that have led to heterogeneous rural populations and conflicting claims to place. Issues of place marketing are outlined as they relate to the wine and tourism industries, leading to the final section of the chapter, which discusses the power relations implicit in the production and bounding of place. The critical analysis provided in this chapter has contributed to the development of research objectives, which seek to explore how perceptions of place and regional identity influence the lifestyle decisions and business practices of winery entrepreneurs; and how individuals shape a place through the meanings they attach to place and by way of the direct, tangible impacts of their decisions and actions.

2.2 Place Identity

Consideration of the meanings of place, and concern with how place emerges and evolves from undifferentiated space, are topics that have become increasingly prominent in contemporary scholarly writing. An extensive body of literature related to conceptualising space and place has developed in the disciplines of geography, landscape architecture, psychology, rural sociology, urban planning, and literary studies (Stokowski, 2002). Most notably, the concept of place has been discussed in the social sciences literature, particularly in cultural geography (e.g., Massey & Jess, 1995) and sociology (e.g., Urry, 2000). Similarly, regional identity has become a popular theme in academic discourse in the last

few decades (Simon, 2005). Authors in the cultural geography discipline (e.g., Cloke et al., 1998; Groote et al., 2000; Hoekveld, 1993; Knox & Marston, 2001) define regional identities as the specific meanings that are attached to a region by an actor or different groups of actors who experience the region in different ways (Simon, 2005).

Because “place” is a meaning-based concept, with meanings derived from experience with the physical landscape, a fairly strong social construction view predominates in academic writing on place (e.g., Eisenhauer et al., 2000; Hufford, 1992; Tuan, 1977; Greider & Garkovich, 1994). These understandings of places as social constructions refocus thinking away from the taken-for-granted physical characteristics of space, toward the view that places are always in the process of being created and discursively manipulated towards desired (individual or collective) ends (Stokowski, 2002). According to this perspective, place and space are not “neutral grids” or “containers” (Thrift, 1999, p. 301) but are historically constituted and vary through time (Cresswell, 2004). Dominant discourses about the history of a place can direct future actions within the place; they can influence government policy, economic and social patterns of activity, which affects the physical landscape itself. This creates a feedback loop through which meanings affect physical realities, which will influence future meanings (Alkon & Traugot, 2008; Bridger, 1996).

A “cultural turn” or “new cultural geography” which emerged in the 1980s (Cloke & Little, 1997; Mitchell, 2000) took the understanding of landscape in a somewhat new direction, resulting in the “spatialisation of social theory” (Featherstone & Lash, 1995) and the emergence of locality studies and the locality debate in social sciences and human geography (Massey, 1991; Urry, 1987). The “locality debate” arose in response to claims that the effects of globalisation were shrinking the world and reducing the importance of specific places. It is not within the scope of this thesis to explore this argument in any detail, as this is done extensively elsewhere (see for example Harvey, 1989, 1993; Lash & Urry, 1994), however, a key component of this argument is that global forces of an economic, technological and cultural nature are overwhelming individual localities. An example of this would be the unprecedented flow of money, images, symbols and people across national

boundaries due to the processes of globalisation, which has meant it is possible to travel the world and on arrival find many features that are strangely familiar (Appadurai 1990).

The critique and response to this assertion, which created the locality debate was based in part on Giddens' (1979, 1984) structuration theory, which challenged the passive role of space and spatiality in the process of the social construction of places. The ongoing spatial and social differentiation of societies and places was seen not solely as a one-way street resulting from economic, socio-cultural and political structures, but also as an outcome of the influential role and nature of space and places in the production and reproduction of social reality (see also Johnston, 1991; Massey, 1984; Paasi, 1991; Saarinen, 2004). Further, places are continually influenced by the decisions and actions of individual agents in the ongoing social construction of their place, and by way of the direct, tangible impacts of their decisions and actions (Ringer, 1998). The majority of the argument presented in the remainder of this chapter is consistent with this latter perspective on the role of place in a globalising world.

Alkon and Traugot (2008) argue that place construction occurs through two processes. First is *place comparison*, in which actors negatively characterise other places to advocate for strategies intended to maintain differences between them. The second process is through *place metanarratives*, which offer broad notions in which details of specific locales can be contextualized. Through these techniques, actors claim what policies or development strategies are and are not logically consistent with these places (Alkon & Traugot, 2008). This notion of place construction via place comparison and place metanarratives is utilised in the findings chapters in relation to the case study regions.

Geographers have long had interest in land values; the focus has traditionally been on economic geography, which analyses the economic return for a given piece of land depending on different land uses. In contrast, cultural geographers have stressed the way space is socially constructed (Overton & Heitger, 2008). Writers such as Lefebvre (1974) and Soja (1989) have proposed that the value of a place is not only attributed to the market demand but in the way places are produced and re-valued as part of a wider social process (Unwin, 2000). Therefore, the value of land may represent a perceived economic return as

well as reflect certain non-economic values such as sentiments of place-attachment or the status of a place (Overton, 2010). As Daugstad (2008) explains, landscape is now often studied as a representation of ideology, value judgements or a symbol of power. Rather than the major focus being on the landscape itself, the focus is on how it serves as a medium for expressing social constructions (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Duncan, 1995; Duncan & Ley, 1993; Rose, 1993). In rural areas, perhaps more than elsewhere, place is more than just the value of the land (Wulfhorst et al., 2006).

Places have been described as “centers of human existence” (Relph, 1976, p. 43) that help create a sense of meaning and stability in people’s lives (Bow & Buys, 2003; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Gustafson, 2001; Hallak et al., 2011; McAndrew 1998). Places comprise both the physical and the social environments (Pretty et al., 2003), given that individuals choose to live and visit places where they feel safe, secure, and comfortable, and where they feel that they belong (Hallak et al., 2011; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). The importance that individuals attach to place is discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1 Sense of Place and Place Attachment

“Sense of place” has been defined as individual or group identification with a place resulting from interaction with it (Kruger & Jakes, 2003). It includes also meanings, values, feelings and hard-to-quantify emotions, which are often dynamic in nature (Williams & Stewart, 1998). Sense of place encompasses the idea that humans form close relationships with the spaces in which they live. Early studies on attachment to place were investigated by phenomenologists such as Hayward (1975), Relph (1976), and Tuan (1980) who argued that the places where people live can become an integral component of a sense of self, offering the chance to create expressions of oneself (Hallak et al., 2011; Hayward, 1975). Tuan (1974) employed the term “topophilia” to express the nature of people’s relationship to place and focused on individual’s everyday involvement with a place that forms the basis of “place making”.

A core concept of sense of place is place attachment; a positive emotional bond that develops between people and their environment. Spaces become “places” as they become

imbued with meaning through lived experience (Stedman, 2003). If place is socially constructed, the creation of a sense of place can be seen as a social and not just an individual task; the social processes of place creation reinforce individual identities, and shape and support collective identities (Stokowski, 2002). This approach also clarifies whose place attachment is threatened by what kinds of changes (Stedman & Kay, 2008). Actors shape narratives about where they are, who they are, and what should and should not be done in a particular locale (Alkon & Traugot, 2008). The multiple interpretations of place, and resulting actions, create a discourse, constructing both knowledge and practices defining specific issues (Foucault, 1980; Hall, 1997), such as the limits of acceptable development of a place. The discourse of place and regional development together create an identity for a place, which consists of what the place is and represents at the time, and the historical and present practices involved in transforming it (Saarinen, 2009). This sense of place framework offers a useful research tool for understanding what is important about transitional rural landscapes, why, and to whom in particular, and represents an important component of the understanding of place carried through this thesis.

This framework reveals also that place is a multi-level concept, often with conflicting and multiple identities, which exist both in the minds of individuals and groups, and are more officially defined. As Jones et al. (2004, p. 103) observe, “localities cannot be understood as neatly bounded administrative territories, and places are intrinsically multi-scalar, constituted by social relations that range from the parochial to the global”. While delimiting “place” is often difficult and dangerous, a place needs boundaries for certain purposes. These boundaries may be flexible or diffuse, but, by definition, they must exist, as “a place without boundaries is not a place” (Pascual-de-Sans, 2004, p. 351; Feagan, 2007). As boundaries are largely human constructs, they have implications for a range of social, cultural, economic, and political debates and actions (Feagan, 2007).

2.2.2 The Influence of Place on Individual Identity

An individual’s place identity is produced through forms of myth-making and narrative production, which depend on particular constructions of time and space (Byrne, 2007). This reflects the argument made by Hallak et al. (2011), that an individual’s place identity will

affect their social identity, which is defined as “self-conception as a group member” (Abrams & Hogg, 1990, p. 2). People develop relationships within groups and they then use these relationships and memberships to distinguish themselves from those outside of the groups or from other groups; thus, “psychological distinctiveness” (Tajfel, 1978) arising from group membership can influence an individual’s cognitions, emotions, motivations, and behaviours (Bragg, 1996). For example, for an entrepreneur, this may affect the level of support the entrepreneur/business provides to his/her local community and the way that entrepreneur views him/herself within this community.

Given the importance of the identity of the region to individual identities, and vice versa (McHugh, 2000; Mitchell, 2000; Teather, 1999), it must be acknowledged that changes in place usually impact upon identity formation at least to some degree (Huigen & Meijering, 2005). Entrikin (1996) explains the importance of place in relation to an individual’s identity thus: “Place and place identity reflect in part the narrative strategies we employ to regain a sense of wholeness...the boundaries between place and self, the two central components of geographic identity have become blurred in modern life” (p. 217). Therefore, when places are seen to be threatened in some way, it may be taken as a direct threat to the individuals who associate with that place. In this way, changes in the environment can challenge the symbolic reflections of how people define themselves, requiring a renegotiation of the meaning of both themselves as people and their relationships to the environment (Grieder & Garkovich, 1994).

In a world that many consider to be increasingly globalised, it is the argument here that the significance of place in people’s lives persists emphatically (see also Dalby & MacKenzie, 1997; Feagan, 2007; Harvey, 1996; Paasi, 2002, 2003; Pascual-de-Sans, 2004; Shelley et al., 2003). Despite, or arguably in the face of, the increased mobility of people, commodities and capital associated with globalisation, attachment to place and territory remain of critical importance in modern society, and a close link is identified in the renewed concern, and search for, sense of place in an era of identity-confusion (see Feagan, 2007; Pascual-de-Sans, 2004; Windsor & McVey, 2005). The sense that modernised space is “annihilating place – fracturing, realigning, restructuring the historic places of our geographic imagination, is part

of this emerging set of psychological and material practices tied to place, the local, community and food” (Feagan, 2007, p. 33). People develop associations between globalisation and perceived losses of tradition, familiar landscapes, and values. In the face of this sense of place-insecurity, in which social links are either falling apart or weakening, rural areas are attractive in their ability to offer the possibility for socialising or for finding a community identity (Bessiere, 1998; Harvey, 1996).

It must be noted that a great deal of the literature on rurality stems from a postmodern, social constructivist perspective, focusing on place meanings and attachment as products of shared behaviours and cultural processes (Stedman, 2003). These perspectives, while important and valuable, neglect the role of the physical environment and context in shaping rural places. Social constructions of rurality are grounded in the local environment, which sets the bounds and gives form to these constructions. While social representations of rurality remain a significant focus for investigation in rural studies, there is a risk of viewing rural areas as blank canvasses on which to paint socially constructed meanings (Cloke, 2003; Murdoch et al., 2003). Places are not only social constructions but are significantly shaped by concrete, tangible physical characteristics, people and practices. This thesis pays attention to both the social constructivist view of rurality as well as the physical nature of places -- including how geography, topography and climate are essential components in the economic, political, social and cultural development of a rural area. In other words, there must be an ultimate limit set by the physical environment itself, which will influence the social construction of place.

2.3 Rural Idyll

As indicated above, rurality seems to be firmly entrenched in popular discourse about space, place and society in the Western World (Cloke, 2006). A focal point of mainstream rural studies is the analysis of the meanings ascribed to rural spaces (Groote & Haartsen, 2005). There is not a clear-cut definition of what constitutes a rural place - people ascribe multiple meanings to rural places, and these meanings and perceptions of place are constantly evolving (see Section 2.3). Still, widely available ideals describing the merits of rural life make it possible and desirable for individuals to employ a rural narrative (Alkon &

Traugot, 2008). The concept of the “rural idyll” (Bunce, 1994) suggests that rural areas are safe, bucolic, pleasant and desirable. There has been significant discourse on the role of the rural idyll and its shaping of contemporary visions of the countryside (Bell, 2006; Bunce, 1994, 2003; Halfacree, 1995; Little & Austin, 1996; Mingay, 1989). For example, Bunce (2003) argues that:

The values that sustain the rural idyll speak of a profound and universal human need for connection with land, nature and community, a psychology which, as people have become increasingly separated from these experiences, reflects the literal meaning of nostalgia; the sense of loss of home, of homesickness (p. 15).

The rural idyll is a product of the material changes that have occurred along with urbanisation and anxieties over industrialism and modernism (Bunce, 2003). Tuan (1974) has argued that the desire for a rural idyll can also be explained by the binary opposition in our lives: life/death, day/night, home/away, country/city. Along with an increase in urbanisation, the sense of city and country dichotomies have increased, alongside a sentimentality for the countryside. These new demands and images of what is “rural” transform and construct new rural identities that produces new practices, activities and demands (Bessiere, 1998), as Cloke (2003, p. 1) acknowledges:

Somewhere deep down in the early twenty-first century psyche there seems to remain longstanding, handed-down precepts about rural areas, marking them as spaces enabled by nature, offering opportunities for living and lifestyle which are socially cohesive, happy and healthy and presenting a peace and quality of life that differs from that in the city...these knowings of the country are often, somewhat loosely, given the overarching categorisation of ‘idyll’.

As noted above, people develop associations between globalisation and the perceived losses of tradition, familiar landscapes, and values. Therefore, “people dream of friendly relationships, true and genuine values, roots” (Bessiere, 1998, p. 22); rural areas in particular are romanticised, and rural residents are perceived to live in the *gemeinschaft*

(Tönnies, 1957), the “beloved community” (Anderson, 1991), where connection to place and people has not been lost (Hampton & Wellman, 2003; Wellman, 1987). Rural areas are increasingly being seen as places for entertainment, leisure, second homes, and as an alternative place of residence to life in urban areas. The marketing of a rural lifestyle and rural landscapes has become part of the commercialisation of the rural idyll (Bunce, 2003). Idyllic notions of rurality not only resonate through popular and lay culture but frequently underpin commercial and professional constructions of rurality where tourist and property markets are involved (Panelli et al., 2008). Therefore, it is the land and lifestyles that are centrally important commodity forms that arise from the process of rural commodification; particular forms of rural lifestyle are available for those who can afford to purchase them (Perkins, 2006). Crouch (2006) argues that the way rurality is understood is increasingly through the tourism industry construction and framing of rurality. Commodification therefore is increasingly significant in understanding rurality through the construction of rural “attractions” as commodities (Crouch, 2006).

Industrialised societies, such as New Zealand and the United States, often portray rural people in a flattering light because they draw from a meta-narrative that does the same. The individuals in rural places are portrayed as inherently good, kind, friendly, honest and with a strong connection to the land (Alkon & Traugot, 2008) and Bell (1994) suggests a high regard is attributed to individuals perceived as authentically “country”.

Here we have a fantasy which urges us to think today that the countryside is the mother of all our traditions, to find in the country the origin of all that honours the national character in our tastes and habits. The image of country people, deprecated for so long, has been completely reversed and has gradually gained in nostalgia as rural dwellers have left the countryside for urban centres. In this manner, peasant life has become the sanctuary of people's origins, their lost roots, and the source of an improbable authenticity (Burguière et al., 1993; see also Alkon & Traugot, 2008).

This mythological and idyllic rural character is apparent in the case study regions central to this thesis; a rugged, hard-working, hands-on farmer is portrayed as a symbolic

representation of both these wine regions (see Section 8.1), however as discussions in later sections of this chapter and the case studies themselves make clear, this portrayal is simplistic and inaccurate.

2.4 The Consumption of Place

As outlined above, the intertwined processes of globalisation and localisation have resulted in rural areas becoming focal points for the production and consumption of the rural idyll (Daugstad, 2008). The act of consumption resulting from consumer demand reflects the economic, social and cultural utility of that commodity in the minds of the consumers; places, therefore, are consumed as both cultural and economic acts (Overton, 2010). This is demonstrated through the commercial rural recreation and tourism opportunities available (Sections 2.4.1 & 2.4.2), amenity and lifestyle rural in-migration (Section 2.4.3) and place-based marketing efforts (Section 2.5).

The valorisation of place through food and drink in the culture economy is tightly coupled to spatial ideas of the local community, economy, and territory (Feagan, 2007). Many “boutique” food and drink producers emphasise the unique attributes of the place, people and processes behind the production of their products. These products/brands have the characteristics of being high-quality products that are often linked with the cultural and historical aspects of their place of production. Purchase of these products invokes feelings of nostalgia and affirms a connection between consumption and the experience of the place (Ryan & Mizerski, 2010).

2.4.1 Rural Tourism

Rural tourism is defined as tourism that takes place outside densely populated communities and tourist centres, and is often considered to be small-sized and connected to the farming industry and outdoor activities that offer guests a service (Komppula, 2004). While rural tourism has much to do with farms, agriculturalists view rural tourism as a category of farm diversification, whereas tourism researchers and regional tourism promoters consider it to be a sector of tourism in its own right (Busby & Rendle, 2000). Those with strong ties to the land, such as farmers or wine producers will often establish a tourism-oriented business as a

secondary source of income (Di Domenico & Miller, 2011; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). Remoteness and rurality are attractions that can be exploited by people already living in the area, or the establishment of a tourism business can make it possible to live and work in such areas, as outlined in relation to rural in-migration (Getz & Carlsen, 2000). From the perspective of small rural business development, tourism can be part of the core business activities for many boutique wineries, ranches, farms or horticultural businesses, especially those who have chosen rural production as a lifestyle option (Hall, 2004).

Garrod et al. (2006) argue that in order to meet with continued success in the marketplace, a rural destination will need to build an identity or brand image that sums up for potential visitors the essence of the physical qualities, landscape, people, culture, quality and vibrancy of the area. There is general consensus in the literature on rural and farm-based tourism that tourists desire the rural setting and its associated imagery, although this is often related to romanticised ideas about nature and idyllic scenery (Busby & Rendle, 2000; Di Domenico & Miller, 2011; Nilsson, 2002; Walford, 2001). Given that rural tourism is heavily reliant on tourists' perception of rurality (Keen, 2004), idealised versions of nostalgic, agricultural and community-based rurality are strategically produced and encouraged by entrepreneurs, tourism and residential developers and local governments in their attempts to promote particular places (Cloke, 1993; Mitchell, 1998; Mordue, 1999; Panelli et al., 2003; 2008).

2.4.2 Wine Tourism

Given the objectives of this research, this section introduces wine tourism, which has been defined as “visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows for which grape wine tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of a grape wine region are the prime motivating factors for visitors” (Hall et al., 2000, p. 298). While winery visitation is often at the core of much of the early research on the wine tourism experience, such as enjoying winescapes, it is only a subset of the phenomenon, albeit a central one, of the broader study of wine tourism which may include the study of wine festivals and various other tourism pursuits that include wine (Mitchell & Hall, 2006).

The origins of wine tourism research began in the mid-to late-1990s, growing out of several other areas of academic interest such as rural and special interest tourism (Hall & Mitchell, 2001; Hjalager & Richards, 2002; Mitchell & Hall, 2006). Hall (2006) argues that much of the growth of writing on wine tourism parallels the extent to which rural areas have sought to innovate and diversify their agricultural bases through tourism-related consumption and production. Food and wine tourism has emerged as an attractive option for many rural areas and the tourism industry and wine industry have become increasingly seen as “natural, symbiotic partners” (Fraser & Alonso, 2003, p.19).

Mitchell and Hall (2006) note that wine tourism provides a tangible way to address a “perceived need to retain or attract people in rural areas, maintain aspects of “traditional” rural lifestyles and agricultural production, and conserve the rural landscape” (p. 315). Similar to rural destinations more broadly, it has been said that competitive wine tourism destinations must be able to promote and exhibit the rural idyll in their marketing and position initiatives (Williams, 2002).

Wineries are generally located in rural agricultural areas that include wide-open spaces, low levels of development, allowing for visitor and environment interactions (Barbera et al., 2008; Dodd, 2000). The existence of wine routes, wine tourism and tourism more generally plays a pivotal role in attracting visitors to rural areas that in turn benefit local economies and communities (Hall, 2004; Hall et al., 2000; Jaffe & Pasternak, 2004; O’Neill et al., 2001). New wine regions and wine trails being developed worldwide (Bigongiari, 2003; Fensterseifer, 2007; Jaffe & Pasternak, 2004; Sharples, 2002) and traditional regions that have fallen into decay are being revitalised - not to compete in the global wine market but, instead to boost the local economy via small-scale production for wine tourism (Scherrer et al., 2009). The heightened tourism that accompanies the “discovery” of a new wine-producing region is economically important to many countries. This value added economic aspect of wine production is an important reason that many governments support strong research programmes in the development and improvement of their wine industries (Bisson et al., 2002).

Many wine producers rely on wine tourism for sales and as a means to build brand loyalty (Dodd, 1995, 2000; Fountain et al., 2008; Hall et al., 2000a; O'Neill & Charters, 2006). Wine tourism can present an opportunity which can result in visitors seeking out the winery's product when they get home and lead to positive word-of-mouth referral to friends, family and associates (O'Neill et al., 2002; O'Neill & Charters, 2006). This is particularly important for small wineries, whose cellar door may be the dominant outlet for sales, and therefore an important part of a wine producer's value chain (Gill et al., 2007; Wilson & Goddard, 2004). Ultimately, wine producers want to improve brand awareness, and wine tourism and cellar door wine sales can play an important role in achieving this goal (Alant & Bruwer, 2004; Getz, 2000). The cellar door is the public face of a winery, providing the opportunity for consumers to sample the winery's product, interact with staff and form an opinion about the winery's operation (O'Neill et al., 2002). Wine tourism is an important opportunity for wineries to develop long-term relationships with their customers and sell their products directly to consumers (Alant & Bruwer, 2004). It also serves as a promotional tool, a showcase for the regions' wines, allows wineries to engage with potential consumers, and provide them with an experience.

The quality of the winery experience will play a central role in the emotional attachments a tourist develops for a brand and ultimately influences the future purchase intentions of that tourist (Bruwer & Alant, 2009; Fountain et al., 2008; Mitchell, 2006; Nowak & Newton, 2006; Pikkemaat et al., 2009). Fountain et al. (2008) found that a personal and "real" interaction between consumers and staff members was particularly important in making the experience memorable for visitors. Smaller wineries were especially successful in making visitors feel special, rather than as if they were on a production line or conveyor belt. The wineries that are successful in creating a connection between the visitor and winery go beyond providing good service; they also convey passion about the winery and provide stories that allow the visitor to engage with the place (Fountain et al., 2008; Thach et al., 2007). Through visitation, consumers associate the wines with a set of desirable regional attributes (e.g., physical attributes, heritage, stories) and their own personal experience at the winery. These issues are analysed in Chapter Nine in relation to the case study regions.

Wine tourism and seasonality

This research analyses the outcomes of regional initiatives that are particularly important for winery entrepreneurs involved in this research including regional wine tourism development and management, seasonality management and regional place-marketing. This section therefore provides a brief introduction to the importance of seasonality for small wineries in cool-climate regions.

One of the most striking features of tourism in most destinations is the way that the level of activity fluctuates throughout the year (Bar-On, 1975; Duval, 2004; Goulding & Hay, 2001). The same is true for grape growing and wine production. Therefore, a combination of tourism and wine production, both subject to seasonal variations in activity, would imply that wine tourism would have compounded seasonal effects. However, Getz (2000, p. 10) claims that wine tourism “presents many opportunities for attracting visitors year round [and] these stem in part from the inherent seasonality of the viticulture process.” King (2000) also suggests that wine tourism is less seasonal than other forms of tourism due to the various seasonal activities involved in producing wine which may attract visitors throughout the year.

There have been only a small number of studies on seasonal preferences for winery visitation. Johnson (1998) collected data on supply-side estimates of New Zealand winery visitation. The data showed that the summer months of December, January and February experience the highest numbers of visitors, while May to September see the least. The warmer months are the most preferred time of the year to visit a winery, reflecting the importance of outdoor elements associated with visiting a winery (vineyard scenery, al fresco dining) as well as the fact that wineries are less likely to be open to the public during the months when the vineyard is dormant or when harvest activity is high (Johnson, 1998). The progress of nature, as Mitchell and Hall (2003) point out, has significant implications for resources and has a strong correlation with preferences for visiting. The harvest months are a tourist shoulder season that offers many opportunities to develop wine tourism products (Getz, 2000) but is also a time of high demand on a winery’s resources (Mitchell & Hall, 2003). The winter, which is the slowest time for winery operations, is the least preferred time to visit. The issue for small wineries that have less capacity to manage the limited

resources available to them is whether to reduce the emphasis on the cellar door at busy times at the vineyard and winery and increase it during low activity (Mitchell & Hall, 2003).

A key observation from a review of the literature on seasonality in tourism is that seasonality is viewed as a “problem” of demand that must be overcome at a destination level (see also Getz & Nilsson, 2004; Goulding & Hay, 2001). Few attempts have been made to develop a holistic understanding of supply-related aspects of seasonality, and the existing analysis of supply-side influences tends to concentrate on the macro dimension of the destination area or region as a whole, rather than on individual business owner-manager perceptions of seasonality, with an implicit assumption that places and the individuals within them share a common approach to the seasonality experience, given their differing personal lifestyle goals or overall business objectives (see also Goulding et al. 2004; Goulding, 2008). Chapter Ten explores the impacts, and diverse perceptions and experiences of seasonality amongst winery entrepreneurs in this study, and identifies a range of conflicting attitudes and responses to the seasonality “problem”.

2.4.3 Rural Mobility and Migration

Rural in-migration is an important contributor to the heterogeneous nature of contemporary rural communities, and therefore the conflicting claims to place identity and conflicts over land use and business practices. Globalisation has not only led to the mobility of commodities and capital but also to the mobility of people, which has increased the flow of people in, out, and through rural spaces (Floysand & Jakobsen, 2007). As Williams and Hall (2002) note, the implications of new forms of mobility directly or indirectly touch most people in the communities of origin and destination. This can be through changes in economic activity, gains and losses in labour supply, innovation and contact networks, changes in housing prices, services and in the cultural images of places. Many rural places, such as the case study areas selected for this research, are characterised by an increasingly diverse population due to in-migration, including the diversity of entrepreneurial in-migrants.

The migration to, and occupation of, rural areas by a “middle class urbanite” whose motivations involve rural living, recreation and relaxation, is a process of converting pieces of countryside from landscapes of production to landscapes of consumption (Bunce, 2003). One way to conceptualise this amenitisation of rural land is through Lefebvre’s (1991) ideas on spatiality where the transformation of rural landscapes around idyllic expectations involves the production and reproduction of rural spaces through new spatial practices (i.e., land uses), new representations of rural space (i.e., marketing and branding of rural areas) and therefore new spaces that represent new sets of values (Bunce, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991; Shields, 1991; Urry, 1995).

“Rurality” is a term that includes not only stereotypical rural spaces and places such as farms and farming landscape (Lawrence, 2003) but also the processes of change in the negotiation and appropriation of typical rural lifeways (Clope & Little, 1997). For example, the economic restructuring of rural areas includes increased industrialisation of the countryside as well as new rural settlement and mobility patterns that have led to socio-political realignment. Similarly, the cultural reinvention of the countryside has led to new forms of consumption and production. These changes have been described as “rural to post-rural” (Murdoch & Pratt, 1993), “productivist to post-productivist” (Halfacree & Boyle, 1998) and “industrial to post-industrial” (Jollivet, 1997). Many of these transformations are associated with the increased influence of urban and non-farming interests in rural areas and on their lifestyles (Paquette & Domon, 2003).

Amenity migration

Amenity migration is an important component of this research project, as it is the starting point for many conflicts over land use, meanings of land, meanings of rurality, sense of identity and social distinctiveness, and is an element sometimes overlooked in general portrayals of the rural idyll discussed above. Access to places with high amenity value is now recognised as a major driving force behind much rural development (Deller et al., 2001; Galston & Baehler, 1995; Hall, 2005b; McGranahan, 1999; Nord & Cromartie, 1997). Generally stated, amenity migration is the migration of people to places that are perceived as having a distinctive culture (e.g., a simpler existence or a higher quality of life), a greater environmental quality (Moss, 2006), and aesthetic and consumption-oriented use values

(McCarthy, 2008). Examples of amenity values are attractive rural environments, recreational and leisure opportunities, cultural richness, reasonable costs of living, safe communities, improved transport and communications, access to major urban centres and quality public services (Hall, 2006; McCarthy, 2008).

An increase in rural amenity migration can be attributed to an increase in the income of particular classes of urban professionals, the increased mobility of elites, a relaxing of restrictions on foreign ownership of property in many countries (see Chapter Five), and an increasing value placed on rural landscapes, as discussed earlier in relation to the rural idyll (Gogia, 2006; McCarthy, 2008; Murdoch, 2006). Amenity migrants include retirees, second-home owners and tourists, who all create demands for additional services and labour (Williams & Hall, 2002) and entrepreneurs have responded to these demands and established businesses in rural areas. Furthermore, in-migrants that are lured by rural amenities often start businesses in order to make a living and as a means to facilitate a rural life (Fountain & Hall, 2002; Paniagua, 2002). The desire to be self-employed and to achieve lifestyle changes are commonly cited as reasons for urban-rural migration (Paniagua, 2002; Shaw & Williams, 1987; Williams & Jobes, 1990; Williams et al., 1989).

Amenity migration results in the phenomenon of counter-urbanisation which has been given much attention in the literature to describe the demographic changes occurring in non-metropolitan regions (Berry, 1976; Champion, 1989; Dahms & McComb, 1999; Fielding, 1982). Counter-urbanisation can be defined as a net loss by migration from major cities and metropolitan areas, while rural regions with small and medium sized towns have net migration gains (Dahms & McComb, 1999). According to McCarthy (2008), an amenity property boom is under way and is affecting an extensive set of rural areas around the world. While few locations seem to be too remote for elites seeking a rural refuge, McCarthy (2008) states:

It is of course highly localized in important ways. Only areas meeting the requisite aesthetic, legal, linguistic and other preconditions qualify, leaving most rural areas unlikely to receive this form of investment (p. 131).

Therefore, contextual forces are a key determinant of the extent of the changes that occur in rural places; while rural entrepreneurs may initiate change and drive the development and changes of these places, the context must support such actions.

While amenity migrants to rural areas are motivated by natural and cultural amenities (Moss, 2006) and the attraction of the rural idyll, economic gain is often a key motivator also (Booth, 2002; Jobes, 2000; Johnson et al., 2003; Nelson, 1999; Rasker & Alexander, 2003). Amenity migrants are often identified as new local entrepreneurs (Lynch, 2006; Nelson, 2006), citing lifestyle aspirations and the desire to be self-employed as their motivations for moving from urban to rural areas (Paniagua, 2002; Shaw & Williams, 1987; Williams & Jobes, 1990; Williams et al., 1989). Bransgrove and King (1996) found that while the most important goals of owner-managers of small tourism businesses were challenge/stimulus, business opportunity, lifestyle and long-term financial gain, lifestyle goals were twice as frequent in rural areas as in urban areas.

Williams et al., (1989) drew attention to the blurring of boundaries between consumption and production with many tourism business owners in Cornwall having been former tourists. After visiting the area, these individuals decided to live and work in the area for quality of life and local environmental incentives; a popular trend found other studies (Buller & Hoggart, 1994; Lardies, 1999; Muller, 2006; Price et al., 1997; Williams & Hall, 2002; Williams et al., 1989, 2000). Snepenger et al., (1995, p. 40) termed this phenomenon “travel stimulated entrepreneurial migration” while Urry (1992, p.22) refers to it as a “colonising tourist gaze”.

The relationship between lifestyle and economic motives and migration has been highlighted in a number of studies of tourism entrepreneurship (Paniagua, 2002; Stone & Stubbs, 2007; Williams et al., 1989). To understand economic gain as a key motivator for in-migrants it is important to look at research focusing on the relationship of tourism and migration using a consumption and production-led model (Hall & Muller, 2004; Williams & Hall, 2002). This model shows that many in-migrants primarily motivated by the consumption of amenities will end up finding or making work (starting a business) once they have arrived in these high-amenity areas (Moss, 2006). Chapter Three discusses the

characteristics and motivations of lifestyle entrepreneurs moving to rural regions and the implications of this trend.

The perspectives and experiences of individuals who have established and run rural tourism ventures (often labelled “rural entrepreneurs”) have received much attention in the literature (Daugstad, 2008; Getz et al., 2004; Komppula, 2004; McGehee & Kline, 2008). The wine and tourism industry in particular, attract entrepreneurial in-migrants with a variation in lifestyle and business motivations (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Bensemnaan & Hall, 2010; Getz & Carlsen, 2005; Getz & Petersen, 2005; Goulding et al., 2005; Hall, 2004; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; Morrison, 2006; Scott, Morton & Podolny, 2002). Each in-migrant brings with them their own perceptions of place, views and agendas. This is often the genesis for conflicts regarding business practices, particularly those that impact regional assets (a regional brand name and reputation, environmental assets) from which all stakeholders draw.

2.5 Place-based Marketing and Branding

Throughout history, stakeholders in various places have worked to develop an image and a strategy to present themselves to the world (Paddison, 1993; Skuras & Dimara, 2004; Vik & Villa, 2010). Place marketing and branding strategies have become a common point of intersection of research in geography, marketing, regional studies, tourism and wine (e.g., Hall, 1997, 2008a; Hall & Page, 2006). Place marketing and branding occurs at different geographical scales over and through which particular economic, political, and socio-cultural processes and various institutional agents are manifest (Hall, 2008).

A brand is a singular idea or concept that a product possesses in the minds of prospective consumers. It usually comes in the form of a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of these, and is intended to differentiate one producer/seller, or group of producers/sellers, from competitors (Westling, 2001). Branding, or cultivating and promoting an image of place is not a new phenomenon (Ward, 1998). Place branding as a professional practice is recognisable in history, with concerted, commercial efforts at branding destinations for tourism going back at least to Thomas Cook’s mid-19th century

revolution of organised travel (Chambers, 2000, p. 13). Place branding has been practised in various different contexts including tourism, domestic and export promotion of agri-food products, country positioning in international relations, the protection of local producers from imports through “buy domestic” campaigns, and marketing targeted at attracting foreign investment, foreign students and skilled workers (Papadopoulos, 2004). Place branding applies the branding process, which is used for commercial products and services, to geographical locations (Morgan et al., 2002).

Place-brands incite beliefs, evoke emotions and prompt behaviours (Kotler & Gertner, 2002). Pike (2009) argues that the values and meanings people ascribe to specific brands, and the way they respond to branding are intertwined with their own socio-spatial relations, identities, and their perceptions of the brand. Over time, branded objects and branding processes accumulate histories that are social and spatial; in diverse ways and to variable extents, then, space and place are written through branded objects and the social practices of branding (Pike, 2009).

Branding often employs language of place; these can become invested with not only commercial but also cultural meanings, such that place/product associations can re-imagine places. In this way, a place nostalgia can be created or re-made (Pawson, 1997). It could be suggested that branding is a means of exploiting as well as contributing to cultural vocabularies, including both languages of place and identity (Pawson, 1997). Several critical studies have emphasised that contemporary place branding and marketing rely on the commodification of particular aspects of place, exploiting or creating place images as a means to sell products (Pawson, 1997; Vik & Villa, 2010). For example, Urry, (1995) demonstrates how commodification contributes to the reconstruction of places in order to satisfy anticipated gazes on the place (from the outside). In turn, this sets the stage for what Kearns and Philo (1993) see as a manipulative element of image creation.

Building an attractive place image (Christiaans, 2002; Stubbs et al., 2002; Ulaga et al., 2002) or a cultural and tourism destination image (Dahles, 1998; McCann, 2002; Seo, 2002) is said to constitute an extremely important part of places’ economic regeneration (Metaxas, 2009). As discussed throughout this chapter, there has been an increasing focus on the

social construction of the rural. Similarly, representations, images and myths have become important aspects in analysis and discussions of how to picture the rural and the people living there (Berg & Lysgard, 2004; Boyle & Halfacree, 1998; Cloke et al., 1997; Dam et al., 2002; Thrift, 1994; Vik & Villa, 2010; Villa, 1999). Today, many rural development initiatives revolve around rural images and branding – including products and people, as well as physical attributes of a place – to promote or sell an area (Vik & Villa, 2010).

The wine and tourism industries are two of “those rare commodities which [are] branded on the basis of their geographical origin” (Merret & Whitwell, 1994, p. 174); these industries are similar in their emphasis on regional branding (Hall & Macionis, 1998) and are both spatially fixed. The shared name and reputation that winegrowers and tourism operators draw on can be seen as a regional commons, which is available to all producers and operators (Hayward & Lewis, 2008). Some authors (e.g., Ostrom 1990; 2002; Patchell, 2008) have employed Common Pool Resource Theory (CPR) as a framework to analyse the process of regional branding: individual winegrowers and tourism operators all depend on a shared name and reputation that draws them into collective action (Patchell, 2008). The wine and tourism industries provide much opportunity for cross-branding and promotion (Hall, 1997) as the wine and tourism products are mutually reinforcing. Cross-branding is a marketing approach that enhances two brand names through associating them with each other. Both the wine and tourism products share many traits: the perceptions of both products are heavily influenced by images and representations of place; quality is heavily dependent on subjective quality assessments by consumers, which may be influenced by situation or occasion; choices are dependent on situation and occasion; both products are extremely complex and change over time; both are likely to rely on the reputation of other brands in close proximity; both types of purchase have perceived risk and therefore are likely to be high involvement purchases (Hall & Mitchell, 2008).

2.5.1 Place-based Marketing and Branding for Tourism Destinations

Tourism as an activity in the place branding process is often inseparable as a commercial and policy consideration in the construction of place brands. Tourism may be best understood as:

Part of a broader continuum of consumption-oriented human mobility by which individuals travel to consume products and services in specifically branded, designed, and commodified space which serve as destinations for both 'local' and 'tourist' visitors (Hall, 2008, p. 234).

Destination marketing is both a process and an outcome. The process involves dealing with the complexities of destinations and the many stakeholders, while the outcome is a brand or image of a destination. The resulting destination image is central to the marketing of a place as it provides potential visitors with a “simplified version of reality, a way of making sense of the many destination stimuli received and processed by the visitor” (Cooper & Hall, 2008, p 223). “Destination image” is one of the most widely used constructs in the tourism marketing field (Gallazra et al., 2002; Jamrozy & Walsh, 2008; Pike, 2002; Tasci et al., 2007) and might be broadly defined as the perceptions or impressions of a place (Phelps, 1986), consisting of the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a tourist holds of a destination (Crompton, 1979). It can be seen as a multidimensional construct comprising of two primary dimensions: cognitive and affective. The cognitive component can be interpreted as beliefs and knowledge about the physical attributes of a destination, while the affective component refers to the appraisal of the affective quality of feelings towards the attributes and the surrounding environments (Hosany et al., 2006). This affective component is relevant when taking into account nostalgic notions of rurality, which is a central component of the rural idyll, rural tourism and rural amenity migration.

While brand and image are often used interchangeably in the literature, Cai (2002) argues that image formation is not branding, albeit the former constitutes the core of the latter. A brand element comes in the form of a name, term, logo, sign, design, symbol, slogan, package, or a combination of these, of which the name of the place is the first and foremost reference. A destination brand is based on a core identity that is identified by the residents of a place (Jamrozy & Walsh, 2008). This brand may then be a reflection of how well that identity is represented through marketing strategies (Jamrozy & Walsh, 2008).

Place marketers overtly attempt to present appealing aspects of the local culture and place, which make the place somewhere worth visiting. The attempt to promote local

distinctiveness is part of a broader strategy of place promotion that is seen as necessary in a competitive visitor market (Storey, 2006). Developing a unique identity and personality that resonates in the marketplace increases a region's competitiveness. Therefore, many locations have embraced the economic benefits in establishing a clear and compelling brand proposition (Bruwer & Johnson, 2010). Branding is possibly the most powerful marketing weapon available to destination marketers confronted by tourists who are increasingly seeking lifestyle fulfillment and experience, rather than recognising differentiation in the more tangible elements of the destination product such as accommodation and attractions.

While the aim of place branding and place promotion is often to attract something new (inhabitants, investors, tourists), the way that places are promoted is often closely related to their history (Ward, 1998). Many studies exploring place-marketing images have tended to consider "the Past" and nostalgic sentiments as resources that marketers can exploit in order to craft a place image (e.g., Boyer, 1992; Chivallon, 2001; Huigen & Meijering, 2005; Graham et al., 2000; Kearns, 1993).

Constructing a place image or brand is a process in which multiple identities, realities, meanings, sites and impressions are reconfigured to fit a recognisable, and, for some, attractive image (Vik & Villa, 2010). However, as the previous discussion has highlighted, living in a rural community requires neither common goals nor convergent identities (see Cloke & Little, 1997; Kneafsey, 2000; Halfacree, 2006). The challenge is to transform several understandings of a place into one coherent and presentable image; a process that is inevitably contested and political. Even though destination branding has been widely described as a collaborative effort amongst stakeholders (Kaplanidou & Vogt, 2003; Morgan et al., 2002; 2003), power is a critical matter in a destination branding process because stakeholders exert power in order to influence how the destination brand comes about (see Marzano, 2008). A wide range of empirical studies in tourism has illustrated the ways that images are socially constitutive and socially conditioned, and are therefore inevitably enmeshed with notions of power (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Waterton, 2009). Images of a destination do not simply arrive in brochures and marketing paraphernalia by accident; the images selected to represent a place are created, mediated

and selected according to specific cultural and ideological arrangements (see also Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Waterton, 2009).

2.5.2 Place-based Marketing and Branding for Wine

The wine industry represents a particularly interesting case study of the way place retains a niche within the emerging global economy. While the wine industry is characterised by forces that are moving towards integration, industrialisation and sameness (as seen in bulk wines), it is counterbalanced by those producers that focus on place-specific artisanal production of premium wines (Aylward & Zanko, 2008; Banks & Overton, 2010; Banks & Sharpe, 2006). Consumers do not always seek low-cost, high volume products, but instead more differentiated and higher-status products (Banks & Overton, 2010). These products and brands emphasise factors such as traditional or artisanal methods of production, quality assurance and indications of a product's provenance in terms of place of origin, type or purity of inputs and method of production (Banks & Overton, 2010; Charters, 2006; Goodman, 2003). Producers are able to resist the trend to agglomeration or homogenisation by protecting or marketing their intellectual property in the form of product and place names or methods of production (Moran, 1993), and this is certainly the case in the wine industry.

Given that place and location matters a great deal in the wine industry, it provides an interesting case to examine the construction of space and place. Similar to the marketing and branding of tourism destinations, wine is one of the few products whose attributes are naturally conducive to cooperation at a regional level, as the wine region itself can be a source of differentiation, added value and reputation (Hall & Mitchell, 2008), although as the case studies demonstrate, this collaboration does not always occur (see Chapter Nine).

Wine markets around the world are characterised by a plethora of wine brands (Bruwer, 2004) to such an extent that the consumer can be overwhelmed by the sheer complexity of the buying situation this creates. The wine market is a complex one for decision-making by consumers, and as such it has not escaped the growing importance of product differentiation as a result of globalisation. Place-based marketing that emphasises the

region-of-origin is one of the strategies of such differentiation (Bruwer & Johnson, 2010). The place that a given wine is produced is arguably the most significant wine marketing element, providing a reason to buy for consumers, who search for reputation, in part defined by an appellation's unique set of characteristics (i.e., grape varieties, physical attributes, viticultural, and winemaking practices), to avoid a costly search to assess many individual wines (Patchell, 2008).

Region-of-origin is also arguably the single most important aspect of wine in establishing pricing, positioning, and promotion for wines in all sales-channels throughout world markets (Marshall, 2007). It is therefore important for individual wineries to work together to develop, promote and protect good quality wines and the image of the region (Hall & Mitchell, 2008).

Of all the things we buy, wine is more geographically traceable than almost anything else ... [it is] one of the few things we can pluck off a shelf ... and tell from one glance who made it, when, and exactly where it comes from (Robinson, 2001, pp. 7-9).

Regional attributes may be used deliberately in the marketing of wine products. By associating the wines with a set of regional characteristics assumed to convey desirable qualities, places themselves become part of a branding process; the product is so strongly associated with the place, that it incorporates appealing representations of the region into the product itself (Simon, 2005). For example, New Zealand Wine (2009b) promotes place imagery that depicts clean, unspoilt landscapes, which produce distinctive, high-quality products. In this sense, this marketing tries to promote the way the essence of a place is captured in a bottle of wine (Overton & Heitger, 2008). This approach attempts to provide a point of difference in markets otherwise pre-occupied with price or long-established regional winemaking reputations (Hayward & Lewis, 2008). In a world of consumers differentiated by social segments and lifestyle niches, it is not just inherent qualities of products that are important, but also their symbolic meanings. These attributes are embodied in successful brands (Pawson, 1997).

The French concept of *terroir* is at the centre of a substantial debate about what wine is, and how it should be understood (Charters, 2010; Overton, 2010). Terroir is a broad (and contested) concept encompassing the physical characteristics of the land (its soil, climate, topography) and its human dimensions (culture, history, technology; Moran, 2001). Terroir is an important category for framing and explaining people's relationship to the land, be it sensual, practical or habitual (Trubek, 2005) which is important for this research in explaining the relationship of wine producers with their place; the concept is also central to the marketing and branding of wine.

The concept of terroir is predicated on the idea that quality and distinctiveness of product is a function of place: the essence of a place can be found – and consumed – in a glass of wine (or a piece of cheese, or a type of coffee). Hall and Mitchell (2008) argue that wine is inextricably linked to place; a wine's character and flavour relies on the interaction between winemaking and viticultural techniques, grape variety and the combination of the physical environment of the region in which the grapes are grown. Around the world, this has been codified by way of formal labelling requirements for the place of origin for wines (Banks et al., 2007). Governments have taken steps to protect the place names associated with particular wines (e.g. Bordeaux, Burgundy) and treat them as intellectual property – this illustrates the significance of terroir and place to winemaking and marketing (Barham, 2003; Charters, 2006; Gade, 2004; Overton, 2010). For over three decades, the so-called country-of-origin effect (COO) has been the object of extensive investigation. A great deal of empirical research has attested to the fact that country images can lend a positive reputation to a whole category, such as French-wines or perfume (Kotler & Gertner, 2002). Attempts to prevent abuse have given rise to separate forms of legal protection for Geographical Indications (GIs) both nationally and internationally. Geographical Indications are place-based names (e.g., Champagne, Roquefort) that represent the geographical origin, as well as the cultural and historical identity, of agricultural products. GIs are protected under a wide range of institutions and arrangements and are found throughout the world. Because GIs root production in a particular place, they are framed as sources of resistance against the homogenising effects of “placeless” food production systems (Bowen & Zapata, 2009). Establishing and protecting place names as brand identities establishes a monopoly

value over that name and place. This creates an enhanced value in the place that is translated into higher returns for the products of that place (dairy products, cheese wine) and in the land market (Banks & Overton, 2010). As Hayward (2008) argues, place has value and the naming of places (and the protection of these names) has become part of the economic landscape of industries such as wine, dairy products, meat, fruit and olive oils. Recent studies have focused on the positive effects of GIs on farmer livelihoods, local communities, and the environment (Albisu, 2002; Belletti & Marescotti, 2002; Bowen & Zapata, 2009; van der Ploeg et al., 2000). The commodification of place and region through food or wine (e.g. Appellation laws such as the French AOC labeling – *Appellations d’Origine contrôlée*), has taken on greater resonance with regards to perceived losses of rural tradition under modernisation and a renewed search for authenticity and “quality” (Feagan, 2007; Ilbery & Kneafsey, 1998). Local consumption patterns often survive, and are revived, as a resistance to globalisation.

Consumption of products branded in these ways is, literally, the consumption of place. It is not just the physical act of consumption of a glass of wine that represents a place; it is also the consumption of the particular construction of that place as represented by governments, industry capital, winemakers, advertising agencies and wine writers and retailers. Constructions of places thus move through the value chain from production to consumption (Overton, 2010).

In addition to local climatic conditions and the mineral composition of the soils, winegrowing traditions also are seen as critical to terroir - although in many cases these reflect the invention and representation of an idyllic past (Ulin, 1995). Vaudour (2002) employs the notion of “slogan terroir” referring to the relatively recent phenomena of the use of terroir as a marketing and advertising tool. In some ways, the concept of terroir involves the making of stories or myths about a region and its wine (Hayward & Lewis, 2008). Images and stories of an idyllic past may be used in marketing and branding to establish an image of authenticity – both in terms of tourism and wine (Alonso & Northcote, 2009; Ballantyne, 2011). These issues are developed further in Chapter Nine in relation to the case study regions.

Charters (2010) offers a model of how terroir operates at the viticultural, cultural and business levels. Charters model is a further development of the model created by Vaudour (2002), who discussed the interlinking aspects of vine, identity, marketing (“slogan”) and territory. In this model, terroir is conceived as a tension between the physical (or environmental), the mystical sense of place, and its role in marketing, coalescing around the sense of terroir as identity.

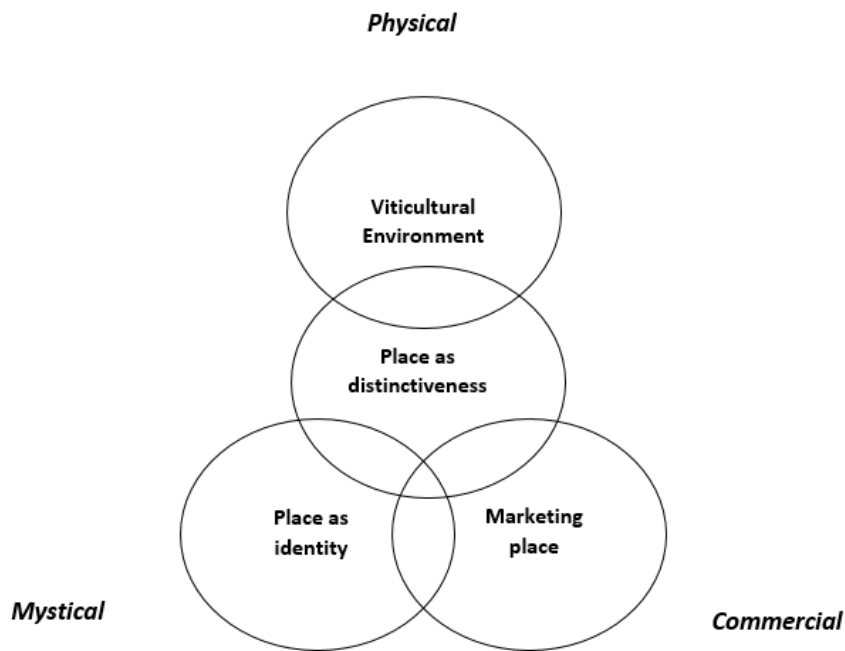


Figure 2.1: The Interlocking Concepts of Terroir

Source: Adapted from (Charters, 2010)

The differences between the Old and New Worlds are often attributed to the Old World’s emphasis on tradition and terroir and the New World’s emphasis on science and winemaking techniques. While Old World, single estate, terroir-driven wine producers are often contrasted with large-scale, New World wine producers, there are those producers who fall into this gap. The case study regions selected for this research are examples of this. Small-scale or boutique New World wine regions do not rest on well-known historically-based appellations, nor do they have the economies of scale that many large, New World wine producers use, to take advantage of high-volume production, low margins, and mass-

marketing (Enz, 2009). There are consumers that seek value for money in many parts of the market yet, in others, emphasise and celebrate high priced exclusive products that some consumers claim to differentiate on the basis of taste and reinforce through ostensible knowledge of the wine's history, origin and unique characteristics (Overton & Murray, 2011). Winery entrepreneurs involved in this research recognise this, and many business decisions and practices are based on this premise (see Chapter Nine).

2.6 Politics of the Rural

It has become apparent in the previous discussion that individuals and groups construct narratives and ascribe value to places in different ways, and at different times. This can often lead to conflicts over land use and the interpretations and meanings attached to a place. Articulating and understanding these conflicts is a significant concern in the later chapters of this thesis. Studies on the wine and tourism industries present opportunities to explore the complexities of rural place identities; the increasingly complex and interconnected changes occurring in rural areas increases the potential for conflicts to arise (Butler et al., 1998). Woods (2003; 2006) calls this the "politics of the rural" and the meaning and regulation of rural space is the core defining issue; Halfacree (2006) argues that the countryside is increasingly characterised more by contestation than congruence. This argument reflects the influence of post-modernism in the social sciences which emphasises the complexity and plurality of contemporary society (Latour, 1994). The countryside is a place where multiple processes co-exist and therefore demands an appreciation of spatial complexity (Murdoch, 2003).

The context of change essentially centres upon the tensions resulting from the diversity of demands that are now being placed upon rural spaces (Cloke & Little, 1997). The increasingly complex changes occurring in rural areas has led writers such as Marsden (1998) to employ the term rural restructuring to reflect the fundamentally different nature of the changes that are taking place in rural areas. The term "rural restructuring" refers to a transformation from a particular social, economic and political form to another. One of the most commonly cited elements of rural restructuring is the transition from an economy based on agriculture and manufacturing to an economy based on consumption and the

countryside as a form of commodity (Cloke et al., 2006; Floysand & Jakobsen, 2007; Murdoch & Marsden, 1994; Urry, 1995; Woods, 2005). The present research project does not seek to simplify nor synthesize the complex nature of rural development. Rather, this research seeks to contribute to the ongoing attempts, influenced by post-modernism, to portray rural restructuring as a partial, heterogeneous and context-dependent process (Woods, 2005). Thus, this research focuses on the reproduction and changes that are occurring in individual places in particular and unique ways, which are continuously being influenced by the actions, motivations and values of local participants in the ongoing social construction of their place (Ringer, 1998). Woods (2005) argues that by considering the individual narratives of people, we can come to a better understanding of the changes implied by rural restructuring.

Through examining the politics of place in rural areas, we can identify “the invisible webs of local power networks” (Jeong & Almeida Santos, 2004, p. 654) between rural and urban, as well as between local and global (Masuda & Garvin, 2008). Conflicts that occur within and over rural areas are diverse in their scale, longevity, location, political impact, and ideological motivation. However, as Woods (2003) argues, dig deeper into each story and a common theme emerges; within each case, a central motivating force is either the defense of the “rural” (or the “rural economy”, “rural landscape” or “rural way of life”) against external threat, or conflict over the meaning, use, and regulation of the rural space. The idealisation and valorisation of rural space leads to multiple claims to place, and also attracts a diversity of individuals. Individuals hold differing interpretations of place, motivations, agendas and goals, which can lead to conflicts within, and across, industries and sectors of rural society. In the wine and tourism industries, one of the most visible arenas in which different interpretations of place play out is in efforts to market and brand a particular image and identity of the region. For wine and tourism regions, this is particularly visible given the importance of a regional brand name and regional image in the marketing of wine and tourism products.

As discussed throughout this chapter, the relationship between place and identity is important (McHugh, 2000; Mitchell, 2000; Teather, 1999). Authors such as Amin (2004),

Massey (2004) and Thrift (2002) have further developed this perspective of place identity in their discussions of relational space and the politics of place. Amin (2004) focuses on the relational politics of propinquity, which considers the ways in which groups that share the same spaces must actively negotiate cultural change and the appropriate use of shared resources, such as land. Williams (2002) defines the politics of place as the making and resisting claims about place – what a place means and what constitutes the true character or sense of place. He argues that ideas like sense of place or place attachment do not reflect some authentic quality of a place but are instead social constructions perpetrated by someone or some group with a particular interest. Competing senses of place are important sources of political conflict as they construct social differences (us and them, locals and outsiders) and claims of what belong to a place are often invoked to assert power and authority over place (Williams, 2002).

Amenity migrants to rural areas often seek a rural idyll and a *perceived* lifestyle that accompanies living in a rural area. However, the perception of rurality as a beautiful, peaceful locality can often be shattered by the reality of an in-migrant's experience of their new home. It has been suggested that many new inhabitants of rural areas bring with them a set of values said to emerge from "rural communities of the past" (Cloke et al., 1991, p. 39). In so doing they attempt to conserve a rural idyll while opposing any new forms of development that are likely to spoil their new-found rural lifestyle, such as the arrival of more migrants, or further tourist or other development. This is frequently a contradictory position to take as these in-migrants were often former tourists themselves. This phenomenon is known as "last settler syndrome" (Nielsen et al., 1977).

Fountain (2002) recorded this phenomenon in Banks Peninsula where migrants drawn to rural Akaroa in New Zealand for its perceived embodiment of the elements of the rural idyll saw themselves as the guardians of preserving these elements from future insensitive development. Hall (2006), in a study of Central Otago, also found that more recent migrants opposed growth strategies in order to preserve the amenity values that had attracted them to the region. By contrast, many of the longer-term inhabitants had few problems with tourism growth in the region, remembering earlier times when the region had problems

with population loss, decline of services and infrastructure, and a lack of employment opportunities.

Another major issue posed by residential migration into rural areas is challenges associated with reverse sensitivity, which describes the impacts of newer uses on prior activities occurring in mixed-use areas (Ministry for the Environment, 2008). Reverse sensitivity is particularly relevant to rural industries, including the wine industry, as these activities necessarily have effects, which reach beyond site boundaries and often cannot be completely avoided or mitigated. Therefore, those participating in existing rural activities are open to complaints from people about more sensitive activities, such as rural-residential developments, whose higher amenity expectations may be unrealistic in a working rural environment (Ministry for the Environment, 2008). The New Zealand Ministry for the Environment (2008) website, designed as a resource for quality planning under the Resource Management Act (RMA) states:

Reverse sensitivity applies to situations where a potentially incompatible land use is proposed to be sited next to an existing land use. Where this occurs within a rural area, for instance, it is reasonable to expect that existing rural activities will be able to continue to operate within the environmental limits provided for in the district plan....While reverse sensitivity issues are not specific to the wine industry, the expansion of vineyard operations and rural-residential lifestyle blocks within the rural environment may increasingly result in conflict (eg, amenity standards expected by new rural-residential dwellers could place constraints on existing permitted rural activities such as winegrowing). Current concerns largely revolve around: noise, agrichemical use, odour, glare/lighting and the visual effects of winegrowing operations. These issues are also inherently relevant to rural subdivision (p.1).

Massey (1994, 1995) argues that the histories of people and their attempts to create places that serve their interests should be factored into discussions of sense of place. Efforts to create places can take various forms and include boundary marking, claims about the appropriateness of, and priorities for land use, promoting and place naming. As Egoz et al.

(2006) note, this approach prevents researchers from falling into the essentialist trap of believing places only have one past and one meaning, developed by long-standing residents. Rural spaces are now understood as deeply complex and subject to plural and overlapping political and economic claims, particularly with respect to land use, landscapes, symbols, and activities (Marsden, 1999; Young, 2006). Rural spaces are being mapped and re-mapped along the lines of both local and societal struggles over political rights and economic access (Hayter, 2003; Young, 2006).

As has been argued throughout this chapter, place can be both a site of meaning as well as a tool used by powerful groups to manipulate present and future action. Over the past decade, increasing attention has been paid to the role of conflict in re-defining and resisting taken-for-granted meanings of place (Amin, 2004; Masuda & Garvin, 2008; Trudeau, 2006). In rural areas, the politics of place play out in a very particular context – economic challenges, counter-urbanisation, population and industry changes. As these areas change, meanings and identities become contested and struggles over land-use and landscape become ways of deciding what does and does not belong in rural areas (Trudeau, 2006). The idea of place and identity, as illustrated in this research, is spatially, politically, and physically situated at the intersection of local, regional, national and global forces in the form of economic, social, environmental and political conflict.

Marsden (1998, p.108) employs the term “contested countryside” to describe rural areas that struggle with population changes and social conflicts. In part, these tensions reflect a reduction in the conventional productive functions of rural areas (especially within agriculture) and an increasing role for the countryside as an area of residence or amenity. The restructuring and transformation of rural areas from primary production to consumptive-oriented activities is not usually an easy or gradual process. Rather, it is an actively contested and ongoing politics of place that is characterised by struggles and conflicts over who has the power to define and redefine meaning and identity of a rural locale (Masuda & Garvin, 2008). For example, there are important consequences for other rural industries once tourism and residential migration establish in the region. These may include development constraints, increased land and housing prices, changing population

and services, reverse sensitivity, last settler syndrome, competing usage for land and a change in the cultural images of places. As Perkins (2006) argues, it is the land, and the lifestyles of the people who live on it, that are “subjected to a variety of material and symbolic forces as it is marketed, exchanged, subdivided, regulated, landscaped, ploughed, fertilized, planted, built on and fought over” (Perkins, 2006, p. 254). These complex views and claims to rural places ultimately have tangible consequences, as will be explored in this thesis. As outlined above, last settler syndrome and reverse sensitivity are issues faced by rural areas undergoing environmental, social and economic transformations, and have arisen as particularly relevant to the present research project.

2.7 Conclusion

As outlined in the research objectives in Chapter One, the aim of this project is to analyse how winery entrepreneurs’ lifestyle decisions, business motivations and perceptions of place influence business practices and regional initiatives in the wine and tourism industries, and further, how these decisions and actions collectively shape the development of the wine and wine tourism industry in their respective regions. This chapter has added to knowledge of these issues by setting the scene for understanding a hybrid, complex and heterogeneous rurality (Floysand & Jakobsen, 2007; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2005). It has critically discussed the multiple constructions and claims to rural places (Panelli et al., 2007; Perkins, 2006; Woods, 2005). As the wine and tourism industries rely heavily on a shared name and reputation, the question of *whose* regional place identity will be articulated and promoted at the regional level is pertinent (Bruwer & Johnson, 2010; Hall & Mitchell, 2002; Hall & Risher, 2004; Overton & Heitger, 2008). In light of a critical evaluation of the literature, this chapter frames the concept of place identity as based on context (environmental, social, cultural, economic and political factors), the physical qualities of a place, and agency (the unique perspectives and experiences of individuals and groups within the place). The model below will be developed alongside the analysis and discussion as it progresses through this thesis.

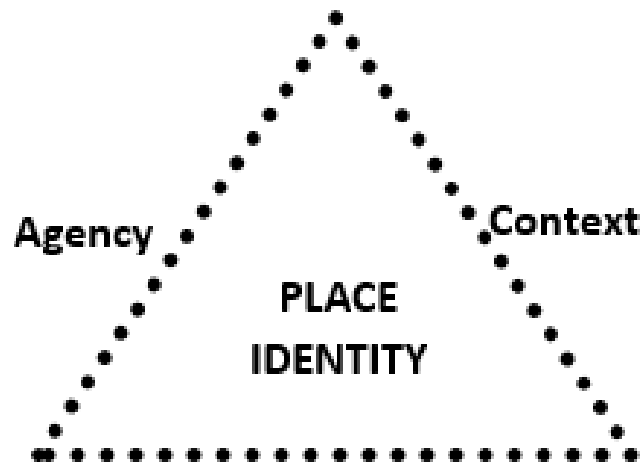


Figure 2.2: Place Identity

Despite the importance of the meanings attached to places, it has been emphasised throughout this chapter that places are not solely socially constructed, nor are they solely defined by their physical attributes. Places encompass the physical setting, as well as human experience and interpretation (see also Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Relph, 1976; Sack, 1997; Tuan, 1977). Furthermore, the construction of rurality is made not only by individuals in their daily decisions and practices, but also by political decisions, which have economic and social implications.

This thesis examines contextual forces, including geography, climate, political, economic and social forces, as well as the meanings attached by society and the perspectives and experiences of the people who shape these rural places. The symbols and meanings attached to places are based on physical reality (geography, buildings, landscapes, natural features, isolation) and these meanings attributed to place have material effects (Burley et al., 2004; DeLyser, 2003; Walton, 2001). Stedman (2003) argues that it is crucial to understand the importance of meanings and how they may change in response to physical landscape change, as the attributes found in the landscape are foundations of attachment and satisfaction (Stedman, 2003). Urry (1995) notes that place myths (as collections of

symbolic meanings) are not eternal: the conditions of the physical setting may change and no longer support the myths. The discourse of place constructs and transforms social reality and the physical environment by way of the practices and policies attached to them. These are ideas explored in depth in this thesis.

While rural areas have followed similar trends and faced similar issues, there is a limit to the ability to make broad statements of change. Clearly, some places are richer in natural elements than others, have a more favourable climate or are in more favourable geographical locations. Some places attract more investors, tourists and residential migrants than others due to these physical attributes and favourable economic, social and political forces (Cloke et al., 2006; Floynd & Jakobsen, 2007; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Woods, 2005). The decisions and actions of individuals also shape the distinct ways in which rural regions develop (Alkon & Traugot, 2008; Huigen & Meijering, 2005; Overton & Heitger, 2008; Stedman, 2003). Of particular interest to this research project are winery entrepreneurs, and the ways in which they influence, and are influenced by, a place. Chapter Three which follows focuses on the second theoretical perspective used to examine research objectives: Entrepreneurship.

Chapter 3: Entrepreneurship

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the complexity of the concept of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial motivations and entrepreneurial networks. The wide range of characteristics, motivations and tendencies attributed to entrepreneurs provides a useful starting point in understanding and conceptualising the winery entrepreneurs that are central to this research project. This chapter begins by presenting a brief overview of the economic perspective on the concept of entrepreneurship, before discussing in some detail the broader perspective of the concept, which takes into account its processual nature, the importance of the context in which the activity occurs, as well as the broad range of motivations and values that are reflected in entrepreneurial behaviour. One of the most notable factors identified from analysis of the entrepreneurial literature is the importance of place to the entrepreneurial process. This is particularly significant in the context of small-scale wine and tourism entrepreneurship, and also to discussions on rural entrepreneurship. The attachment to, and defense of, a particular place, plays a significant role in how and why small-scale winery entrepreneurs act the way that they do. The chapter concludes by explicitly outlining how research objectives have been developed to address the insights and gaps identified in the academic literature.

3.2 Entrepreneurship

The meaning of entrepreneurship as a concept has changed over time in academic literature. Originally, discussion of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial theory was based solely in economics and economic theory, but over time the concept has broadened, and become incorporated into the discourse of a much broader range of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology and psychology (Johansson, 2009; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006). This broadened view of entrepreneurship incorporates the view of entrepreneurship as a process, and highlights the importance of context (geographical, social, cultural, economic and political) in the entrepreneurial process (Stam, 2003). While context is crucial to the

entrepreneurial process, so too are the individual characteristics, motivations and behaviours of the entrepreneurs.

The concept of the entrepreneur first appeared in Cantillon's (1755) *Essai sur la nature du commerce en general*. In the first half of the twentieth century, the concept was incorporated in economics in Knight's (1921) theory of risk, uncertainty and profit; Schumpeter's (1934) Theory of Economic Development; Cole's (1959) discussion of Business Enterprise; and Collins and Moore's (1964) thesis on The Enterprising Man. Discourse on entrepreneurship continues to be important to economic theory in the twenty-first century (e.g. Ogbor, 2000). Many researchers have contributed to the analysis of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial theory, and have sought to define their personal characteristics (see for example Casson, 1982; Collins & Moore, 1964; Cyert & March, 1963; Davidsson, 2003; Kirzner 1973; Leibenstein, 1968; Shane et al., 2003). While academics have addressed a range of questions related to the nature of the entrepreneurial process and the characteristics and traits of entrepreneurs, research is still short of a consensus on some of the most important questions (Peters et al., 2009). The multiple definitions of entrepreneurship differ along many dimensions. Disagreements exist as to whether entrepreneurship should be defined in terms of dispositions, behaviour or outcome, whether it belongs only in small and/or owner-managed firms, and whether it can be exercised in not-for-profit contexts (Davidsson, 2003). Definitions also differ in whether purpose, growth, risk, innovation or success are necessary criteria for a person to qualify as an entrepreneur (Gartner, 1990; Herbert & Link, 1982; Kirzner, 1983).

Early development of entrepreneurship theory is generally associated with Schumpeter (1934) who was the first to succinctly recognise and define the role and activities of the entrepreneur and to identify the entrepreneur as an entity worthy of study, distinct from business owners and managers. Schumpeter believed that innovation was the central characteristic of the entrepreneurial endeavour and that very few people have the ability to be innovative and creative; this role demands exceptional people. The emphasis in Schumpeter's theory of entrepreneurship is consequently not on creating something new from scratch, but on combining what already exists in new ways. Schumpeter therefore draws a sharp conceptual distinction between "innovation" and "invention".

Since Schumpeter’s (1934) research, scholars writing and researching entrepreneurship have made numerous attempts to define the entrepreneur and their tendencies, traits and motivations and have historically coalesced around certain dimensions of entrepreneurship. Table 3.1 illustrates the most prominent characteristics and tendencies found in the entrepreneurship literature, followed by examples of authors that focus on these traits.

Table 3.1: Entrepreneurial Characteristics and Tendencies

Motivations	Authors
Goal Setting: Defining, setting and attaining goals creatively and autonomously.	Carland et al. (1984); Tracy, Locke & Renard (1999) Baum, Locke, & Smith (2001) Timmons (1978)
Drive/Need for Achievement: Push to conquer problems and create a successful venture.	Carland et al. (1984); Collins, Locke, & Hanges (2000); Davids (1963); Hornaday & Aboud (1971); McClelland (1961) Johnson (1990); Pickle (1964) Timmons (1978); Sexton (1980)
Independence: Taking responsibility for one’s own life.	Carland et al. (1984); Davids (1963); Dunkelberg & Cooper (1982); Hisrich (1985); Hornaday & Aboud (1971); Shane et al. (2003); Sutton (1954); Welsh & White (1981)
Egoistic passion: Passionate, selfish love of the work.	Baum et al. (2001); Shane et al. (2003)
Risk-taking propensity: Acceptance and willingness to take risks.	Cantillon (1755); Hatten (1997); Mill (1848); McClelland (1961); Begley (1995); Moorman & Halloran (1996); Palmer (1971); Sexton & Bowman 1986; Timmons (1978); Thunen (1910); Welsh & White (1981)
Locus of Control: Belief that success is dependent upon their own ability and actions.	Borland 1974; Carland et al. (1984); Rotter (1966); Liles (1974); Menger (1871); Timmons (1978); Welsh & White (1981)
Self-efficacy: Self-confidence in one’s ability, resources, skills and competencies.	Baum (1994); Davids (1963)
Innovation: The desire to innovate.	Amit, Glosten & Muller (1993); Carland et al. (1984); Schumpeter (1934)

McClelland (1961) introduced the concept of “need for achievement” as a distinguishing characteristic of entrepreneurs: a tendency to set challenging goals and to reach these goals independently. Independence, or the need for autonomy, refers to individuals’ need to work independently and be in control. Internal locus of control is also often cited as a psychological characteristic of entrepreneurs, referring to an entrepreneur’s belief that their behaviour determines what happens to them, and that they can control their own behaviour. Related to this is self-efficacy, which is a person's belief in their ability to successfully launch an entrepreneurial venture; those with high self-efficacy are more likely to pursue and persist in their efforts at starting a business.

Other researchers have focused on the “propensity to take risks” as a distinguishing characteristic of entrepreneurs (e.g. McClelland, 1961; Sexton & Bowman, 1986). A risk-taking propensity is often cited as a construct that differentiates small business owners and entrepreneurs from managers. Entrepreneurs are generally believed to take more risks than do managers because the entrepreneur actually bears the ultimate responsibility for the decision (Sexton & Bowman, 1986). In English-speaking countries, entrepreneurs are frequently associated with innovation, dynamism, private initiative and the love of risk-taking. Many of these qualities are interrelated, and combinations of these traits are cited by authors in filtering out who, and what, is defined as entrepreneurial.

Davidsson (2004) argues that the different definitions of entrepreneurship address two relatively distinct social realities. First, some people want to work on their own and independently. Therefore, under this concept of entrepreneurship, topics like self-employment, small business management, and family business issues become aspects of entrepreneurship (Davidsson, 2004). In short, entrepreneurship from this perspective is anything that concerns independently owned (and often small), firms and their owner-managers. The second theme that emerges in entrepreneurship definitions is that the development and renewal of any society, economy or organisation is reliant on actors that have the initiative and persistence to make change happen (Davidsson, 2004). Under this concept of entrepreneurship, quite a different set of topics become an integral part of the concept, primarily associated with innovation, rejuvenation and change.

In the same way that researchers and theorists have focused their attention on certain characteristics of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur, it is also the case that researchers have historically focused attention on the entrepreneur as an individual, predominantly male. There seems to have been a clear link between the attributes supposedly congruent with the entrepreneur and traditionally masculine personality traits. In this way, historically, the entrepreneur has been portrayed as a mythologised hero who conquers the environment to survive in a Darwinian world, as illustrated by Collins and Moore's (1964) conceptualisation of the heroic entrepreneur:

The way of the entrepreneur is a long, lonely and difficult road. The men who follow it are by necessity a special breed . . . The road they can follow is one that is lined with difficulties, which most of us could not even begin to overcome. As a group they do not have the qualities of patience, understanding, and charity many of us may admire and wish for in our fellows. This is understandable. In the long and trying way of the entrepreneur such qualities may come to be so much excess baggage. What is necessary to the man who travels this way is great imagination, fortitude, and hardness of purpose ... The men who travel the entrepreneurial way are, taken in balance, not remarkably likeable people . . . As any one of them might say in the vernacular of the world of the entrepreneur, 'Nice guys don't win' (p. 244).

This hero entrepreneur is painted as an extra-ordinary man who starts a new firm which rapidly grows (Berglund & Johansson, 2007b; Ogbor, 2000). In Collins and Moore (1964) thesis on *The Enterprising Man* they argue that this "heroic" figure of a "special breed" is intimately related to the ideals of "personal freedom, success, and, above all, individualism... the myth of the entrepreneur is a drama in which the protagonists challenge the established order..." (pp. 5-6). The concept of what constitutes an entrepreneur has broadened considerably in the 47 years since Collins and Moore's thesis. Still, this limited notion of an entrepreneur as an exceptional and heroic (male) figure, undertaking risks and challenging the established order remains prevalent in beliefs about entrepreneurship:

As researchers we are thus seduced into representing entrepreneurs in terms of our ideological constructs regarding heroes with in-born attributes. Entrepreneurship is conceptualised by this ideological orientation as if it were a concrete means by which the rational European/North American male model exhibits the propensity to take risks, to conquer the environment and to survive in a Darwinian world (Ogbor, 2000, p. 618; see also Berglund & Johansson, 2007a).

A discourse analysis of the concept in academic texts (Berglund & Johansson, 2007a) unveils entrepreneurship as a phenomenon that is considered intrinsically “good”. This masculine, heroic figure works independently and bears risk for the benefit of all society. In order to understand the central role played by entrepreneurs in American society, it is enough to read a quotation by Thomas Jefferson one of the founding fathers of American democracy:

...the best society is one that is composed of the greatest possible number of independent entrepreneurs...owners of the tools they need for their activity, solely responsible for the organisation of their work and receiving no orders from any other living mortal... (cited in Torrès, 2004, p. 125).

An interesting connection here is the similar ways in which the rural resident is idealised. As outlined in Chapter Two, the individuals in rural places are portrayed as inherently good, kind, friendly, honest and with a strong connection to the land (Alkon & Traugot, 2008). “Rural entrepreneurs” (Bryant, 1989) in particular are said to have the potential to “radically infuse and energise economies, society and industries, creating long-term and sustainable benefits for society as a whole” (Getz et al., 2004, p. 35). As will be discussed in the presentation of findings, the archetype of an idealised rural entrepreneur arose as particularly important in this research in terms of how the winery entrepreneurs define themselves, and their role in the rural places they represent.

3.2.1 Variations of Entrepreneurship

A common debate in the entrepreneurship literature is over what makes an entrepreneur distinguishable from a successful manager and small business owner (Brockhaus, 1980; Kao,

1991; Rightmyre et al., 2004; Stewart et al., 1999; van Gelderen, 2005). For example, works by Carland et al. (1984) suggest that growth and profitability are entrepreneurs' main concerns, while the driver for small business owners is to earn enough income to address their most pressing needs (Alonso & Northcote, 2009). Whether an individual is labeled an "entrepreneur" versus "business owner/manager" is contingent on the author's definition of entrepreneurship. Evaluation of what constitutes entrepreneurship will vary depending on the socio-economic reference frame used by various stakeholders including entrepreneurs, policy-makers and academics (Getz et al., 2004). As outlined in Table 3.1, some authors distinguish entrepreneurs based on specific personality traits, such as risk-taking propensity. Others emphasise the behaviour or activities of entrepreneurs, rather than entrepreneurial traits or qualities.

The vague borderline between the end of the entrepreneurial process and the beginning of non-entrepreneurial growth calls for a discussion of degrees of entrepreneurship (Burch 1986; Davidsson, 1989; Schafer, 1990). Therefore, it is the argument here that entrepreneurship should not be seen as a dichotomous variable, but rather a continuous one where some individuals and ventures show more entrepreneurship than others (see also Davidsson, 2003). Morris and Lewis (1995) highlight the relationship of the amount of entrepreneurship (measured by number of entrepreneurial events) and the degree of entrepreneurship (extent to which the event is innovative, risky or proactive) and named this combination of the two dimensions "entrepreneurial intensity". Burch (1986) developed a continuum of entrepreneurial activity (Figure 3.1).

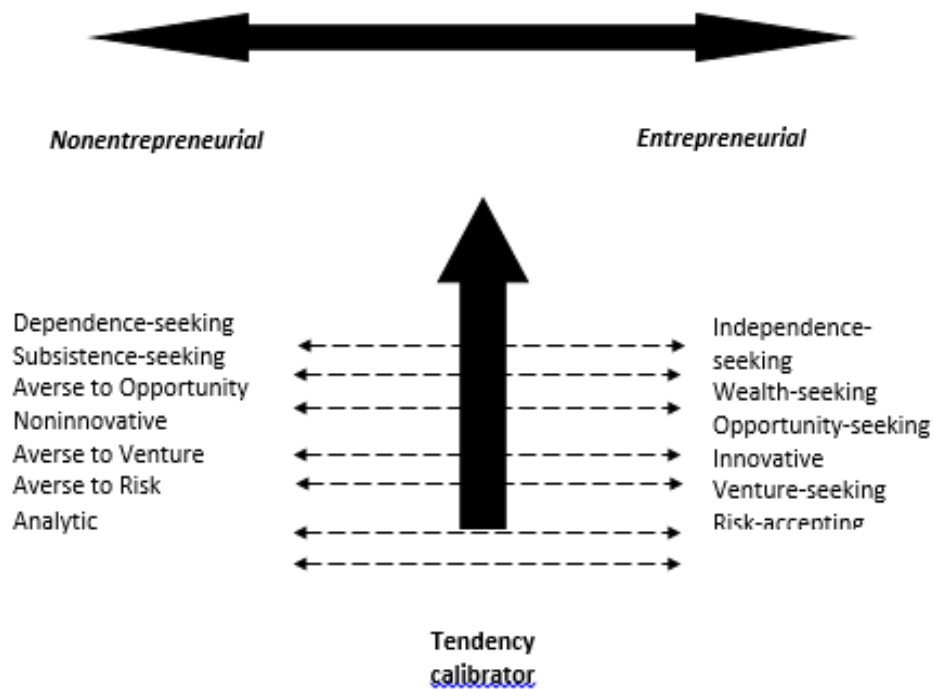


Figure 3.1 Tendencies Toward Nonentrepreneurial or Entrepreneurial Activity

(Adapted from: Burch 1986, p. 31)

Burch’s model is helpful in highlighting the fact that entrepreneurship is not clearly defined by static, black-and-white characteristics. In viewing entrepreneurship as a process, it is understandable that entrepreneurs “navigate through their respective social and business systems to present themselves in many different guises” (Getz et al., 2004, p. 26). This is why it is important to understand the multiple variations of entrepreneurship, and the different characteristics, motivations and behaviours. Today, entrepreneurship does not constitute one grand narrative, rather it consists of a plurality of sub-discourses, some of them in sharp contrast to others (Johansson, 2009). This research analyses the multiple motivations and definitions of success associated with winery entrepreneurship, and how the multiple motivations and agendas ultimately influence regional initiatives.

3.3 A Broadened View of Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship studies have shown a marked shift to a perspective that focuses on the interaction between the entrepreneur and their context (Stam, 2003). Although the phenomenon of entrepreneurship exists in most regions of the world, it is not a homogenous phenomenon, and is influenced by the cultures, needs and habits of the region. These factors are integrated, assimilated and interpreted by entrepreneurs and are reflected in the way they act and the way they build up their businesses (Torrès, 2004, 2006). It is argued here that the social, political, economic and cultural context of the Western World has changed dramatically since the earliest days of entrepreneurial theory, and therefore there is a need to rethink the concept. This is particularly the case in the context of SMEs, rural entrepreneurship, and more specifically – entrepreneurship in small-scale wine, food and tourism.

According to Schumpeter, the main motivation for entrepreneurs to overcome the barriers of economic pressure and uncertainty, were the prospects of upward social mobility into the capitalist class. As Gray (2002) argues, modern-day societies are much wealthier than the Europe of the 1930s, and there may be more lateral pressure into particular lifestyles. While the upward drive for social status may still be present, it is less intense. Many lifestyles are averse to continuous growth (see Section 3.2.2.3) or the economic goals to achieve that particular lifestyle are relatively easy to attain. Johansson (2009) argues that the hero figure of an entrepreneur has developed alongside the industrialisation of society with an emphasis on the management of big manufacturing firms. As we now live in a society where large manufacturing firms no longer dominate, broader conceptions of entrepreneurship emerge. A broader and more inclusive concept of entrepreneurship is more in line with society as it emerges in the practical world of today, as well as in academic texts (Johansson, 2009). As a consequence, many entrepreneurs of today that are not growth-oriented, would be considered non-entrepreneurial in the *Schumpeterian* sense.

It is the argument in this context that these alternative types of entrepreneurs must be indeed viewed as such. The idealisation and valorisation of rural space (as discussed in Chapter Two) has led to trends such as amenity migration, entrepreneurial in-migration, a

renewed appreciation and value for rural places and its associated products. Entrepreneurs are responding to these demands, as can be seen in rural food, wine and tourism enterprises that commodify elements of a nostalgic past and nostalgic rural. It can also be seen by the increased demand for “local” and place-based foods that emphasise the uniqueness of place of production and traditional methods of production. Just as these locally-produced foods and wine are rooted in place, so too are these entrepreneurs rooted in place and embedded in their local environment; this is quite a different picture from the traditional depiction of the entrepreneur in the literature, which suggests an individual with a predisposition for novelty (Astebro & Thompson, 2007; Begley & Boyd, 1987; Dahl & Sorenson, 2009; Kirzner, 1973). Further, many individuals attracted to live in rural areas have created a livelihood around their desired lifestyle by establishing a business, as illustrated by entrepreneurial lifestyle migration.

In light of these contradictions, the entrepreneurial process cannot be treated in a purely economic sense. It needs to be sustained by, and anchored in, the social context, particularly the local environment (Jack & Anderson, 2002; see also Bygrave, 1989; Gartner, 1985; Granovetter, 1985; Uzzi, 1997). The formation and performance of businesses is embedded in the entrepreneur’s social world – not just in terms of objective structures (factors of production, the configuration of the local economy) but also subjective configurations such as family background (Gorton, 2000). The following section outlines and analyses a reconceptualised entrepreneurship.

3.3.1 Re-conceptualising Entrepreneurship

Over centuries, entrepreneurial endeavors have significantly contributed to *change* and *growth* in the business world (Hurley, 1999). It has been said that entrepreneurship, by its very nature, is concerned with the initiation of change that may “challenge, and perhaps destroy, the established order and the complacency of traditional social and economic systems” (Getz et al., 2004, p. 35). While we would traditionally think in terms of initiating change or creating something “new”, it may be quite the opposite: entrepreneurs may challenge the established order (arguably modernity, globalisation) by *resisting* further changes and preserving the unique elements of a place, rather than *initiating* change. In

this way, the actions of entrepreneurs in rural areas may shape and transform society by instilling renewed appreciation for the uniqueness of place, and its local traditions, including the production and consumption of food and wine.

Torrès (2004, 2006) explored the different conceptions of entrepreneurship, based on cultural differences, in his study on the controversial “Mondavi Affair”; in 2000 the Californian-based wine producer Robert Mondavi failed to set up a wine venture in a small, world-renowned wine-producing village in the south of France because of the local opposition. Torrès (2004) argues that the Mondavi affair reveals two very different types of entrepreneurship, and illustrates the important role played by entrepreneurial cultures on decisions in society. Torrès argues that the American preoccupation with innovation may be seen as opposed to the instinct for protection that rules the French entrepreneurial spirit:

The Mondavi affair is of interest to managers because it highlights cultural differences in terms of enterprise between an American entrepreneur, who knows how to build up a company and take advantage of opportunities, and a French entrepreneur, who uses all his skills to preserve his own income and avoid danger (Torrès, 2006, p. 4).

In light of the various types of entrepreneurial cultures, Torrès (2004) argues that the concept of entrepreneurship needs to be broadened to acknowledge the importance of place and preservation to certain forms of entrepreneurship; the author calls these entrepreneurs “*corporatiste entrepreneurs*”. *Corporatisme* is defined as “the expression of collective movements for the defense of a place, site with the strategic aim of preserving a privileged position” (Torrès, 2004, p. 85). The corporatiste entrepreneur is reasonably independent-minded and individualistic, coming out of isolation only when there are developments no longer in their interest (Torrès, 2004). What is particularly intriguing according to this concept, is that the more entrepreneurs there are, the more innovation and change there is, the more these changes generate forms of resistance to change and strategies for avoiding threats (Torrès, 2004, 2006). The paradox is that in a society that is becoming increasingly entrepreneurial, corporatiste movements are also obliged to multiply and grow. Today, innovation is increasingly organised on a territorial basis, as can be seen

in the concept of clusters (see Section 3.4). Territory has become the site of innovation and thus the ideal area for change and entrepreneurial involvement (Torrès, 2004).

Taking an interest in *corporatisme* from an entrepreneurial viewpoint also acknowledges that the consequences of the entrepreneurial act are never neutral and that they can provoke negative reactions from certain privileged parties. More, it is considering that *corporatiste* strategies can be borne by entrepreneurs whose aim is no longer to take advantage of an opportunity but which has become instead an avoidance of threats (Torrès, 2004, p. 85). This has interesting implications in the case of the changing world of wine in relation to *whose* idea of wine will prevail.

Also relevant here is Schumpeter's (1934) concept of "creative destruction" and Karl Polanyi's (1944) theory of the "double movement". Creative destruction refers to periods of disruptive economic change, where new products, processes, and opportunities are created but they threaten or replace older elements of the economy. Creative destruction does more than open some doors and close others, disrupting profits, income, and investment opportunities. It also challenges fundamental values questions the fabric of social relations. While Schumpeter was referring to the first and second industrial revolutions – his ideas apply to the information-driven postindustrial revolution of today (Veseth, 2011). Karl Polanyi's theory of the "double movement": You cannot expect society to sit quietly while this destruction takes place, and therefore a dialectic is unleashed (Veseth, 2011), which is at the core of the double movement. Economic change (the first movement) provokes social reaction (the second movement) – and it is this continual interaction that pushes economies and societies forward. Entrepreneurship in a rural wine and tourism context is a fascinating arena in which to explore these dynamics, given it is an interesting example of the way that *place* retains a niche within the emerging global economy.

As Getz et al. (2004) argue, while small rural businesses may not transform industry sectors and societies in the same way that Disney and Hilton have, they can provide a valuable contribution in embodying an entrepreneurial spirit and vitality that has the potential to contribute significantly to the vitality of place. In expressing the local character of place, entrepreneurs may contribute to the sustaining of the natural environment and culture. In

this way, these entrepreneurs act as custodians driven by their commitment to preserving and perpetuating traditions and aspects of a particular place (Getz et al., 2004; Middleton & Clarke, 2001).

3.3.2 Entrepreneurial Forms

In diverse and heterogenous societies, it is not surprising that a diverse range of entrepreneurial forms have been identified. For example, Getz et al. (2004, p. 27) presents a typology of entrepreneurial guises. Six of these types seem to be of particular value in the context of wine and tourism businesses in rural areas and to this research project. These are Family entrepreneurs, Copreneurs, Intrapreneurs, Lifestyle, Portfolio and Micro entrepreneurs. While these different types are outlined separately, they are not exclusive, but instead often overlap. For example, an entrepreneur could be described as having family, intrapreneurial, micro and lifestyle dimensions.

Copreneur: Couples owning and operating a business together.

Family: A business actively owned and/or managed by more than one member of the same family.

Intrapreneur: A family member, other than the founding-entrepreneur, adopts and applies entrepreneurial characteristics within the existing business. They tend to be concerned with innovating and diversifying the business.

Lifestyle: The primary concern for this entrepreneur is to provide a sufficient and comfortable living to maintain a selected way of life.

Micro: Employing less than ten persons and deliberately constraining size.

Portfolio: Owning more than one business that can ring additional benefits for the entrepreneur and enterprise (e.g., a winery diversifying into tourism-related businesses).

Clearly, there are broader definitions beyond the lone hero entrepreneur glorified in historic literature.

Family entrepreneurship

Getz highlights that “family” permeates many entrepreneurial guises. This is particularly significant in the context of wine and tourism regions, as research has demonstrated that a high proportion of rural wine and tourism businesses are owned and operated by couples and families (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Bensemnaan & Hall, 2010; Getz & Carlsen, 2005; Getz & Petersen, 2005; Goulding et al., 2005; Hall, 2004; Hall & Risher, 2004; Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; Scott et al., 2002; Morrison, 2006). Given the importance of family businesses to the rural wine and tourism industries, it is crucial to examine how they operate their businesses, balance family and business life, arrange ownership, and manage networking and collaborative behaviour. Lynch (1996) and Tinsley and Lynch (2001) argue that family networks among small businesses play an important role in destination development. The way that these businesses network and collaborate will have a major influence on the overall success of the industry and its development. The issue of networking as it relates to rural wine and tourism entrepreneurial businesses is discussed in-depth in the final section of this chapter.

At its most basic level, a family business can be defined as an enterprise controlled by members of a single family (Barry, 1975). Based on this definition, a family business could be one where there is only one owner (sole proprietor), or could be owned by a couple (copreneur) or broader family grouping, spanning generations. The owners of family businesses often behave in ways that set them on a different course. This is because these businesses are often founded or purchased with the needs and preferences of the owner, and owners’ family, being prioritized over growth and profit maximisation (Getz & Carlsen, 2005). Small business owners are often portrayed as being craftsmen or lifestyle entrepreneurs, and family businesses in particular are frequently assumed to be risk averse because they must place family security ahead of potential growth. In a study on motivational structures of tourism entrepreneurs carried out by Getz and Carlsen (2000), the authors clustered two types of entrepreneurs in Australia, labelling them “family-first” and “business-first” entrepreneurs. The family-first entrepreneurs represented two-thirds of all the entrepreneurs and were motivated by emotional factors associated with their families and the optimisation of their leisure time. A key question is whether or not family

businesses are, by nature, entrepreneurial, innovative and risk-taking, given the importance of family security (Getz & Carlsen, 2005).

Links between the study of entrepreneurs and family business relate to the structure of the business, decision-making style and business lifecycle management. Family dynamics is a crucial factor in the family business. The ownership and management structure of the business, including the roles of individual family members, will influence the strategic business decisions and actions taken, such as whether to grow or expand. For example, an intrapreneur is defined as a family member, other than the founding-entrepreneur, that adopts and applies entrepreneurial characteristics to the existing business (Antoncic & Hisrich, 2001).

Intrapreneurs are concerned with business diversification, innovativeness and are proactive - activities that are often considered essential to be able to sustain the family business over generations (Getz et al., 2004). The intrapreneur may be key in keeping the business competitive in a changing market, while still maintaining the core characteristics and vision of the business. For example, in the case of a winery, the parents may have founded the business as a vineyard and/or winery, but it may be the son or daughter that modernise and diversify the business, for example, by creating a tasting facility for tourists, café, or retail shop in order to sustain the original business. Over the years, the parents may retire with the son or daughter taking over management of the business. The intrapreneur may have very different views from the founding entrepreneur in their personal motivations and their visions and goals for the business. Their different views and motivations will influence how these individuals see their business, their part in the business, and their perspectives on the regional industry at large.

In a similar vein, the structure and dynamics of a copreneurial arrangement is important: Copreneurship is a situation where couples share ownership, commitment and responsibility for a business. These arrangements are significant in their influence on the way these businesses are run and their strategic objectives. Research has illustrated that copreneurs tend to adhere to traditional sex role orientations at home and in the business, with women's traditional roles at home reinforced in the workforce such as primary

caregiver and housekeeper (Bensemaan & Hall, 2010; Getz, 2004). Studies on copreneurial arrangements find that copreneurial partners are much more likely than their non-copreneurial counterparts to see their business as a lifestyle choice, and as a way of life (Baines & Wheelock, 1998; Bensemaan & Hall, 2010; Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002; Roha & Blum, 1990; Smith, 2000). The business may be seen as a way to facilitate a desirable lifestyle and incorporate a number of personal, lifestyle goals such as the ability to balance family and business responsibilities, fulfill lifelong dreams of owning their own business, or the opportunity to meet new people (Bensemaan & Hall, 2010). In their study on copreneurial rural tourism businesses, Bensemaan & Hall (2010) found that women bear the bulk of the responsibility for the success of accommodation businesses. Given that gender roles and responsibilities will play an important part in shaping an individual's opinions and perspectives, it is important to acknowledge the different entrepreneurial guises and roles in order to come to a clearer understanding of entrepreneurship.

Portfolio entrepreneurship

Important also in the context of rural entrepreneurship is portfolio entrepreneurship. Portfolio entrepreneurship describes an individual(s) simultaneously owning and engaging in a portfolio of entrepreneurial interests. The motivations for developing portfolio entrepreneurship activities can be quite diverse, including the search for alternative income opportunities when the core business faces unfavourable market conditions, the division of the business to provide opportunities for other family members, or fulfilling personal desires to become involved in a new venture (Carter et al., 2004). Portfolio entrepreneurship is an important component of entrepreneurship and business ownership in rural areas, and it is now recognised that portfolio entrepreneurship is a widespread feature in the farming industry venture (Carter et al., 2004). As outlined in Chapter Two, for many rural farmers, landholdings are no longer viable for agricultural commodity production alone. In order to stay in business, farmers have been encouraged to diversify into various areas of entrepreneurial family-based business activities including farm tourism (Di Domenico & Miller, 2011; Haugen & Vik, 2008; Kinsella et al., 2000; Kneafsey, 2000; Sharpley & Vass, 2006). Such individuals use their new businesses to support, and to try to maintain, their traditional farming activities. Portfolio entrepreneurs in the farming industry

are also labelled “pluriactive farmers” (Burton, 2004; Carter, 1998; Lobley & Potter, 2004) which refers to the entrepreneurial capability of farmers to diversify.

Di Domenico and Miller (2011) examined the views and business choices made by independent farming families in the United Kingdom in terms of the challenges that they face as a consequence of taking an entrepreneurial route to diversification into farm-based tourism attractions. The authors found that economic pressure was the dominant motivation that initially instigated recognition of the need to diversify among the farmers. While economic motivations may have been the primary reason for initially becoming involved in tourism, participants stressed the importance of their roles as educators, custodians or wardens. In such roles, they were responsible for imparting to others a greater awareness and knowledge about their farming lifestyle, as well as of the wider countryside (Di Domenico & Miller, 2011). For many farmers however, there was a feeling of resentment at having to pursue an alternative strategy characterised in some cases as alien in order to increase financial revenue generated by the farm. Such participants characterised themselves primarily as farmers rather than tourism business owners (Di Domenico & Miller, 2011). Similarly, Haugen and Vik (2008) found in their research that traditional farmers are more satisfied with farming income than farm-based tourism entrepreneurs. Taken together, these two studies would suggest that farmers are willing to recognise non-financial benefits from farming but cannot find similar satisfaction from income derived from tourism (Di Domenico & Miller, 2011; Haugen & Vik, 2008).

These concepts are valuable in the context of the current study, whereby wineries or other food/drink producers may decide to diversify their business into other sectors such as tourism and hospitality. This move may be made out of necessity, or because they have personal motivations in doing so. Some producers may enjoy the opportunity to share their way of life, their product, and their home with interested visitors. The entrepreneur’s motivations and goals may have changed over time – and diversifying their business may be a result of their changing lifestyle and business goals. The entrepreneur may also have formalised the management structure so that they have more personal time to pursue another business. For other operations, an intrapreneur may have stepped up to take over management and made the decision to diversify the operation.

Lifestyle entrepreneurship

Stone and Stubbs (2007) note that a “growing dimension of entrepreneurship is that associated with a relatively recent pattern of migration flows of people seeking lifestyle benefits in an attractive environment” (p. 433). This is particularly relevant in studies that focus on the wine and tourism industries in rural areas, as both of these industries tend to attract a substantial number of lifestyle entrepreneurs – most likely due to the fact that these industries are located in attractive areas and are perceived to provide a nice life (Peters et al., 2009). Given the importance of “lifestyle” in the context of rural wine and tourism businesses, this section explores lifestyle entrepreneurship and the different discourses associated with the concept.

As a business-related concept, lifestyle can be seen as a consequence of a set of values and expectations that are self-selected by the business entrepreneur (Andrew et al., 2001). Achieving a desired quality of life may represent an entrepreneur’s personal utility evaluation of the various lifestyle attributes of owning and operating a business, as determined by both economic and non-economic criteria and is unique to each entrepreneur (Goulding et al., 2004). For example, in a neoclassical model, firms supply those goods and services demanded by consumers, however in many markets, such as the wine industry, suppliers themselves may have preferences about what to supply; that is, producers may get utility from certain characteristics of the product or production process (Scott et al., 2002). A wine producer may value the ability to produce a particular style of wine, or wine that is produced in a particular way, such as 100% organic or biodynamic; this may be deemed more important than catering only to what the market demands.

Lifestyle entrepreneurs may have different notions of success beyond profit or growth, depending on their overall business model/approach. The typical assumption that the objective of the firm is pure profit-maximisation seems justifiable on evolutionary grounds. A business that does not try to maximise its profits may not be able to survive in the long-run (Scott et al., 2002). However, for many businesses, particularly in rural and peripheral locations, the maintenance and protection of a certain lifestyle will be prioritised over a commercial focus on profit-maximisation (Sherwood et al., 2000; Thomas, 2000).

Studies of entrepreneurs associated with small businesses in tourism have identified a range of entrepreneurial characteristics, ranging from pure profit/growth motives through to non-economic motives such as lifestyle and personal goals (Shaw & Williams, 2003; Shaw & Williams, 2004). Research clearly demonstrates that lifestyle and autonomy factors are predominant in the tourism and hospitality sectors (Andersson et al., 2002; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000, 2003; Bransgrove & King, 1996; Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Nilsson et al., 2003; Ryan, 1998; Shaw & Williams, 1998). Dewhurst and Horobin (1998) argue that such non-economic motives create difficulty in applying economic models to small enterprises within the tourism industry. This suggests that the small-scale entrepreneur in tourism is quite different from those in other sectors (Shaw & Williams, 2004). Based on this notion, Dewhurst and Horobin (1998) developed a model of owner-manager tendencies with a continuum for small-business owner managers that range between commercial and lifestyle goals and strategies (Figure 3.2).

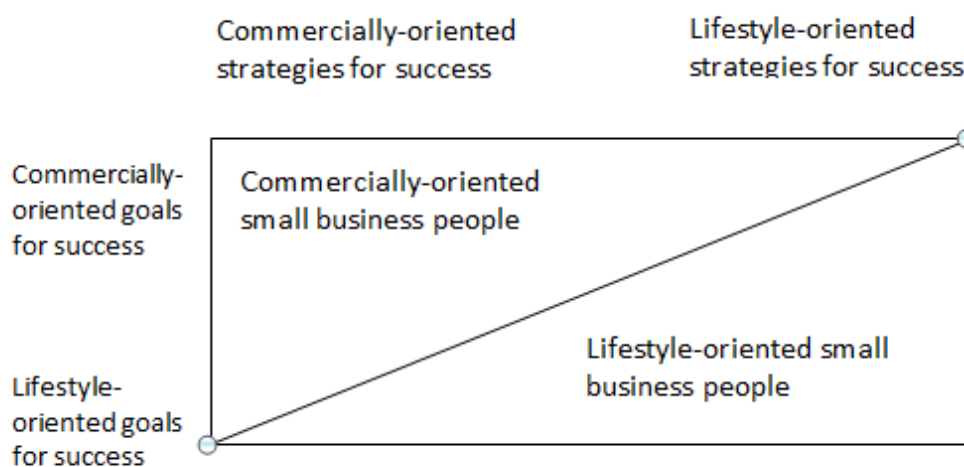


Figure 3.2: A Taxonomy of Small Business Owner-managers

Source: (Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998)

Small-scale tourism businesses not only reflect lifestyle motives generally but also, in certain circumstances, more specific lifestyles that reflect new forms of tourism consumption (Shaw & Williams, 1998). An example of this is the new demand for food and wine tourism. In

research completed by Ateljevic and Doorne (2000), the authors found that “tourism lifestyle entrepreneurs” in New Zealand provide unique opportunities to engage with niche market consumers informed by values common to themselves within rapidly segmenting markets. For example, many hobbyist winery owners may be selling their image and story, as well as the quality of the wine. Buyers know the attitude of the owner, and they place a higher value on wine produced by someone who shares their values (Scott et al., 2002).

Similarly, family businesses in tourism offer a unique product for guests; these businesses can add value socially in that they may reflect the special values of place and host encounters which offer a glimpse into local life and traditions (Remaud, 2006). The presence of family members can be an important part of the tourism experience, adding to the perceived authenticity of a tourism experience. This explains why tourists are often attracted to bed and breakfasts, farmstays, and other small-scale, family-run businesses. When the family becomes part of the attraction, “family branding” is occurring, which potentially can serve as a powerful competitive advantage. Branding can be translated into promotions that can variously feature the family name, personalities, and history, and can encompass brand extensions (Getz & Carlsen, 2005). Family branding may also be important for many small wineries, with the image and story of the family serving as an important component of the brand.

While lifestyle-oriented businesses may present opportunities in terms of tourism development (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000), they may also pose challenges and constraints in terms of innovation and growth at the destination level (Stone & Stubbs, 2007). One stream of discourse associated with lifestyle businesses is of a negative nature and tends to focus on the idiosyncratic behaviour of the owners. This approach argues that if a family-run or lifestyle-oriented business places personal or family needs ahead of growth, or places autonomy and hands-on management above growth potential, it can result in a widespread lack of ambition to grow such businesses (Getz et al., 2004; Komppula, 2004). Various authors argue that businesses operated by lifestyle entrepreneurs demonstrate limited capacity for innovation and consequently may limit the opportunities for regional development and conflict with the ambitions for tourism development held by authorities and governments (e.g., Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; Morrison et al., 1999; Stallinbrass,

1980). They may conflict also with the profit-maximisation goals of some professionally managed firms: those expected to promote increased tourism development may not be interested in doing so (Muller, 2006).

Ioannides and Petersen (2003) identify a persistent “problem” in tourism entrepreneurship whereby they found that the majority of business owners who participated in their study could be identified as “constrained” or “non-entrepreneurs” adding little or no innovation to the industrial and product mix, but simply replicating existing formulaic patterns of small tourism business. Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) take a different perspective however, and contend that entrepreneurs who are motivated by lifestyle over economic goals are able to approach product development in less conventional, but more creative ways. As a result, these lifestyle entrepreneurs are actually driving innovation in the sector and developing many of the specialised tourism products, which are eventually adopted by the mainstream industry.

A related issue that is of particular importance to this research and wine tourism regions in general, is seasonality management. While seasonal extension initiatives may be implemented to increase year-round tourism, these require an active collective effort among stakeholders. However, if lifestyle is a strategic business objective, than this will be reflected in strategies employed to deal with seasonality, and some operators may be unwilling to participate if the initiatives conflict with their personal, lifestyle or overall business objectives and if they do not see seasonality as a “problem” to be solved (see Chapters Two and Ten). Goulding et al. (2004) explored the role of lifestyle motivations in relation to tourism operators’ trading behaviours and found that seasonal trading may be “a desired modus operandi, attributable to the business motivations and aspirations of such operators, which are not always expressed in economic terms” (p. 235). In this situation, some wineries choose to close during the off-peak months because it fits in with the lifestyle or other personal goals of the owner. For those businesses that are more focused on family-related or lifestyle-oriented goals, the concept of entrepreneurship changes from solely looking at business and profit growth to one that is comprised of social and cultural values.

3.4 Embedded Entrepreneur

Jack and Anderson (2002) explored the effects of embeddedness on the entrepreneurial process, to understand how entrepreneurs are constrained within specific environments but are able to recognise and manipulate aspects of their social situation in order to create and operate their business. The concept of embeddedness can be described as the nature, depth and extent of an entrepreneur's ties into the local environment (Jack & Anderson, 2002). Granovetter (1985) argues that:

Actors do not behave or decide as atoms outside a social context, nor do they adhere slavishly to a script written for them by the particular intersection of social categories that they happen to occupy ... [t]heir attempts at purposive actions are instead embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations (p. 487).

Social embeddedness helps the entrepreneur identify social resources, and being embedded within the social context also means access to more support during the entrepreneurial process. If entrepreneurship is embedded in a social context, then it must involve and draw on society (Jack & Anderson, 2002). Social networks, as discussed in the following section provide the mechanism for becoming embedded and helping the entrepreneur gain credibility, knowledge, experience, contacts and resources (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 483).

An examination of the entrepreneurial and small business literature reveals two broad vantage points: First, are those authors that emphasise the influence of exogenous forces upon the entrepreneurial process and the importance of context to the entrepreneur. Authors such as Aldrich and Zimmer (1986), Jack and Anderson (2002) and Kalantaridis and Bika (2006) apply the notion of embeddedness and emphasise that entrepreneurship is not only an economic process but is anchored in a social context that enables and constrains entrepreneurial activity.

The second vantage point comes from those authors that emphasise human agency in the entrepreneurial process, and focus on the characteristics, motivations and decisions of the individual entrepreneur (see Table 3.1). This behavioural-structural dichotomy replicates the traditional structure-agency divide in social theory and consequently sets up artificial

and unhelpful oppositions between agent-centred (behaviouralist) models that ignore social formations and structuralist theories, which negate the role of human agency in dealing with the reality of the social context (Gorton, 2000). In light of an analysis of the literature, it is clear that the process of entrepreneurship is shaped by an individual's personal characteristics, goals and motivations as well as the broader environment in which the individual operates, including environmental, social, cultural, economic and political forces. In efforts to provide a holistic critical analysis of winery entrepreneurship, this research transcends this limiting dichotomy by focusing on the importance of both place/context and human agency in the entrepreneurial process.

This approach stresses that the entrepreneurial process is not only an economic activity but is driven by the motivations of individuals as they seek to satisfy their own personal and social, as well as economic goals, which are influenced by the context in which the entrepreneur is embedded (see also Fass & Scothorne, 1990; Getz et al., 2004). The model developed by Getz et al. (2004) offers a valuable illustration of this perspective of the entrepreneurial process (see Figure 3.3). In this model, the entrepreneur is situated within the context of cultural, social and business systems, which combine to filter the entrepreneur's perceptions and behaviours towards the potential to achieve a desired level of success – in terms of both material and/or social gain.

The contextualizing of entrepreneurship illustrates that entrepreneurs do not emerge in a vacuum (Getz et al., 2004). Instead, the entrepreneur is significantly influenced by contextual forces that shape the outcomes of the entrepreneurial process.

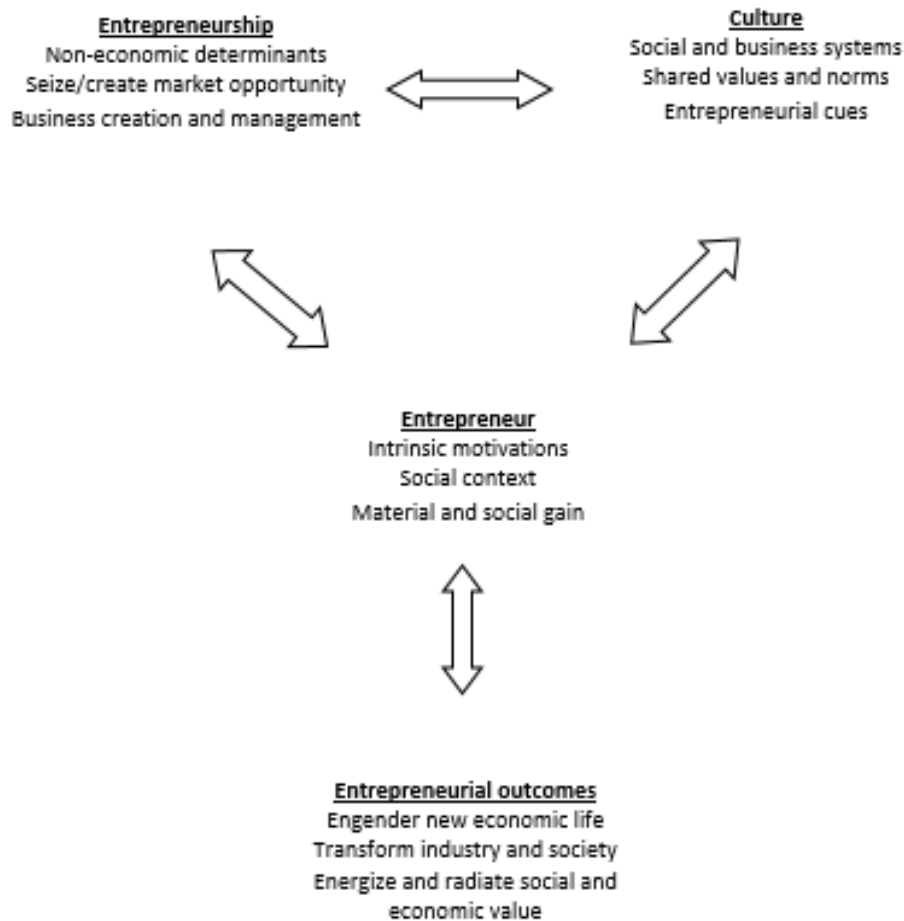


Figure 3.3: Entrepreneurial Process

(Source: Getz et al., 2004, p. 36)

3.5 Entrepreneurial Networks

Studies on entrepreneurial networks demonstrate that entrepreneurs draw heavily upon networks; social network contracts play an influential role in the start-up of a business (Birley et al., 1999; Johannisson, 1995; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). The entrepreneurship literature is helpful in articulating the relationship between networks and resource access. The “network success hypothesis” states that entrepreneurs with larger, more diverse networks get more support from their networks and are more successful (Witt, 2004)

because networks provide access to resources (Johannisson & Nilsson, 1989), information, and support (Brüderl & Preisendorfer, 1998). These ties form part of the entrepreneur's "social capital" (Bourdieu, 1980; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993) which in this context refers to the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through and derived from relationship networks (Greve & Salaff, 2003; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Smith & Lohrke 2008). Hall (2004) argues that the development of social capital through the creation of networks is extremely important in terms of its capacity to reduce the level of uncertainty for entrepreneurs in the creation of new businesses. The social capital gained through network-based relationships can be used to maximise the scarce capital available to some small food and wine businesses (Hall, 2004). Intangible capital, and the clusters and networks that maximise it, may be critical to the success of regional food and wine tourism business strategies (Hall, 2002). In a regional food and wine context, these networks and clusters may include producers and services such as transportation, farms, wineries, restaurants and accommodation (Hall, 1997). Wang and Fesenmaier (2007) outline five motivations for tourism businesses entering into collaborative relationships: strategy-oriented; transaction cost-related; learning-related; cluster competitiveness; community responsibility. Similarly, Morrison (1998) outlines the advantages of cooperative marketing as: networking; achieving greater economic scales; obtaining professional advice; access to better technology; support for training and education; pooling of resources.

Networks are a distinct, hybrid mode of coordinating economic activity that is an alternative to organisation by markets or within firms (Harper, 1993). Networks involve firms of all sizes in various combinations and can occur at all stages of the value chain. They can range from highly informal relationships through to contractual obligations (Hall, 1997). Although networks and clusters share similarities, clusters are usually defined as groups of businesses that are part of the same industry, share a common characteristic, coordinate some parts of their business activities but are competitive in others, and are geographically located near each other (Brasier et al., 2007). This co-location facilitates knowledge and information transfer (Williams et al., 2007). While there is some ambiguity in the definition of clusters (Bergman & Feser, 1996; Feser, 1998; Jacobs & De Man, 1996; Porter, 1998; Rosenfeld, 1997), the cluster concept generally focuses on linkages and interdependencies among actors in value chains (Hall, 2005). Clusters can be loosely organised or they can be active

cooperation seeking benefits such as joint marketing. Recent research has recognised the importance of industry clusters to regional development, competitiveness, and innovation. In particular, clusters are promoted as innovative models for rural communities in the face of globalisation (Brasier et al., 2007). The combination of networks and clusters allows trust to be established, new ideas and practices to be circulated and modes of innovation to flourish (Storper, 1997), given that clusters facilitate both cooperation and competition between firms (Cooke & Morgan, 1993). Wine has been recognised as an industry that clustering may be a significant competitive factor (Mars & Shaw, 2000; Nordin, 2003). This may also likely apply to wine tourism.

While a review of literature indicates that successful clusters are formed initially for reasons of economic gain, in locations with a high amenity value where the relevant industries are dominated by small to medium business enterprises, the advantages sought from clustering may be more personal-entrepreneurial than fiscal-economic (Simpson & Bretherton, 2004). Therefore, individuals may decide to cooperate and collaborate out of a feeling of pure idealism, altruism or a commitment to the community and region (Witt, 2004).

The traditional view of competition is one in which all businesses are driven by profit-maximisation, and compete equally for their share of resources and consumer demand (Hunt & Morgan, 1995). However, as discussed in this chapter, there are clearly industries that do not follow this model. Rather, businesses vary according to their ownership and management structure, background, size, goals, and focus, among other factors. This diversity complicates the market system, and suggests that for a business to be effective they should engage in collaborative activity and networks rather than compete head on with other players in their market (Polenske, 2004; Roach, 2010). A significant volume of literature addresses the benefits believed to come from “competitive” companies agreeing to cooperate. In this approach, competing businesses seek to enhance their individual business performance by forming an industry cluster and a network of companies. In rural areas, networks offer myriad opportunities for businesses in overcoming the scale and capability limits inherent in rural enterprises (Ring et al., 2010).

Rural communities can especially benefit from cooperative marketing when developing tourism (Cai, 2002). This is because a common challenge for tourism development in rural areas is the limited drawing power of the region. In addition to the absence of a distinctive image, rural destinations are often too small to form a critical mass required of a primary destination. As Getz et al. (2004) explain the majority of small and family businesses rely on local or regional customers, as they lack the means to reach farther afield with effective marketing. Often the only solution to this universal problem is to form marketing alliances. As discussed in Chapter Two, issues of place-based marketing and branding are particularly important for wine tourism regions. In order to build a critical mass and economies of scale in the marketplace, the wine and tourism industries benefit from a united, cooperative network that promotes the region (Hall & Macionis, 1998). From a social network perspective (Doreian & Stokman, 1997; Galaskiewicz & Wasserman, 1993; Kilduff & Tsai, 2003), the ability to create a destination brand reflects the values and agenda of the largest possible number of stakeholders.

In many wine regions, small producers have achieved a level of synergy by clustering their resources in a joint marketing effort, acknowledging the strengths that come with a cooperative approach (Dodd & Beverland, 2001). To capitalise on a marketing strategy, expand distribution, and build tourism demand, wineries must collaborate with local businesses, such as accommodation, restaurants, and craft makers frequented by tourists (Telfer, 2001).

It has been argued that rural communities are typically better endowed with social capital, owing to common backgrounds and frequent interactions (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006), and that the strong social capital present in rural communities (due to the layers of interconnected social relationships) can be an important resource for the development of entrepreneurial ventures in rural areas (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986; Cornwall, 1998; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Westlund & Bolton, 2003). However, the reality is that this portrayal of strong, static and cohesive rural communities is questionable (see Chapter Two). While rural communities may be small, they are not necessarily homogenous, nor are they static in their size, composition, or external relationships. Different social networks can exist in a community, based on factors such as social status,

background or location (Portes, 1998; Tillmar, 2006). The extent to which these diverse groups interact and overlap, is an important determinant of the experience and knowledge available for collective action (Flora & Flora, 1993; Ring et al., 2010).

As noted in Chapter Two, many rural areas experience significant in-migration, and these new residents can be an important source of entrepreneurship (Beyers & Nelson, 2000; North & Smallbone, 2006). However, new migrants may have more difficulty in establishing a working network since they may have considerable psychological, cultural or social distances with the host population (Shaw & Williams, 2004). According to Hill, McGown and Drummond (1999), the overall strength of a social network is determined by geographical, psychological and cultural distances between the actors, along with the nature of the owner's past experiences. Simpson and Bretherton (2004) note that while high levels of cooperation between "private" actors in the regional development process have traditionally provided enhanced performance, a realisation of an optimum level of cooperation cannot be automatically assumed as small firms in these industries are not normally known for their strategic thinking or integrative behaviour patterns.

Different rural actors have different perceptions of financial needs, lifestyle, family and retirement. For example, lifestyle farmers may see both farming and tourism as retirement activities, whereas older long-term farmers may not consider themselves as retired (Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007). In a study on social networks amongst French farmers, Mailfert (2007) found that traditional strong social relationships in agricultural communities have been challenged by new, unfamiliar alternative farmers. Mailfert (2007) argues that as farming is reshaped by changes in the global agricultural system, new forms of relationships for both conventional and alternative farmers are emerging. This is due to the fact that beginning farmers today are no longer exclusively sons and daughters of farmers but come from a variety of backgrounds, many of whom are moving back-to-the-land in search of a fulfilling lifestyle and self-defined economic success. These "neo-farmers" are likely to be considered outsiders in their new communities and may experience social isolation. In a study on the farming scene in Canterbury, New Zealand Egoz et al. (2006) found that established conventional farmers perceive lifestyle-oriented, organic farmers as a threat and see them as not being "real" farmers. At the same time, these lifestyle farmers who moved

to rural areas for the bucolic, rural idyll often find that conventional farming practices disturb their idyllic perceptions of the countryside. They found that different ways of managing land are associated with different social beliefs shared by members of the various conventional and alternative (organic) farming subcultures. While these two studies focus on farming, it does highlight the fact that if farmers (or other types of rural actors) with diverse backgrounds continue to enter the countryside in significant numbers, then new forms of social networks are bound to arise. This is supported in this research by the increasingly diverse types of winery entrepreneurs establishing wineries in the case study areas, and the challenges that result in networking and collaborative efforts.

Given that entrepreneurial networks offer a variety of benefits, these networks can also face a variety of problems and conflicts from, or leading to, unequal commitments, incongruent venture goals, and limited or ineffective communication (Pittaway et al., 2004). While business networks will generally have identifiable ends, the individual entrepreneurs are likely to have different goals, strengths, weaknesses, and bargaining positions, and be more or less prone toward opportunistic behaviours at the expense of their partners (Gibbs, 2003; Harrigan, 1985). The extent and importance of these differences depend on the individual businesses that make up the network as well as the type of network formed (Ring et al., 2010). While networking and cooperative work is recognised as important to the tourism and wine industries, poor linkages within rural regions are often caused by the different goals of stakeholders within emerging networks (Hall & Rusher, 2004). The heterogeneous population living and running businesses in rural areas can lead to conflicting claims to place identity, conflicts over land use and conflicting business practices.

In addition to conflicting agendas and goals, businesses in networks must deal with relational risk, which is the probability that a partner does not comply with the spirit of cooperation (Das & Teng, 1998, p. 25). Relational risk and its cost can also be magnified when, owing to differences in resources, competencies, or equity holdings, power asymmetries exist between network partners (Muthusamy & White, 2006). Dominant partners are better able to withhold resources, or otherwise act opportunistically in the pursuit of their own goals rather than goals of the entire network (Ring et al., 2010).

Ring et al. (2010) note that the sense of a common threat may help maintain the bonds among network members as well as extend the scope of those bonds, as long as the threat is seen as external to the membership as it enlarges. This relates to the discussion on place identity in Chapter Two, which noted that actors negatively characterise other places to advocate for strategies intended to maintain differences between them (place comparison), and to construct an identity based on what they are *not*. Individuals that share similar values and ways of thinking tend to associate with each other, as expressed in the adage “birds of a feather flock together”. As will be discussed in the findings chapters, winery entrepreneurs are often motivated to work together in opposition to *other* individuals, regions, groups or external forces that are seen as a threat. This form of place identity construction (and ultimately, networking behaviour) was articulated through interviews and will be developed in the findings chapters. People develop relationships within groups, and then use these relationships and memberships to distinguish themselves from those *outside* of the groups or from other groups.

3.6 Summary: Insights and Gaps in the Literature

The previous two chapters have highlighted and linked important and relevant issues in the literature from seemingly disparate research traditions and disciplines. This section outlines the insights derived from this analysis, and identifies gaps to be addressed in the research objectives developed for the current research project. For example, what is the importance of place identity to the entrepreneurial process, and how does attachment to place influence entrepreneurial behaviour?

As outlined in Chapter Two, significant literature focuses on rural restructuring and transformations of rural places, including land use changes, changing populations and changing industries (Cloke, 2006; Groote, Huigen & Haartsen 2000; Murdoch, 2006; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Woods, 2005). To date, however, the role of entrepreneurs in contributing to, and influencing, these changes has not been addressed to any significant extent; what shifts in the perceptions of “rurality” and/or direct tangible impacts in a place can be attributed to the entrepreneurs of a region? In this context, research objectives have been designed to analyse how and why winery entrepreneurs’ behave the way that they do; and how their

decisions and actions influence the social, cultural, economic and physical makeup of places in which they own their business.

Understanding an entrepreneur's place identity and place attachment is important in comprehending what motivates winery entrepreneurs to purchase or establish a business in a rural region. An entrepreneur's perception of the types of experiences that are possible in a place has a significant impact on entrepreneurial decisions (Alkon & Traugot, 2008; Bridger, 1996; Saarinen, 2009). Their assessment that a place offers them the ability to pursue and achieve their desired objectives (both personal and business) affects their motivations to establish a business. Once the business is established, experiences with the social and physical dimensions of the place may influence place identity. In turn, this identity influences the entrepreneur's belief in his/her capability to successfully undertake the tasks associated with entrepreneurship (Hallak et al., 2010).

Research objectives were also developed to examine questions that are unclear or have gone unanswered in the literature regarding the motivations, goals and behaviours of winery entrepreneurs, and the changes occurring in wine and tourism regions. The existing literature is unclear and inconsistent regarding basic questions such as: What motivates an individual to establish or purchase a winery? Who or what influences this decision? What are winery owners' perceptions of wine tourism; seasonality? What influences these perceptions? The existing literature on entrepreneurship in SMEs and rural entrepreneurship characterises their motivations as being lifestyle or financially-focused. In fact, there are far more complex factors, beyond this limiting dichotomy, that influence the small-scale entrepreneur, and this research is designed to fill these important gaps.

In developing the research objectives, the entrepreneurial process was considered from a broadened view, acknowledging that the entrepreneur is anchored in their context. Most literature on entrepreneurship focuses on one of two vantage points; first are those authors that emphasise the characteristics, motivations and behaviours of the entrepreneur (Casson, 1982; Davidsson, 2003; Gartner, 1990; Herbert & Link, 1982; Kirzner, 1983; Shane et al., 2003). The second vantage point comes from authors that emphasise the influence of exogenous forces upon the entrepreneurial process and the importance of context to the

entrepreneur (Bryant, 1989; Getz et al., 2004; Gorton, 2000; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Stam, 2003; Davidsson, 2004). This research project transcends this limiting dichotomy by analysing the importance of place, context and human agency to the entrepreneurial process.

This broadened perspective is reflected in the primary aim of this research project: To analyse how winery entrepreneurs' lifestyle decisions, business motivations and perceptions of place influence business practices and regional initiatives in the wine and tourism industries; and how these decisions and actions collectively shape the development of the wine and wine tourism industry in their respective regions.

A theoretical model, The Model of Winery Entrepreneurial Process and Place Identity Development (WEPPID) is developed to conceptualise this relationship; how individual entrepreneurs interact with the place in which they are embedded, how "place" influences the entrepreneur, and how the entrepreneur influences the place. The following section outlines this theoretical model.

3.6.1 Model of Winery Entrepreneurial Process and Place Identity development

The model presented at the end of Chapter Two (Figure 2.2), framed the concept of "Place Identity" as based on contextual forces, the physical qualities of a place, and agency. Places are seen not solely as a one-way street resulting from economic, socio-cultural and political structures, but also as an outcome of the influential role and nature of space and places in the production and reproduction of social reality (Johnston, 1991; Massey, 1984; Paasi, 1991; Saarinen, 2004). Further, places are continuously being influenced by the decisions and actions of individual agents in the ongoing social construction of their place, and by way of the direct, tangible impacts of their decisions and actions (Ringer, 1998).

This model is advanced and re-framed here in line with the critical evaluation of the literature presented in both Chapters Two and Three. The model presented below conceptualises the entrepreneurial process and place identity development by embedding the entrepreneur (with unique interpretations of place and personal/business motivations) in their place and context. While an entrepreneur's individual characteristics, motivations,

views and agendas are critical in the establishment and operation of a business, they do not exist outside of the structural conditions that support and give rise to these entrepreneurial actions.

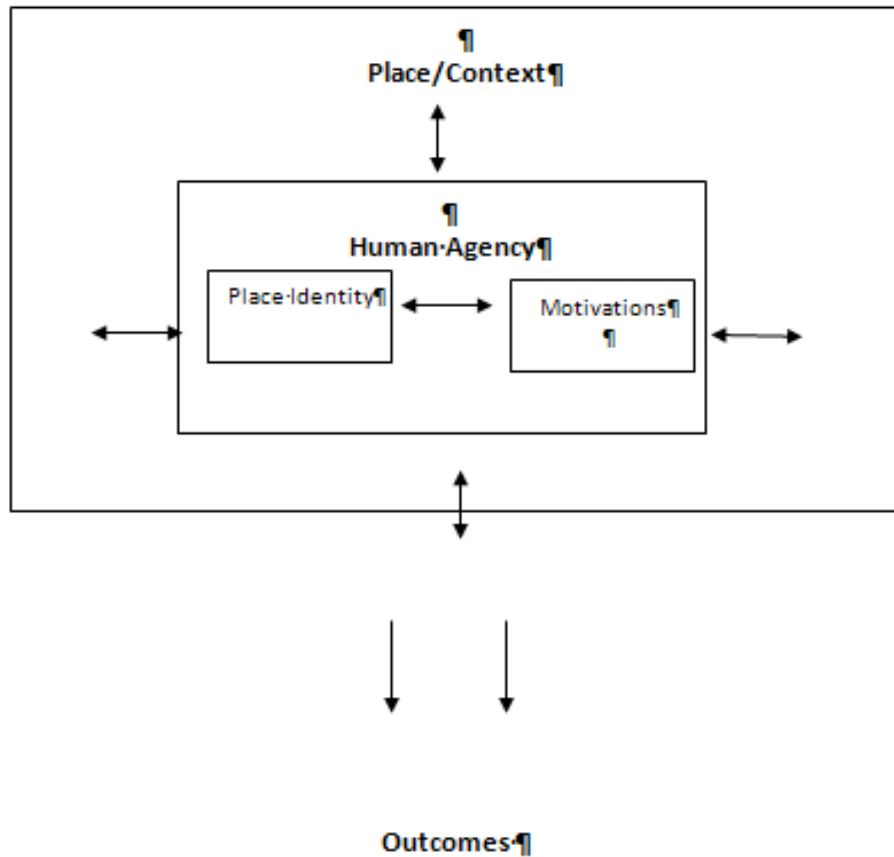


Figure 3.4: Model of Winery Entrepreneurial Process and Place Identity Development (WEPPID)

Based on the model outlined above, we can see the various components that constitute the process, including: Place/Context; Human Agency; Individual Place Identity; Motivations; Outcomes.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a critical analysis of the entrepreneurial literature. It has illustrated the need for a re-conceptualisation and broadened view of entrepreneurship,

which highlights the variations in structures, guises, lifestyle and business motivations which fall under the concept. These diverse discourses challenge the traditional, historical definitions of the entrepreneur, which depict an exceptional and heroic figure, undertaking risks and challenging the established order (Berglund & Johansson, 2007b; Collins & Moore, 1965; Ogbor, 2000). In Recognition of the importance of non-economic motives, including lifestyle, social and family-oriented goals, illustrates how the concept of entrepreneurship has been expanded.

This broadened view of entrepreneurship recognises entrepreneurship as a process, highlighting the importance of both context and human agency (Saarinen, 2004; Stam, 2003). The entrepreneurial process results in diverse outcomes; in some cases, the entrepreneurial process results in overtly profit and growth-driven businesses. In other cases, the process results in lifestyle and non-growth oriented businesses; this does not diminish the fact that these individuals do in fact display entrepreneurial tendencies (e.g., goal setting, independence, egoistic passion, risk-taking propensity, locus of control, self-efficacy). Not all firms subscribe to the traditional Schumpeterian view whereby the entrepreneur is focused on growing and raising profits (Getz & Carlsen, 2005; Peters et al., 2000; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). While there are various degrees of entrepreneurial activity present across different operations, the degree of entrepreneurial intensity is not based solely on the specific outcomes of these operations (e.g., rate of growth) but instead depends on the overall entrepreneurial process.

The insights and gaps highlighted in the analysis of entrepreneurship, coupled with a reassessment of the literature on place identity, particularly surrounding “rurality”, has been used to reveal new ways of understanding rural places and the role of rural entrepreneurs in the development and transformation of rural regions. By linking these two broad bodies of research in unique and new ways, research objectives have been developed to address the gaps in the literature, which limit our understanding of small-scale entrepreneurs in rural areas.

Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 Introduction

This chapter justifies and outlines the research design of the study and the research and analysis procedures. This study has used a qualitative, interpretive research design in order to document the subjective nature of real world phenomena, elicit unanticipated findings and embrace the context of the study. Data were gathered from two case study areas using semi-structured in-depth interviews. Data collection and analysis procedures have been designed to capture and represent a range of perspectives, as well as preserve the richness and detail of individual winery owner experiences. The overall research design has been guided by the literature, which supported the research questions and objectives.

4.2 Use of Qualitative Methodology and Perspectives

Qualitative research is more than just method; it is a particular *approach* to inquiry, based on a set of assumptions about how knowledge is produced and about the nature of reality itself (Patton, 2002). Qualitative research begins from the notion of the social construction of realities being studied, and is interested in the perspectives of participants in reference to the issue under study (Flick, 2007). This study has used qualitative research methods in fitting with the goals and objectives of the study. While quantitative research seeks to account for causes of change, primarily through objective measurement and quantitative analysis, qualitative research is focused on *understanding* the change that is happening, from the perspective of the participants. Qualitative researchers take the position that it is less important to discover what is "real" (in the sense of objectively verifiable truth) than it is to understand what contributes to people's subjective understanding of reality. For this reason, qualitative research aims to build an understanding of people's lived experience, discovering how people interpret the world around them and how this influences their actions (IDRC, 2011). This approach is clearly in line with the aims and objectives of this research, which is to understand how participants perceive and interpret the rural places in which they live, and their motivations and experiences in running a wine business. In turn, this research analyses how these perspectives and experiences are linked to other

influences in their business, personal lives, industry and region. A qualitative investigation has provided a more in-depth understanding of the complex interactions between wine production, tourism, rurality, entrepreneurship and business practices from the perspectives of winery owners.

Qualitative research is generally more flexible in its design and process than quantitative approaches. While quantitative research is often sequential in nature, it involves a more fluid relationship between the various elements of the research design (Veal, 2006).

Qualitative research tends to use an inductive approach to develop theory; it examines the data generated from the study of a particular population and builds an understanding of social behaviour as it emerges from the data (IDRC, 2011). By using this approach, hypothesis formation has evolved as the research progressed, data analysis and collection took place concurrently and writing has been an evolutionary, on-going process. While there are various types of qualitative approaches available, this research used the case study method, focusing on two case study regions, as a strategy of inquiry.

4.3 Case Study Method

This research sets out to understand a complex social phenomenon and thus, the use of case studies was considered the most appropriate of methods. A case study involves the study of an example (the case) of the phenomenon being researched with the aim of understanding the phenomenon by studying the individual examples (Veal, 2006). In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when asking the “how” or “why” questions and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Yin, 2003). In this way, a case study approach focuses on a particular phenomenon with the goal of “providing an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance” (Denscombe, 1998, p. 32). For example, why do individuals decide to establish or purchase wineries in rural areas? How do their personal and business motivations influence their behaviours and decisions? Generally, case studies are much stronger at assessing *whether* and *how* a variable mattered to the outcome than at assessing *how much* it mattered (George & Bennett, 2005).

A collective case study has been used in this research, where more than one case is studied in order to investigate general phenomena (Stake, 2000). Social scientists seek to understand complex realities and the usefulness of comparative research for generating and testing social theories is well established (Harkness et al., 2003). By studying two different regions, this research was better able to explore and explain the influence of various place-specific elements (political, economic, social, cultural and environmental elements) on winery entrepreneurship by comparing similarities and differences between the regions and the winery entrepreneurs' motivations and behaviours in each region. The following section outlines the rationale for the selection of the case studies used in this research project

4.3.1 Case Study Selection

When selecting the cases for this study I used information-oriented, purposeful sampling. This type of sampling allows the researcher to choose information-rich cases that illustrate some feature or process that is central to the purpose of the research (Silverman, 2005). Case selection is an integral part of good research strategy to achieve well-defined objectives of the study. The primary criterion for case selection is relevance to the research objectives of the study, whether it includes theory development, theory testing or heuristic purposes (George & Bennett, 2005).

The two case study regions selected for this comparative analysis are: The Finger Lakes wine region in New York State, USA and The Central Otago wine region in the South Island of New Zealand. These regions were selected due in part to their many similarities. For example, both regions are part of the New World of wine production and have recently witnessed an expansion in the wine industry and wine tourism, and are characterised by small-scale, boutique wineries, many of which are owner-operated. Both regions are classified as rural, cool-climate regions that experience marked seasonality. However, the regions are also quite different in many ways, not least because they are located in different countries, which immediately means the economic, social, cultural and political context in which they operate are different. The importance of cellar door sales to wineries in each region is another clearly defined difference. These similarities and differences will be discussed in further detail in Chapters Five and Six.

Another rationale for selecting these two case studies was my familiarity with both regions, which minimised the potential culture and language barriers that many other regions would have presented. Furthermore, I chose to conduct research in these areas for personal reasons as I have ties to both the South Island of New Zealand and New York State. New Zealand was an obvious choice as this PhD research was undertaken whilst enrolled in at a New Zealand university. The success and growth of the New Zealand wine industry interested me, as well as the rural culture and identity that is promoted and associated with the country. Furthermore, for logistical purposes - proximity to region, easier accessibility to research participants, expertise of supervisors on New Zealand wine and tourism industries - Central Otago was an attractive and practical choice.

The selection of the Finger Lakes region was in large part based on the fact that I was raised in upstate New York from the age of two and still call New York my permanent home. I am familiar with the geography and culture of New York State, and I was attracted to the idea of contributing knowledge to two of rural New York's increasingly important industries; wine production and tourism. The wine and tourism industries have had an enormous impact on the rural and state economy as well as preserving attractive cultural landscapes, however very little research has been conducted on The Finger Lakes region from a socio-cultural perspective. The majority of current research on The Finger Lakes wine industry is focused on the science behind viticulture and enology (predominantly out of Cornell University's College of Agriculture and Life Sciences Viticulture and Enology Program).

Case study research requires boundaries which need to be identified and established at an early stage of research (Silverman 2005). For the purpose of this research I have defined the "Finger Lakes wine region" of New York as including the wineries surrounding the four prominent lakes; Keuka, Canandaigua, Seneca and Cayuga. I define the Central Otago wine region as comprising the wineries clustered in the viticultural areas of Alexandra/Clyde, Bannockburn, Cromwell and Gibbston Valley (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2).

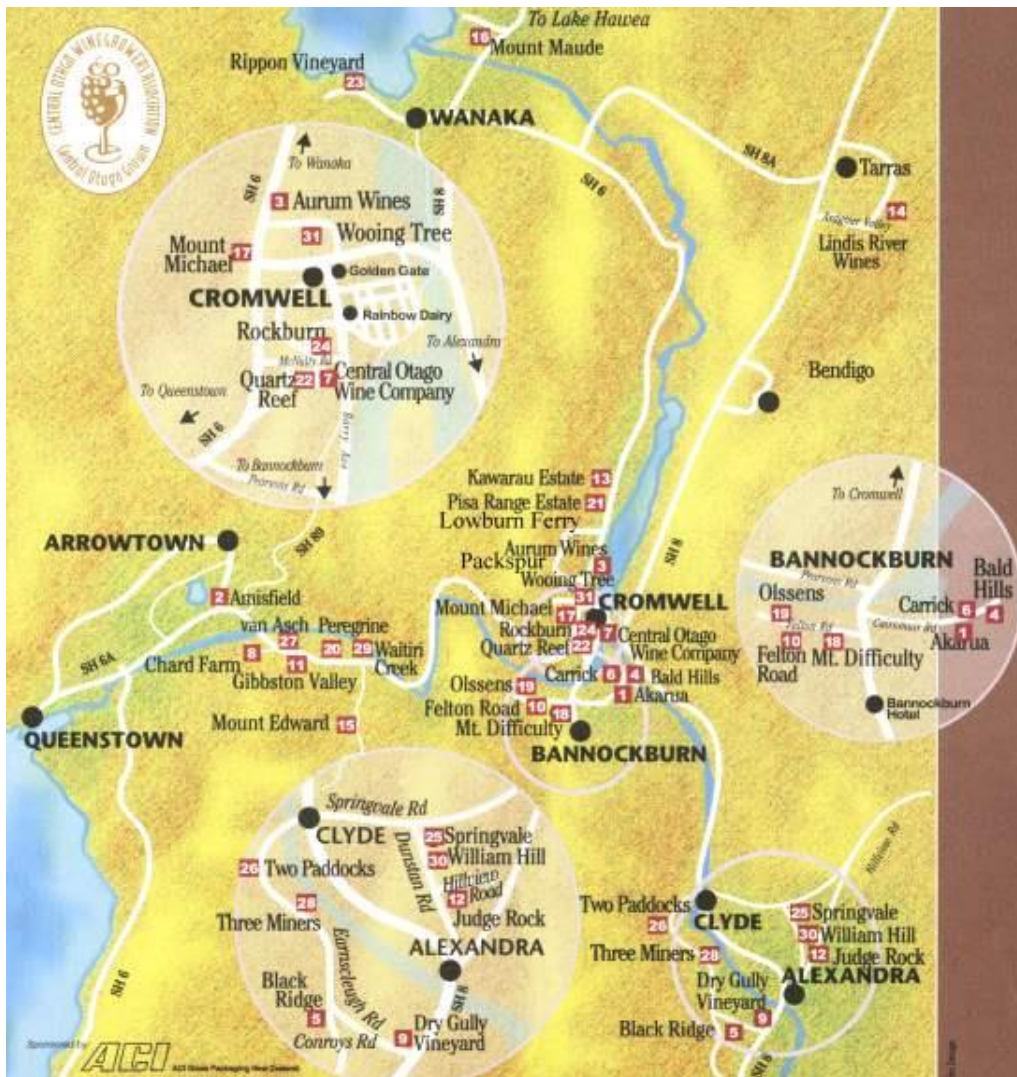


Figure 4.1: Map of Central Otago Wine Region

Source: (Central Otago Wine Cellar 2006)

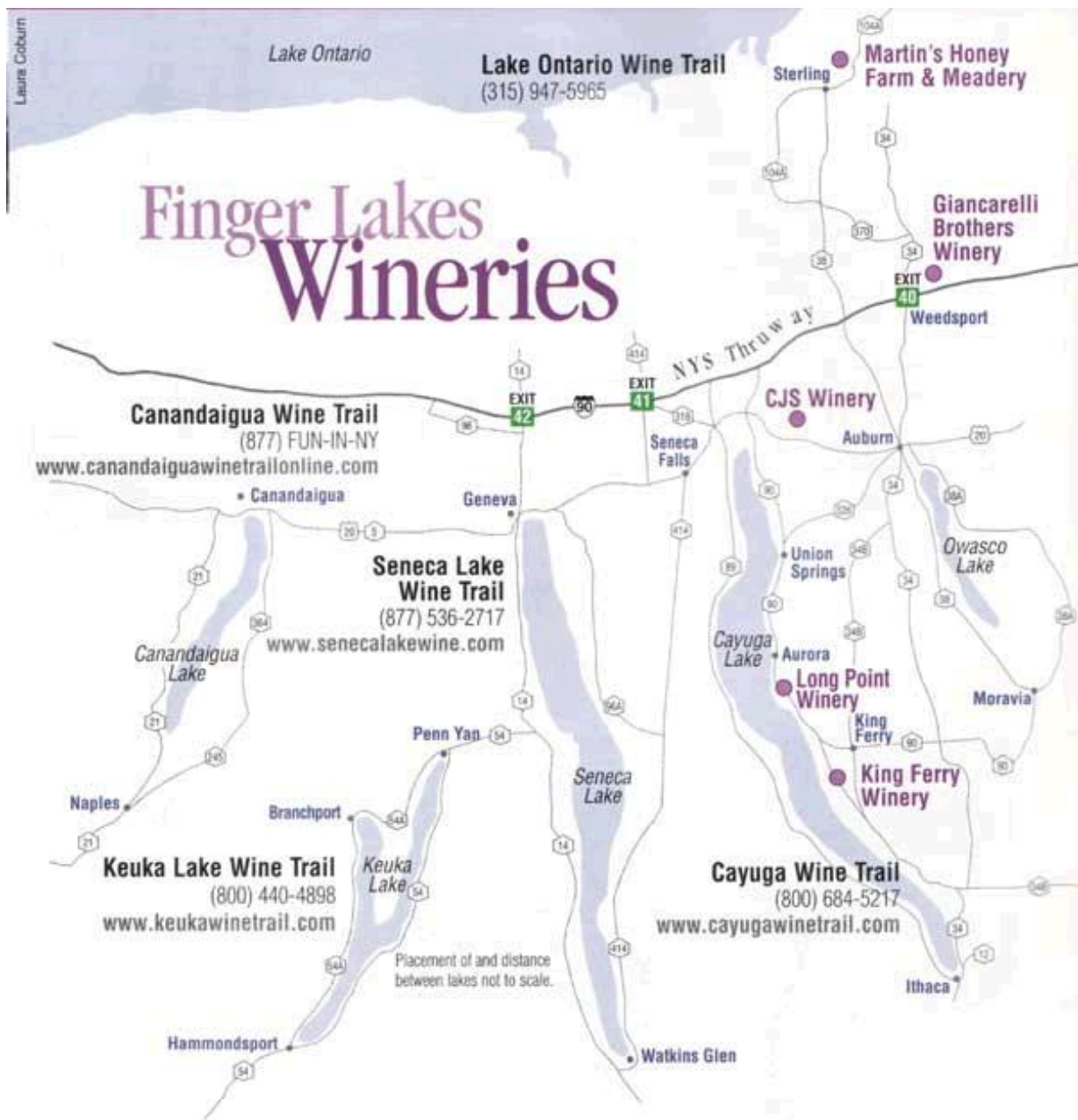


Figure 4.2: Map of Finger Lakes Wine Region

Source: (Cayuga County Office of Tourism, 2006)

4.4 Data Collection

Over the year 2007 I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with winery owners and managers as well as with representatives of local businesses and associations/organisations which are key stakeholders in the wine and tourism industries.

Given that the purpose of qualitative research is to build understanding of complex social issues and find meaning in social behaviour, the methods are typically geared to gather deep and rich insights into the topic being studied, and the most effective way to generate rich data on the individual perspectives and experiences of respondents was through less structured methods. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were used as a means to probe deeper into the perspectives of respondents, beyond the commonsense explanations and understandings of their experience living and running a business in a rural area. Other methods, such as a survey method, would not have provided the detail and depth of understanding that was necessary in meeting research objectives. Further, I chose semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions because it allowed for more flexibility in responses. Respondents were able to develop ideas, emphasise points and speak more widely on the issues raised, while still allowing comparisons to be made between interviewees.

4.4.1 Establishing Connections

A central feature of every research design is sampling – the researcher’s decision on which material, cases, persons or groups will be involved in a study. It also determines the comparative potential of a study (Flick, 2007). Even a single case study involves a choice of this case rather than others, as well as decisions about the case itself, such as the identification of boundaries and the selection of participants. Knowing that one cannot study everyone, everywhere, doing everything, even within a single case makes it necessary to limit the parameters of study (Maxwell, 2005).

Given the interest in wine tourism, the decision was made to select participants in each region whose wineries were involved in some way with the visitor industry (either through having a cellar door/tasting room open regularly, or who welcomed visitors by appointment). Similarly, to avoid operations that might operate largely outside the case study region (perhaps making wine or growing grapes in other regions) the sample was limited to those wineries which had a physical location (for example a cellar door, winery or office) listed in the region. As both the Central Otago and Finger Lakes wine regions are made up of a number of sub-regions (see chapters Five and Six), an attempt was made to

involve wineries from each of these sub-regions in order to highlight trends that may have arisen based on geographic location within the region.

Finally, wineries were only contacted where an owner's name was identifiable in the publicity or promotional material for the winery, as this research study was interested in small to medium-sized enterprises. Therefore corporate-run wineries or those owned by multiple investors that are not involved in the day to day running of the operation were generally excluded. The fact that this research only includes the perspectives and experiences of a select number of winery owners is therefore a limitation of this research (see Section 4.6).

In Central Otago, a locally-produced wine trail map and linked website produced by the Central Otago Wine Association, of which many local wineries are members, was used as the initial resource to contact wineries, although some snowball sampling occurred so that wineries not members of this organisation were included also in the final interviews. In the Finger Lakes, wine trail maps were again used as the first point of reference in contacting wineries. While the majority of wineries in The Finger Lakes belong to these wine trails, some wineries choose not to join. The exclusion of wineries that are not members of these wine trail maps, either due to lack of membership with the local wine organisation, or because they were newly established at the time of fieldwork, is a limitation of this research. However given the qualitative nature of this research and the focus on wineries involved in some way in tourism, it is felt that a good cross-section of interests have been identified. It must be acknowledged, however, that the findings presented here may not be representative of all wineries in each region.

Once qualifying winery operations had been identified, the winery owners were contacted by email with a follow-up telephone call. Approximately 60 winery owners were contacted in each region to ask if they would be willing to participate in this study. The general purpose of the research was outlined, and if a representative from the winery expressed interest in participating, a date and time was arranged for a semi-structured interview. All winery owners willing to participate were interviewed. In four of the Central Otago interviews, the day-to-day winery manager was interviewed rather than owner. This was

taken into account during data analysis, and is noted in the text when a quotation is given by a winery manager. The result was 21 interviews conducted in The Finger Lakes (18 wineries and three additional associations/organisations) and 26 interviews conducted in Central Otago (24 wineries and two additional associations/organisations). Although I use the term “wineries” and “winery” throughout this thesis, there are respondents who do not have winery operations. Some respondents have their wine made under contract. For the sake of clarity, I use the term winery regardless of whether they have a working winery or not. This is a commonly accepted practice in the region itself, although it is acknowledged to create some confusion:

So there are only about 25 actual wineries being winemaking facilities – and that’s a term that’s becoming distorted. Because people with a vineyard who have a label but no wineries are still referred to as wineries, and they’re not really wineries, they’re wine producers. There’s nothing wrong with that, it’s a perfectly normal and legitimate way to get wine done, but it is slightly confusing... it’s a blurred area (Winery owner, Central Otago).

The organisations and associations that participated in this research represent the wine and tourism industries in their respective regions; they are funded either publicly or privately, and represent these regions as a whole (rather than just a sub-region). There are no officially designated subregional organisations in Central Otago, and in the Finger Lakes, the individual wine trail organisations are run by winery owners. Some of the participating Finger Lakes winery owners were key leaders in these subregional organisations at the time of fieldwork.

4.4.2 Interviews

I conducted face-to-face, on-site semi-structured interviews with respondents. The duration of interviews ranged from 25-90 minutes. An interview schedule (Appendices III and IV) was created with questions that were developed from a review of relevant literature. Questions were designed to extract descriptive and explanatory data and were therefore all open-ended. While interviews roughly followed the questions outlined in the schedule, the interviews often ran like a guided conversation. Participants expanded on

issues that they felt were important and probes were used to extract more information when necessary. The interview schedule emphasised respondents' own definitions of business success and took into account their own perspectives and values in order to come to a more thorough understanding of the individual business orientation of each respondent.

In all but two cases, interviews were held on-premise at the winery and the interviews with regional associations and organisations were held at their respective offices. A digital recorder was used to tape record each interview, with the permission of the participants. This allowed the collection of dependable and credible data, which captured the language and emotive speech of respondents, while also remaining focused on the interviewee throughout.

It was much more difficult to arrange interviews with participants in The Finger Lakes than it was in Central Otago, and there could be a few explanations for this. First, participants in Central Otago are familiar with Lincoln University; many of the New Zealand-educated winemakers and viticulturists were trained at Lincoln University. In contrast, most participants in The Finger Lakes were not familiar with Lincoln University. Secondly, interviews took place in both regions leading up to the height of the tourism season (June/July for The Finger Lakes and November/December for Central Otago). Because wineries in The Finger Lakes are more reliant on tourism than wineries in Central Otago (see Chapters Five, Six and Eight), Finger Lakes wineries were busier dealing with tourism-related issues in addition to the normal winemaking-related activities. Third, wineries in The Finger Lakes are characterised more by small, owner-operated businesses than in Central Otago, although it is a prominent feature of each region. Central Otago is home to a number of more professionally managed wineries with a formalised management structure. The owners in The Finger Lakes seemed to have less flexibility with scheduling because they had a broad range of responsibilities, many of which were unpredictable. It was therefore difficult for many owners to schedule an interview in advance, because the potential interviewee did not know if they would be needed in the vineyard, winery, or tasting room that day, and at that time. Many winery owners expressed concerns prior to the interview that I would come to meet them and they would be unavailable because something had

come up with the business they needed to tend to; this however, never happened. In both regions, there were occasional interruptions such as a telephone call or member of staff asking a question, but all interviews were conducted without any major obstacles.

4.5 Ethical Issues

This research has followed several basic principles of ethically sound research (Flick, 2007). There has been no deception of participants, informed consent from participants, the privacy of participants has been maintained and the data have been accurately presented. Prior to the interview, all interview subjects were sent a Research Information Sheet by email (Appendix I), which had been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee. I brought each participant a copy of this Information Sheet to the interview along with a Consent Form (Appendix I). Each participant signed an informed consent form before the interview began. All data including any notes, digital recordings and transcripts from the interviews have been stored in a secure file on my personal computer. All consent forms and raw data have been accessible only to myself and my supervisors.

In-depth interviewing often elicits highly personal information, and may include participants' personal feelings and reflections, as well as their perceptions of others (Johnson, 2002). This research faced some challenges as participants often spoke openly and explicitly about specific individuals, other wineries, organisations and local government. In the same way as the anonymity of participants has been maintained throughout the entire interview process, with no individual winery or individual person identified in the research. I have maintained also the anonymity of individuals identified *by* participants; this includes any personal information participants provided about other individuals and businesses.

4.6 Data Analysis

Interviews were transcribed verbatim from the digital recording device as soon as possible following the interview. The transcription process was conducted slowly and thoroughly, and included every decipherable word spoken over the course of the interview, as well as

pauses and notes on respondent intonations. Because interviews were on-site at the wineries, occasionally words or phrases were indecipherable due to noise in the background. There were occasional interruptions or spaces of time that the interviewee had to answer a phone call or tend to a customer. This may have broken the respondent's train of thought and the flow of the interview. In a few interviews, the respondent gave me a tour of the winery and cellar door, and this made the conversation more difficult to hear on the recording device. In two interviews, the respondent continued speaking once the interview had been officially ended and digital recorder had been turned off and put away. In these cases I took notes as soon as I was free to do so, but I was not able to capture the detail of their comments as I would have been able to do through recording and transcribing.

The resulting transcripts formed the basis of analysis for this research and were the first step in data analysis. As Silverman (2000) argues, transcripts are not just about collating data, rather, by immersing oneself in the transcripts and reading the text as presented by the respondent, the researcher attempts to make sense of the world as perceived by the respondent.

The data were analysed by systematically organising and interpreting information through coding and categorizing into themes that identify patterns and relationships. Coding and categorizing allowed me to structure and conceptualise the data in order to come to a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of the issue. The categories used for coding the material were developed primarily from the material itself, but also from existing theories. When beginning my analysis I used open coding. Open coding is essentially a process of examining the text for categories and issues that have arisen by asking questions and making comparisons. These categories are then labelled and organised by properties and dimensions. Corbin and Strauss (2008) refer to "properties" as the multiple perspectives or aspects of a particular code. For example, in my analysis, the code "owner characteristics" has different types such as "absentee owner", "family-run" and "owner-operated". "Dimensions" refers to the kinds of properties that can be presented on a continuum. For example "winery's involvement with tourism" has dimensions which range

from “tasting by appointment only” through to “significant investment in facilities catering to tourists”.

Comparison of data from interviews was a key component of this research, and occurred across different levels. On one level, the individual respondents were compared with each other (within and across case study areas). The answers given by different participants to a specific question were compared, as well as parts of the narratives given by different participants. Between the two case studies I considered how different and similar responses were given by various respondents on different topics. This served to confirm that information was reported as objectively as possible and as a means to validate the data.

To aid in organising the different categories as well as their relationships, properties and dimensions, I have used NVivo, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). NVivo not only stores texts and documents, but it allows the researcher to create and manipulate codes (known in NVivo as nodes). Nodes can be free nodes (just kept in a list) or can be organised into a tree, which is a hierarchical structure according to properties and dimensions of the node. In particular, NVivo enhanced my ability to search for, store, sort and retrieve data. Unlike quantitative software packages such as SPSS, qualitative software packages cannot do statistical and graphical analysis for the researcher. This is because qualitative researchers employ an approach in which theory and investigation are interwoven in a process of induction. Explanation and meaning are derived from the data, instead of the data confirming or disconfirming a theoretical position put forward as a hypothesis to be tested (IRDC, 2011).

The next step was to organise these various codes, ranging from broad themes (land use conflict, seasonality) to more focused themes (last settler syndrome, seasonal labour issues) into separate thematic chapters. This involved pulling apart inherent and interconnected aspects of a holistic phenomenon into distinct and independent chapters for the sake of clarity. Alasuutari (1995) describes the writing of a thesis as similar to learning to ride a bicycle through gradually adjusting your balance: “Writing is first and foremost analysing, revising and polishing the text. The idea that one can produce ready-made text right away is

just about as senseless as the cyclist who has never had to restore his or her balance” (p. 178). The thematic chapters have evolved and taken many forms over the writing period of this research project. Along with the changing content and topic of thematic findings chapters has also come a clearer and more critical understanding of the phenomenon being researched.

4.7 **Limitations**

Gibbs (2008) notes the central criterion for the quality of data analysis is that the researcher is reflexive in their method by critically assessing their own role, as well as the data, and the findings and conclusions drawn from them. The main limitations of qualitative approaches are related to generalisability and the role of the researcher. In qualitative research, findings cannot be extended to wider populations with the same degree of certainty that quantitative analyses can. This is because the findings of the research are not tested to discover whether they are statistically significant, or due to chance. Further, in qualitative research, the researcher is often described as "the key instrument", given that all data is filtered through the researcher (Cresswell, 2008). Methods associated with qualitative research are heavily dependent on the researcher as interviewer, observer, facilitator, communicator, and interpreter of data (Mathie, 2005). Consequently, results are more easily influenced by the researcher's personal biases and idiosyncrasies.

The objective of this research has been to provide a description of social realities from the perspective of participants, rather than my own perspective. While the data have been reported as objectively as possible, my own role must be acknowledged. In qualitative interviewing, a subjective relationship is established between the researcher and the respondent. As a result of this personal type of data collection, some participants may have felt more comfortable with me than others. Those with a higher degree of trust may have been willing to speak more extensively and openly about sensitive issues.

Over sixty years ago, Weber (1946) pointed out that all research is contaminated to some extent by the values of the researcher. Only certain problems get identified and studied in particular ways due to the values of the researcher and the conclusions and implications drawn from the study are largely grounded in the moral and political beliefs of the

researcher. All new knowledge is understood in relation to an interpretive scheme of our existing knowledge. My interpretation of the findings is shaped by my own background and experiences. There were many different issues I could have highlighted and focused on with this data. However, I clearly could not include every issue raised in interviews, and consequently had to decide on the issues I interpreted as the most important to this study.

For this research, I have purposefully selected two case study areas, which are both rural, cool-climate, small-scale wine producing regions, which also cater to tourists. While selection bias may be seen as a limitation, the cases selected for this research were deliberately chosen because they share similar traits that are important in addressing the objectives of this study, while also exhibiting some significant differences. The lack of generalisability may be viewed as a limitation given that only a select proportion of the population is selected to be studied. However, qualitative research follows a theoretical, rather than a statistical, logic. Particularity rather than generalisability is the hallmark of qualitative research (Cresswell, 2008). Therefore, the aim of this research is to generalise to broader theoretical propositions rather than to populations or universes.

Additional limitations have arisen with regard to sampling, data collection and analysis (see Section 4.3.1). First, there were more interviews conducted in Central Otago (26) than in The Finger Lakes (21), this discrepancy should not be seen as a limitation, as theoretical saturation - the point when no new categories, concepts, dimensions or incidents emerge during analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) - was reached in the Finger Lakes much more quickly than in Central Otago, and therefore it was helpful to have more data from Central Otago respondents. This was partly due to the greater diversity in the characteristics, motivations and opinions of respondents in Central Otago than Finger Lakes respondents. Furthermore, four of the Central Otago interviews were ultimately conducted with winery managers rather than the owners; and this was taken into account during data analysis. It was therefore helpful to have more interviews in Central Otago to analyse.

Although I reached theoretical saturation, this study is only representative of the sample interviewed. While respondents have expressed opinions on many issues, I cannot claim that *all* Finger Lakes wine stakeholders or *all* Central Otago wine stakeholders do or say the

things represented by this sample. There are clearly individuals and groups who are not represented by this research. I am not able therefore to comment on their experiences, perspectives and motivations, and the perceptions of them presented by the respondents who were interviewed are just that – perceptions. Furthermore, not all people are equally articulate and perceptive (Cresswell, 2008) and some views may have come through more clearly than others. A broader, more representative sample in these regions, or across regions, may unveil new perspectives related to the concepts explored throughout this thesis. For example, it would be insightful to incorporate the perspectives of winery owners that do not host visitors at all, or to speak with representatives from “corporate” wineries.

Finally, the qualitative nature of this research has meant that results are more easily influenced by the researcher’s personal biases and idiosyncrasies. While there are many different issues I could have highlighted and focused on with this data, I clearly could not include every issue raised in interviews. Consequently, I had to decide on the issues I interpreted as the most important to this study and present these in a clear, coherent manner. This involved pulling apart inherent and interconnected aspects of a holistic phenomenon into distinct and independent chapters for the sake of clarity. Different researchers may have taken this data and presented it in a completely different manner, based on their own perspectives, experiences, research aims, and interpretations as to what issues are deemed most important. My interpretation and presentation of the findings is shaped by my own background and experiences.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the overall research design that has guided this research study. A qualitative case study investigation was chosen to provide a more in-depth and extensive understanding of the complex interactions of rurality, entrepreneurship, wine production and tourism. The case study regions and the respondents selected for this research were chosen based on the relevance to research objectives.

Chapter 5: Central Otago: Context and Background

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the relevant background and contextual information that have shaped the wine and tourism industries in Central Otago. Despite the many similarities between the two case study regions (New World, cool-climate, seasonal, rural, wine producing areas) winery entrepreneurs operate within unique environmental, geographical, political, economic and socio-cultural structures. This chapter outlines the historical background of Central Otago, including the economic, social and political changes that have driven the development of the region and shape the makeup of the wine and tourism industries there. The Central Otago regional identity promoted by the local council is outlined in this chapter, as well as the regional wine and tourism organisations that have been created to represent wine and tourism stakeholders.

5.2 Central Otago Background

Central Otago is an inland district of the Otago region in the South Island of New Zealand. Within Otago are four districts and one city: Dunedin City, Clutha, Queenstown Lakes, Central Otago and Waitaki (Otago Regional Council, 2009) (see Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Otago Map

Source: (Otago Regional Council, 2012)

At the time of the study, Otago's resident population was 193,800, which ranks seventh in size out of New Zealand's 16 regions, and accounts for 4.8 percent of New Zealand's total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2009c). Of this, Central Otago's population is 16,650 and Queenstown Lakes District population is 26,400 (Statistics New Zealand, 2009c). The

Central Otago wine region falls under the jurisdiction of both the Queenstown Lakes District Council and the Central Otago District Council. These governing bodies are responsible for delivering local government throughout Central Otago and the Queenstown Lakes District including issuing resource and building consents and managing regional infrastructure assets such as roading and water. The laws, restrictions, decisions [and non-decisions] taken by the councils play an important role in the wine and tourism industries, and in framing the identity of the region.

The Central Otago District Council explicitly outlined the regional identity of Central Otago as part of a regional identity project. This identity explicitly included environmental, economic, social and cultural values:

A regional identity is so much more than a logo...It creates a vision for the way that we want to live, work and play, here, now and into the future. It provides the glue to bind our district together. We all can be proud to own it....Imagine Central Otago as a vast land of uncompromising beauty. People with noble hearts, strength, bravery, ingenuity, high spirits, freedom and pride that soars. A place that attracts new thinking. (Central Otago District Council, 2009).

As part of this regional identity project, The Central Otago “A World of Difference” brand (see Figure 5.2) was created to represent the identity of the region and identify the aspects of Central Otago as a great place to live, work and play. The “World of Difference” brand is built on three dimensions: Social, Economic and Environment. These dimensions are labeled “A World of Discovery”, “A World of Enterprise” and “A World of Magical Lifestyles”. These worlds have been developed with the aim of attracting prospective tourists, business investors and migrants respectively.



A WORLD OF
ENTERPRISE

A WORLD OF
DISCOVERY

A WORLD OF
LIFESTYLE

Figure 5.2: Central Otago Regional Identity

Source: (Central Otago District Council, 2009)

Closely in line with the characteristics “discovery”, “enterprise”, “strength”, “ingenuity” that are emphasised in the “World of Difference” regional identity construction, the Central Otago wine industry highlights similar characteristics as defining features of the regional wine industry:

Pinot Noir Lovers are lovers of life. They revere passion, adventure, place and heritage. In this variety they see all these things, beautifully and tenderly crafted. They find themselves on an unforgettable journey of discovery and experience (COPNL, 2011).

An important component of the regional identity of Central Otago is the history of its development. The various types of individuals and industries that have been established throughout Central Otago’s history have impacted the region in physical, tangible ways as well as intangible ways. An important component of the overall rural image emphasised by the Regional Council and Tourism Council is the idea of a rugged, rural character as guardian of the land. This character has driven the four historical stages of change in Central Otago (see Figure 5.3 below). The main periods of change include early pastoralism; mining; settling; popularity (urbanisation and viticulture). Along with these stages, the region has witnessed distinct changes to its region’s landscapes, the population and economy.

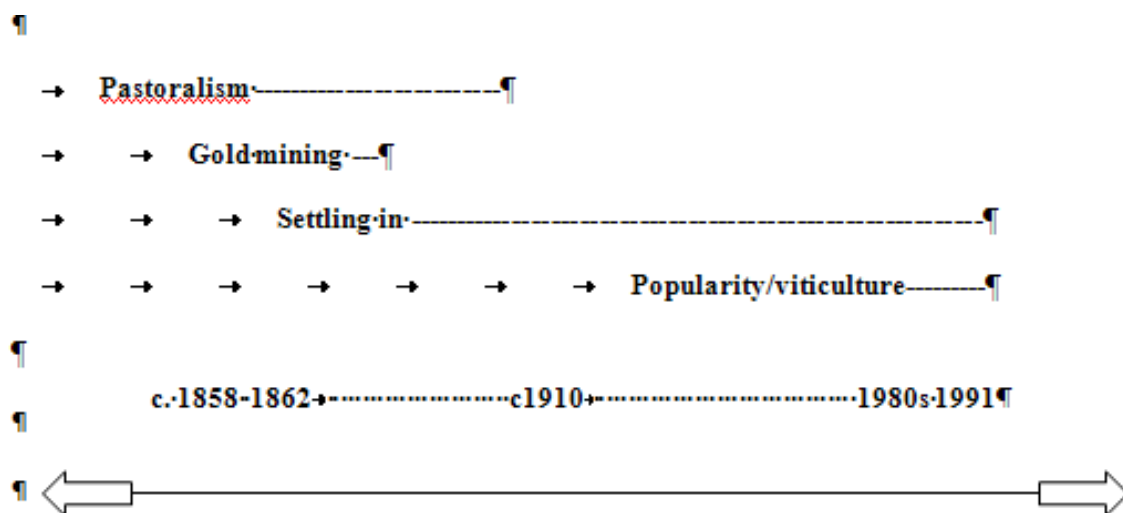


Figure 5.3: Stages of Historical Development in Central Otago

Adapted from: (Stephenson et al., 2004, p. 81)

The development of Central Otago was historically constrained by inaccessibility and the climate. European settlement dates from the 1850s, when large pastoral leases were established:

The first Europeans here – sheep men – ventured into Central in the 1850s. They pushed up rivers, over hills and into ever more remote valleys looking for suitable grazing land. They then returned with bullock and sledge, driving the flocks before them. Only tough, determined individuals could cope with Central’s isolation, its extreme weather and geography (Cull, 2001, p. 9).

While graziers provided Central Otago's backbone into the next century, the gold rush of the 1860s brought thousands of newcomers and enticed settlement inland as far as Lakes Wakatipu and Wanaka (Parcell, 1951). Until the discovery of gold in 1861, Central Otago was sparsely populated by pastoralists and a few station workers. The discovery of gold was followed by a stream of gold-seekers into the valleys and hills of Central Otago, leading to a dramatic increase in population (Salmon, 1963, p. 61). The rising gold production also stimulated the economy and commerce of the region (Stephenson et al., 2004).

The gold rush formed the foundation of many Central Otago communities and towns, and is considered an important part of the region's heritage, not only in shaping the settlement of the area but also in defining the pioneering image of the people of Central Otago (Tourism Central Otago, 2008a). The miners, mostly single men or married men traveling without families, were a "rootless population, ready to move off to better fields" (Salmon, 1963, p. 74). This image of the lone miner, traversing the landscape in search of gold, and the valorisation of an untainted rural culture, remain important components of the image of Central Otago. Dowsett (2008) argues that in outlining the challenges that the region's climate and landscapes present to the modern-day inhabitants, Tourism Central Otago ascribes to them a pioneer-spirited character, therefore implicitly linking the contemporary culture of Central Otago to the pioneers that first settled the region in the mid-19th Century:

The gold-diggers have gone, but the run-holders remain. They have had to fight against rabbits, snow, drought and flood. Central has been scarred, burned, dug, eaten down, and its rivers yoked, but its extraordinary power is only superficially tamed. It remains resilient...It retains that heart-grabbing allure, that crystalline buzziness that attracts entrepreneurs, adventurers, romantics and life-stylers, as it always has (Cull, 2001, p. 10).

When you think of Otago, you think of an older man living in the rugged country. He is a farmer-type, down-to-earth battler who has carved his life out of the land (Otago New Zealand, 2009, p. 1).

Many of the Central Otago wine labels utilise the mythology of the mining days in their labels, such as “Three Miners”, “Dry Gully and “Coal Pit”. The large stations which existed during the time of the gold rushes were eventually subdivided into a number of small blocks, which were used initially primarily for farming, and which resulted in a more sizeable and permanent population base.

By the end of the 1930s, there was a mix of miners, farmers, and station workers living in the region, and two decades later, orchards, small farming and pastoral farming dominated Central Otago (Stephenson et al., 2004). During the middle decades of the twentieth century the population of the region was relatively stable and unchanged, but in the 1980s and 1990s Central Otago developed significantly and experienced a boom - first in orcharding, and later viticulture - with significant changes to population numbers and characteristics. Many of the orchards that were developed in the region were established by families whom had previously farmed in the area for several generations (Hort+Research, 2000; Stephenson et al., 2004).

Central Otago, like elsewhere in New Zealand, experienced declining economic returns from agriculture in the 1980s and 1990s. This was largely due to New Zealand’s removal of protectionist policies during the mid-1980s and the loss of key export markets (Britton et al., 1992; Cloke, 1989; Kearsley, 1998). The removal of these agricultural subsidies during the 1980s had a powerful impact on the growth of tourism to Otago; tourism was increasingly seen as a viable (and in some cases, only) source of income for many small, rural communities (Kearsley, 1987). While these shifts in economic policy and export markets undoubtedly resulted in hardship and uncertainty for many, these changes also created opportunities, many of which are dependent on the entrepreneurial ability of individuals or communities (Wilson, 1994). In response, many farmers and other rural producers set up tourist ventures, local authorities encouraged festivals and events, and individuals tried establishing small business enterprises to attract tourists (Kearsley, 1998). Tourism has been an important component of the Central Otago economy since at least the 1920s but has grown in importance in the past three decades, reflecting the growing importance of tourism nationally (Kearsley, 1998).

In 2005, Central Otago hosted 615,000 visits by domestic and international visitors to the region, representing a 260 percent increase since 1997 (Tourism Central Otago, 2008c). International and domestic travellers spent NZ\$77.2 million in Central Otago in 2005 and at the time, this was projected to increase to NZ\$94 million by 2012 (Tourism Central Otago, 2008c). The tourism statistics for Central Otago only tell part of the tourism story in this region, however: many of the visitors to Central Otago, particularly international visitors, use the resort town of Queenstown as their primary base while exploring the region, which is not in Central Otago, but in The Queenstown Lakes District. According to the Tourism Research Council of New Zealand (2004), the Queenstown Lakes District had a total of 858,000 overnight visitors in 2003, which included 169,000 day visitors, three million visitor nights and NZ\$392 million in tourism expenditure for the region. The most recent projections forecast a 16.8 percent increase in Total Visitor Nights in the Queenstown Regional Tourism Organisation areas between 2010 and 2016 (Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2011).

The success of the Central Otago tourism industry is in large part due to the sheer beauty of Central Otago's landscapes and the outdoor activities available, including skiing, rafting, mountain biking, tramping and fly fishing. Queenstown and Central Otago are also major centres for snow sports, with New Zealanders and international visitors travelling to ski at the four mountain ski fields located nearby (Cardrona Alpine Resort, Coronet Peak, The Remarkables and Treble Cone). The success of the tourism industry, however, could not have been possible without the political will and structures to support the industry.

Today, agriculture, horticulture, forestry, viticulture and tourism form the basis of Central Otago's local economy and social development (Tourism Central Otago, 2008). Since the 1990s, Central Otago has continued to experience increased subdivisions for houses, lifestyle blocks and vineyards. Land prices have increased as population has increased, with new people moving into the region with a great deal of wealth, many from outside of New Zealand. The Queenstown Lakes District was the fastest growing area in New Zealand between 2001 and 2006 with census reports showing that the population of the District had increased by 30 percent between 2001 and 2006 (Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2011). Median property prices in the rural Wakatipu Basin increased by 167 percent over thirteen

months between January 2002 and February 2003, from NZ\$130,000 to NZ\$347,000 (Peart, 2004).

Global contextual forces have significantly facilitated the changing economic and social landscape of Central Otago and Queenstown Lakes District: technological innovations, airline industry competition and social changes that broadened participation in international travel minimised the disadvantages of New Zealand (and Central Otago's) remote geographical location (Woods 2005). Queenstown Lakes District has been labeled a "space of global countryside" (Woods 2007) with global connections across multiple industries and various economic, social and cultural trends. Located in a nationally significant landscape, the area attracts a large amount of local and international investors in homes, services and visitor related activities (Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2011).

Governmental promotion and regulation regarding foreign investment has also impacted the context in which the wine industry has developed. In Central Otago, the prevalence of international investors, international in-migrants and foreign-owned wineries may be partly explained by political policies. Central Otago and Queenstown Lakes District have been increasingly seen as an attractive [and permissive] place for in-migrants and property developers (many of whom are international residents) to invest in. During a stage of profound growth in the regional wine industry, the political context at a local level was conducive to developments; from 1995 to 2001 the Queenstown Lakes District Council pursued a boosterist agenda led by Mayor Warren Cooper, approving the overwhelming majority of development applications. According to the Christchurch Press newspaper (29/09/2001), in 2000 only nine out of 865 planning applications were rejected. Part of the boosterist agenda included attracting and encouraging global capital and investment (Woods 2009).

5.2.1 Wine Industry Background

New Zealand is both a small and new producer of wine on the world market, and accounts for less than 0.5 percent of world production of wine (Cooper, 2008; Veseth, 2011). Bibles and winegrapes came together to New Zealand in 1816, brought by British missionaries; commercial wine production started in the 1830s. However, it took a long time for a real

wine industry to develop because British soldiers, settlers and visiting sailors were more interested in beer and spirits than wine. The colonial government didn't put much emphasis on wine or wine exports, partly because of a strong temperance movement in New Zealand, but also because Australia had been chosen to serve as the "vineyard of the British Empire", reducing British dependency on the hated French (Veseth, 2011). While geographical conditions were favourable, the market conditions were not. The wine industry in New Zealand did not really take off until 1900, when immigrants from central and Eastern Europe came to New Zealand, bringing with them a thirst for wine, and the knowledge to make it. Therefore, some of the largest, most famous New Zealand name-brands today are actually Lebanese and Croatian, including: Corban; Babich; Nobilo and Montana (Cooper, 2008; Veseth, 2011).

Historically, the role of legislation with respect to the New Zealand national wine industry and wine culture has shaped broader attitudes towards alcohol, and also has shaped alcohol taxes that wineries are subject to. For example, "six o'clock closing" was a wartime measure introduced in 1917 that banned liquor sales after six pm. This law remained in force for 50 years, and was finally abolished after a public referendum in October 1967. Christoffel (2009) argues that the endurance of six o'clock closing lay in New Zealanders' deep ambivalence towards alcohol; even though it has been over 40 years since it ended, there remains a notable circularity to national debates about alcohol in New Zealand, and legislation has played an important part in social habits regarding wine consumption.

New Zealand production of wine was slow to expand up until the 1980s when the volume of wine produced soared. In 1960, vineyards covered about 390 hectares, jumping to over 5,000 hectares by 1986, and by 2006 there were over 22,000 hectares planted in vines throughout the country (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2011). While New Zealand has long been considered a beer drinking culture (Law, 1997), changing social habits in the 1980s meant that people wanted to drink wine with their meals, and consumption of wine became much more a part of life for New Zealanders. Restaurants could become licensed from 1960, and other places were soon selling wine, including theatres, cabarets and taverns. In 1976 "BYO wine" (diners can bring their own wine to unlicensed restaurants) became legal (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2011). Interest in local wine in

particular increased during the 1980s, and food and wine festivals in wine-growing regions became very popular (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2011).

The significant increase in wine production in the 1980s led to a glut of lower-quality wine; in response, the government paid growers to pull out their vines in 1986 and replant with high-quality classic varieties like Pinot Noir and Sauvignon Blanc (Veseth, 2011). This stimulated a qualitative shift in the industry's structure, from low-value, high-yielding varieties to globally recognised, fine wine varieties, and therefore the foundations for an export-oriented industry. This vine-pull coincided with a focus towards quality production driven by small artisanal entrepreneurs and winemakers that were starting to make fine wines from the mid-1980s (Barker et al., 2001). This development coincided with the planting of the first commercial vineyard plantings in Central Otago.

Even though the volume of wine production on a global scale is small, over the past two decades the industry has strived to position itself in the higher price/quality sector of the wine market (Overton & Heitger, 2008). Accompanying the growth and quality of production of New Zealand wine, has been a significant increase in both the volume and proportion of wine exported. For example, in 1999, 28 percent (16.6 million litres) of the country's wine production was exported, compared with 55 percent (112.6 million litres) in 2009 (New Zealand Wine, 2009c). More than two-thirds of its production is allocated to export (Veseth, 2011), and foreign ownership dominates the wine sector nationally. Pernod Ricard of France, (which owns Montana and Corbans, in addition to other brands), is the largest producer followed by the U.S. conglomerate Constellation Brands (which includes Nobile, Selaks, Monkey Bay, Kim Crawford, and several others). Other well-known brands, including Cloudy Bay, Craggy Range and Whitehaven have international owners as well (Cooper, 2008; Veseth, 2011).

Central Otago is one of ten wine growing regions in New Zealand. It is now New Zealand's seventh largest wine region (New Zealand Wine, 2009c). Much of New Zealand wine production focuses on Sauvignon Blanc, representing over 50 percent of the wine production in New Zealand (New Zealand Wine, 2009c). In Central Otago, however, Pinot Noir is the dominant grape variety, followed by Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc and Riesling

(New Zealand Wine 2009c). The quality of the region's Pinot Noir is recognised by the world's wine writers. Noted wine critic Jancis Robinson (2005) has written that:

Central Otago in the south of New Zealand's South Island has almost too much going for it: great scenery, great lifestyle, and now almost freakishly good, if not (yet?) great, Pinot Noir (p. 1).

While it was only in the 1990s that the Central Otago wine region began to be developed commercially, grape-growing in Central Otago dates to the 19th century. The first two individuals credited with identifying Central Otago's potential as a wine-producing region are: Jean Desire Feraud, a French goldminer who planted the first grapevines in Central Otago outside of Clyde in 1864 (Bodkin, 1997), and an Italian viticulturist, Romeo Bragato who visited the region in 1895. Bragato produced a report claiming that Central Otago was an excellent place to grow grapes and had a bright future. Despite the Bragato report, it was almost a century before the Central Otago region was truly established (Oram, 2004). Bragato has been labeled New Zealand's first "flying winemaker" (wine consultants who travel back and forth between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres giving advice and encouraging winemaking enterprises); (although as Veseth (2011) notes, "sailing winemaker" is more accurate) historically. Bragato promoted vineyard plantings just about everywhere in New Zealand, except Marlborough, interestingly (Cooper, 2008; Veseth, 2011).

Growth of viticulture in Central Otago during 1990s was in part fuelled by research work associated with the Clyde dam project of the 1970s to 1980s (Stephenson et al., 2004). The Dam was built by the New Zealand Government with construction commencing in 1979 and completed in 1993 (Reeves & Wolfe, 1994). Today, the Clyde dam is New Zealand's third largest hydroelectric dam and can produce enough electricity per year to power the cities of Christchurch and Dunedin combined (Contact Energy, 2011). As part of the preparation work for the construction of the Clyde dam, a number of studies on climate and soils were carried out throughout the Central Otago area. The new information suggested that it might be possible to sustain a successful viticultural industry in a region, which had previously been considered by most experts as unsuitable for commercial grape growing.

This new information emerged at a time when the New Zealand wine industry was expanding and looking for areas for grape growing; this resulted in an explosive growth of interest in acquiring land for vineyards (Stephenson et al., 2004). A 1999 amendment to the Sale of Liquor Act 1989 allowed the sale of wine in supermarkets and other off-licences on Sundays (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2011) which facilitated and encouraged the popularity of wine consumption for New Zealanders.

The land boom associated with the growth of vineyards in Central Otago led to an increasingly diverse population living in a rural residential setting, as most people buying land and establishing vineyards were newcomers to the area (Hort+Research, 2000; Stephenson et al., 2004).

The Central Otago wine industry has evolved over the past 20-30 years. Central Otago research participants reported three tiers of development in terms of wineries being established. First were the pioneers who arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These pioneers (see Oram, 2004) were all in-migrants to Central Otago and had little to no experience in viticulture or winemaking. Initially, their determination to grow grapes in the region was seen as a waste of time, but this small group of pioneers persisted, and the majority of them are still growing grapes and making wine today. Similar to the ways in which European settlers and pioneers were glorified in their ability to successfully mine and farm the land, the pioneering characters behind the wine industry have been glorified and mythologised in their success in battling the harsh landscape and climate to produce quality wines.

A visiting Italian expert in the 1890s said the region could produce grapes for wine. His was a lone voice in the wilderness...nearly a century would pass before the region was to gain credibility as a wine producer, and only because several people, started, independently of each other, planting grapes in the late 1970s for winemaking. Most knew nothing about viticulture or winemaking, but they disagreed with the 'experts' who told them they were wasting their time (Oram, 2004, p. 5).

Central Otago wine is often referred to as the “new gold”, making reference to the goldfield days when droves of fortune-seekers descended upon the region:

Fine wine, and especially Pinot Noir, is the new gold in this southern region of New Zealand. The past 5 years has seen rapid expansion in the fledgling Central Otago wine industry, founded on the successes of a small number of vineyards developed in the latter two decades of the 20th century. While the area planted is still small on world scales, Central Otago now stands in its own right as a serious and credible wine region (Central Otago Wine Cellar, 2009).

The second stage of development reported by respondents came in the mid-1990s. The wineries established during this period include some of the more well-known, iconic wineries of the region. The final tier of development, which began around 2002 and continues today, includes a significant influx of in-migrants including lifestylers, absentee owners and investors with a great deal of wealth.

New Zealand Wine (2006) documents that in 1996 there were only 11 wineries in the Central Otago region, accounting for just 4.6 percent of the national total production. By 2004, this had risen to 75 wineries and 16.2 percent of national production and the rapid growth has continued since this time. Between 2005 and 2006 the production of wine in Otago increased by 220 percent from 1,441 tonnes to 4,612 tonnes (New Zealand Wine, 2006) and new plantings of vines have increased at a rate of between 15 and 30 percent per year for the first eight years of the new century (Central Otago District Council, 2008). Due to the small domestic wine market and relatively high prices of the region’s output, international recognition is an essential factor in Central Otago’s future success, as a large proportion of its production is exported (COWA, personal communication, 2007).

The Central Otago Winegrowers Association (COWA) is the primary non-governmental organisation that represents on the Central Otago wine industry, and their strategy is to keep quality standards at the highest possible level and aim at the top end of the market, avoiding the low-price bulk wine market (COWA, personal communication, 2007). COWA acts as a cooperative organisation that provides general advice to members regarding grape

growing and wine making, organises events and meetings regarding current issues facing the industry (the development of organic grape-growing practices, for example). COWA also acts as a cooperative for the general promotion of Central Otago grapes and wines and produces the Central Otago Wine Map. There are two types of memberships and associated fees for those that belong to COWA. The first is Full Membership, which includes Central Otago vineyard and/or winery owners. The second is Associate Membership, which includes businesses or individuals that work closely within the industry (COWA, 2009).

COWA includes also a sub-organisation that focuses on marketing: Central Pinot Noir Limited (COPNL), which was established in 2003. While there is some funding of COPNL through New Zealand Trade and Enterprise's Cluster development programme (\$61,625 from February 2002-June 2005), the organisation is largely funded by its voluntary membership with levies that have a sliding scale based on production levels (COPNL, 2009). According to COPNL (personal communication, 2009) membership fees were divided into the following four categories:

- Non Producers /Emerging Producers (yet to have their first vintage / annual grape wine sales not exceeding 900 litres): \$500
- Category One Wineries (annual grape wines sales not exceeding 200,000 litres): \$2600
- Category Two Wineries (annual grape wines sales between 200,000 and 2,000,000 litres): \$3600
- Category Three Wineries (annual grape wines sales exceeding 2,000,000 litres): \$4600

Because there are membership costs to join COWA and COPNL, not all wine producers participate, and the organisations are therefore not fully represented. However, these organisations are overwhelmingly seen as successful by those who participated in this research (even those respondents that choose not to join, due to cost) in their efforts to unite and bind a heterogeneous community around common goals and portray a collective and high quality regional reputation in the marketplace.

Sub-regions

Central Otago is composed of multiple sub-regions, with some disagreement as to how these are defined. As one Central Otago winery respondent stated: “Central Otago doesn’t have a boundary; it’s a state of mind. It’s the smells, it’s the atmosphere; it’s just rocks and things like that. Where it ends is anybody’s guess”. This reflects the discussion from Chapter Two, which noted that boundaries are human constructs and place is a multi-level concept, often with multiple, and sometimes conflicting identities. For example, many consider Bannockburn and The Cromwell Basin as separate sub-regions; these are combined under the umbrella label “The Cromwell Basin” for this research project, because this is how COWA (2011) defines the area. There is also some disagreement as to Wanaka’s inclusion in “The Central Otago Wine Region”; however, it is listed as one of the four sub-regions by COWA (2011) along with The Cromwell Basin; Gibbston Valley; Clyde/Alexandra. COPNL (2011, p. 1) promotes each of these sub-regions as: “a pocket of possibility in a rugged mountain landscape. Many are quite different and the wines they produce already have distinctive characteristics, though individuals may differ in their definitions!”

According to COPNL (2011), the Cromwell Basin accounts for 70 percent of the region’s vineyards and includes Bannockburn in the south, Lowburn, Pisa and Bendigo to the north. It is a warm, early ripening area dominated by semi-arid, flat to rolling high terraces. The Cromwell Basin has grown to become the centre of the Central Otago wine industry; not only does it account for over two-thirds of the region’s plantings, it is also the location of most of the major winery facilities, freighting companies, wine bottling and storage facilities (Central Otago Wine Cellar, 2011).

Bannockburn is on the southern banks of the Kawarau near Cromwell, and is a very warm, dry district where grapes ripen early on sandy, silty soils (COWA, 2011). Like Alexandra, Bannockburn has a long fruit growing tradition, and is famous for its gold mining history; the area was known by miners as “the Heart of the Desert” (COWA, 2011). Bannockburn is described as a “tortured yet beautiful landscape created by miners in their sluicing for gold from 1862 to 1910. The dry silty slopes where once gold-miners sluiced away entire hillsides and more recently rabbits ravaged, are now clothed in long sweeping rows of

terraces of grape plantings, alongside orchards, and home to some of the most significant wineries of the region” (Central Otago Wine Cellar, 2011, p. 1).

Bendigo is the hottest and most extreme area in Central Otago, and lies east of the Clutha River and Lake Dunstan. It is the newest, and most recently planted sub-region; many wineries based elsewhere in Central Otago now grow fruit in Bendigo (COPNL, 2011). The Lowburn/Pisa area stretches from the township of Lowburn up the Greater Cromwell valley for 25 kilometres. It has the largest areas of potential grape land, but very few northerly slopes for such a large area (COPNL, 2011).

A further twenty percent of Central Otago’s vineyard plantings are found around Gibbston, which was the first location to be planted in Pinot Noir. For many it was wine made in the Gibbston Valley that put Central Otago wines on the map, and prompted the development of wine tourism. For example, Gibbston Valley Winery, with its associated restaurant and retail shop, is one of New Zealand’s most visited wineries, being located close to Queenstown (Central Otago Wine Cellar, 2011). Gibbston is a narrow valley enclosed by mountains where vines are planted on sloping, north facing land on the south bank of the Kawarau River. It is the coolest and highest of the sub-regions with vineyards between 320 and 420 metres altitude (COPNL, 2011). The valley is visually very dramatic, and produces a distinctive intensity from the later harvest grapes produced here (COPNL, 2011).

In the south-west of the region are Clyde and Alexandra, which account for seven percent of the plantings. It is an area of climatic extremes, very hot, very cold and mostly dry. It was also one of the earlier sub regions to be explored and planted: the very first Central Otago vineyard was planted near Clyde in 1864 by Jean Desire Feraud (Central Otago Wine Cellar, 2011). The remaining three percent of vineyards are located around Wanaka, which is the smallest and most northerly of the sub-regions. Rippon Vineyard’s stunning location on Lake Wanaka, against a backdrop of snow- clad mountains and glaciers has been used to represent New Zealand wines on the world map (Central Otago Wine Cellar, 2011).

While viticulture continues to expand in Central Otago, this growth has not been without some setbacks, including challenges with the physical environment. An ongoing issue facing

Central Otago vineyards is preventing the spread of grape phylloxera (*Daktulosphaira vitifoliae*), which has a significant impact on the day to day running of the wineries. Phylloxera was first reported in the region in early 2002 (COWA, 2002). If introduced, phylloxera can devastate vineyards planted on their own roots, and have severe economic impacts on a regional wine industry, as it did in much of the winemaking world in the mid- to late-19th century. Phylloxera is a tiny aphid that is responsible for killing vulnerable vines by feeding on their roots, starving infected plants as they gradually lose their ability to ingest nutrients. The only solution is to uproot infected vineyards and replant them with vines grafted onto rootstock that is resistant to the pest (Sogg, 2006). After the discovery of the first phylloxera infestation in Central Otago, growers established protocols intended to slow its spread; such as restricting the movement of vehicles between vineyards and cleaning shoes and equipment.

While the climate and soils of Central Otago present particular challenges to grape growers, they also create unique opportunities for the specialised production of high quality wines, particularly Pinot Noir (Hort + Research, 2000). Central Otago's climate is "semi-continental", and experiences much higher climatic extremes than most other regions in New Zealand, characterised by hot, dry summers and cold, dry winters (Hort + Research, 2000). Typical winter daytime maximum air temperatures range from 3°C to 11°C. Summer has long warm days with temperatures ranging from 10°C to plus 30°C (National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research, 2008). The climatic contrast between Central Otago and the more humid, warmer wine regions of the North Island is illustrated by the different timing of grape harvest. In the more northerly vineyards, harvesting will take place in late February or early March; in Central Otago, harvest will begin in mid to late April (New Zealand Wine, 2009a).

5.2.2 Wine Tourism Background

With the substantial growth of New Zealand's wine industry in the last two decades, wine tourism has been gaining in popularity among different groups of travelers to rural areas (Alonso et al., 2008). A total of 475,200 people visited a New Zealand winery in 2008, of whom approximately a third (37%) were international tourists and the remaining two-thirds

(63%) domestic visitors. International tourists from Australia, (33%), the United Kingdom (20%) and the United States (16%) made up the largest share of international wine tourists (Ministry of Tourism, 2009). International wine tourists spent more on average per trip to New Zealand (\$3,543) than all international tourists (\$2,710; Ministry of Tourism, 2009).

In a study of New Zealand winery visitors, Mitchell (2005) found wine tourism in Central Otago was an important *secondary generator* of visits; visitors were primarily drawn to the region for general holidaying purposes, attracted by a combination of the region's natural attributes and adventure and outdoor pursuits. He found that the visitor profile for Central Otago wineries is generally similar to that of the national sample, including a higher proportion of females, most from the Baby Boomers and Generation-X generations, and a predominance of well-paid, well-educated professionals. The most enjoyable aspects of visits to wineries were identified as: the wine, the level of service and the setting in which the grapes are grown, clearly reflecting the region's growing reputation for quality wine, high levels of service and natural scenery.

Central Otago wine and tourism products are mutually reinforcing and provide much opportunity for cross-branding and promotion (Hall, 1997). As noted by Tourism Central Otago (2008c):

Central Otago wine and tourism sectors can benefit from working together to reinforce a region's unique sense of place, the 'real' Central Otago. Wine happens to be a great way of engaging visitors in these regional stories, both because of its highly sensual and sensuous nature and its romantic attachment to place.

Wine is an integral component of tourism destination branding in Central Otago, and is identified in the Central Otago Tourism Strategy as one of the "unique icons, symbols... aspects of Central Otago that is used in the application of the brand identity" (p. 47).

On the other hand, visitors to the region are able to associate the region's wines with the landscape and beauty of the area that they experience on their visit. The regions themselves are used in the marketing of wine products. COPNL employs place-based

marketing and branding efforts (see Chapter Nine for further discussion) markets the region as a beautiful, pristine and unique “World of Difference” that produces distinctive, premium wines. Images of the region, such as those appearing on the following page (Figure 5.4), are used on their website, in brochures, banners and placards at tastings, trade shows and exhibitions:



Figure 5.4: Central Otago Wine Marketing Promotional Images

Source: (COPNL, 2010)

The Central Otago wine industry developed amid a strong infrastructural base to support tourism. Queenstown is a highly developed mature resort town, attracting significant numbers of international tourists. Drawing on this existing strong tourism market has the potential to be a driving factor for the international recognition of Central Otago wines, with

tourists from around the world seeking out these wines after returning home. While respondents note that there have been efforts to “pull visitors through the region” to visit wineries, it has not been as fruitful an opportunity as initially imagined by some winery entrepreneurs and tourism businesses. The existing visitors travelling to Queenstown, often drawn by the adventure tourism the region offers, may not be interested in winery experiences, and may only be visiting the region for a short period of time. Furthermore, unlike the Finger Lakes (Chapter Six), Central Otago does not benefit from a large, local population base to support a strong domestic visitor market. Therefore, the overall regional potential to increase winery visitation is already limited.

The location of wineries *within* the region can also influence their ability to attract visitors. Those sub-regions located closest to Queenstown are better able to attract visitors to their winery. The more peripheral areas (particularly Alexandra Basin) are less likely to attract tourists, and are therefore less able or willing to develop tourism as a core part of their business if they do not realize any benefits from doing so. Of the four sub-regions, Gibbston Valley and Bannockburn offer the most sophisticated and extensive facilities for tourists. Mitchell and Schreiber (2006) suggest that the differences between the sub-regions may also reflect the history of the Central Otago wine industry. For example, the wineries established in Alexandra Basin during the 1990s, were pioneers and lacked the resources to invest in sophisticated tourist facilities. The wineries established in Bannockburn had a more entrepreneurial, strategic focus from the beginning, while the location of the Gibbston Valley meant that even the pioneers developed cellar door facilities from the outset (Mitchell & Schreiber 2006).

The number of guest arrivals in Central Otago clearly indicates summer is the most popular season with visitors (Statistics New Zealand, 2003) and the region’s marked seasonal patterns of visitor arrivals is reflected throughout New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2003). The months of December, January and February account for over 45 percent of year-round guest nights in the region. However, there is also a strong winter skiing season, which brings visitors to wineries, particularly when skiing conditions are poor. According to a representative from Tourism Central Otago, the Regional Tourism Organisation (RTO), Central Otago is becoming increasingly less seasonal:

The patterns have seemed to be changing in the past few years...a lot of businesses would look to shut down for six weeks in May and June because there's no business. Now that shoulder period is actually very strong and there's more numbers coming through and different groups coming through (Representative, Central Otago Regional Organisation).

Still, seasonality is an important and defining feature of Central Otago as a place to visit, live, and operate a business; this is particularly relevant in the context of the wine and tourism industries (see Chapter Ten).

5.3 Conclusion

The various types of individuals and industries (e.g., mining, pastoralism, orcharding, viticulture) that have been established throughout Central Otago's history have impacted the region in physical, tangible ways as well as intangible ways. Miners altered the land in their search for gold, while trends of urbanisation and viticulture has significantly shaped the landscape with a pattern of new subdivisions including vineyards and lifestyle blocks (Stephenson et al., 2004). The influences of these individuals and historical periods remain also in intangible ways including the utilisation of the image of the lone miner and tough, rugged settler, in place-based marketing initiatives, regional identity constructions, and winery labels. The Central Otago wine and tourism industries, and the individuals associated with them, must be understood within a larger regional, national and global context. The development of the region has been driven further by a constant reinforcement and interaction of driving forces including: In-migration, an influx of wealth, a growing interest in wine and wine production, increasing interest in rural high-amenity areas as places to live and run businesses, and the image portrayed of Queenstown and Central Otago as a desirable and prestigious place to own property.

Chapter 6: The Finger Lakes:

Context and Background

6.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the background of the second case study region: The Finger Lakes in New York State, USA. The chapter discusses the social, economic, environmental and political factors that have shaped the Finger Lakes wine and tourism industries, and outlines key features of these regional industries. Finger Lakes wineries are an important component of the regional tourism portfolio; and the wineries are heavily reliant on tourism to sell their wine. Despite the many similarities between the Finger Lakes and Central Otago, there are important differences, which will be highlighted in this chapter to prepare for further critical comparative analysis in the findings chapters.

6.2 The Finger Lakes Background

The Finger Lakes Region is located in the west-central portion of New York State and covers 4,692 square miles (7,551 square kilometres) (Empire State Development 2002). The region is comprised of nine counties, five of which account for 95 percent of the total non-farm jobs in the region (Fiscal Policy Institute, 2003). The total 2006 population of The Finger Lakes region was 1,196,334, encompassing the city of Rochester, the state's third largest metropolitan area. The US Census Bureau (2009) reported that the region has experienced a slight population decline (0.2%) since 2000.



Figure 6.1: Map of New York State

Source: (New York Wine and Grape Foundation, 2009)

The Finger Lakes region was the homeland for the Iroquois Indian nation for thousands of years before European settlers, and through colonial times. The Native American tribes were eventually driven from the region after the Revolutionary War when their land was opened up to purchase and settlement (Engeln, 1988). By the turn of the nineteenth century the region was settled rapidly by veterans of war, who were awarded land grants, and by a westward migration from New England and Pennsylvania (Finger Lakes History, 2009). The Finger Lakes became the site of many active reforms and utopian movements such as the slavery underground railroad movement and the Women’s suffrage movement (Engeln, 1988).

The Finger Lakes area has remained a farming and agricultural area throughout its history, with grape production one of its most important industries. The nature of the grape-

growing industry and its stewards however, has changed dramatically; most notably, the production of table grapes and grape juice has been expanded into wine production. Today, the Finger Lakes region is an important agricultural sector of New York State; in addition to the significant number of vineyards in the region, there are many dairy operations and farms that produce potatoes, corn, wheat, soybeans, oats, barley, cabbages and hay. Many of the dairy operations and farms are owned by Amish and Mennonite families who moved to the region from Pennsylvania in the twentieth century seeking cheaper farmland (Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance, personal communication 2007). The photograph below was taken along a Finger Lakes wine touring route during fieldwork; signs like this are common in The Finger Lakes, warning motorists to look out for Amish horse and buggies that share the roads.



Figure 6.2: Finger Lakes Amish Horse and Buggy Sign

Source: Author

The in-migration of the Amish Mennonite community has influenced the character of the region, through the restoration of derelict barns and farmland, and the establishment of road-side markets, stores and attractions.

The region has also been influenced by the in-migration of second home owners and amenity migrants who purchase lakefront property and develop homes (Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance, 2011). This has led to limited accessibility and availability of lakefront property, increased land value and increased property taxes along the lakes (see Chapter Seven as these issues impact the wine industry). While much of the region is economically depressed and under-developed, the property along the lakes has increasingly attracted developers and residents with a great deal of wealth. Some of the more scenic towns located right on the lakes, such as Skeneateles and Canandaigua, have also experienced an influx of wealth in the past three decades (Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance, 2011).

6.2.1 Wine Industry Background

The US ranks fourth in the world in total wine production, following France, Italy and Spain (Wine Institute, 2007). Research from the US Department of Commerce (2008) reports that there are more than 23,000 vineyards in the US, of which 90 percent are on plots smaller than 100 acres (40.5 hectares) and between 1999 and 2008, the number of wineries increased by 81 percent from 2688 to 4867. In 2004, 30 wine companies represented more than 90 percent of the U.S. wine market, reflecting a larger trend in the composition and performance of the global wine industry: Consolidation (Centonze, 2010). Roughly 70 percent of the U.S. wine market is comprised of “economy” wines, which are those that retail for less than seven US dollars per 750ml bottle (Centonze, 2010). Wines range from economy to premium, ultra-premium and artisan, with wines in the latter two categories comprising only two to three percent of the market, and commanding high prices (Bisson et al., 2002). California is by far the largest wine-producing state, accounting for 89.25 percent (2.18 billion litres) of national production (US Department of Commerce, 2008), followed by Washington State and New York state, the third largest wine producer.

New York State has nine American Viticultural Areas (AVAs), which are government-designated appellations of origin where grapes for wine are grown. These nine New York AVAs can be divided into five wine-producing regions: Lake Erie; the Hudson River Region; Long Island; Niagara Encarpment; The Finger Lakes (Centonze, 2010). The Finger Lakes is New York’s largest wine producing region (Appellation America, 2009a). There are

approximately 11,000 acres (4,451 hectares) under vine, and close to 100 operating wineries in the region.

While there are 11 long slender lakes which form a chain in The Finger Lakes region, The Finger Lakes viticultural area is centered around four main lakes with American Indian names: Canandaigua (meaning the Chosen Place), Keuka (Crooked Lake), Seneca, and Cayuga (both named after the two Iroquois Indian tribes, the original inhabitants of The Finger Lakes). The lakes not only give the Finger Lakes its name but also play a central role in the region's climate. The large bodies of water create an ideal meso-climate for growing premium grapes, which explains why most of the vineyards in the region are located close to the lakes. The deep lakes retain their summer warmth in the winter and their winter cold in the spring. On cold autumn nights, the steep slopes of the shorelines keep cold, dense air from settling. The lake heats the cold air and causes it to rise and allow more cold air to drain from the hillside. In the spring the process is reversed and the cold water will delay budding until the danger of frost has passed (New York Wine and Grape Foundation, 2009). Harvest in The Finger Lakes region begins with the first crushing of the grapes, usually in mid-August. Harvest may continue into November depending on the weather and fruit quality (Finger Lakes Wine Country, 2012).

The climate of New York State is broadly representative of the humid continental type, which prevails in the northeastern United States. In The Finger Lakes, the average temperature in January (the coldest month) ranges from minus 10.5 to minus 1 degrees Celsius and the average temperature in July (the hottest month) ranges from 14 to 27 degrees Celsius (Cornell University, New York State Climate Office 2008). The climate of New York State is marked by abundant snowfall, receiving an annual average seasonal amount of 40 inches (100 centimetres) of snow or more (Cornell University, New York State Climate Office, 2008). The Finger Lakes Wine region has been compared to Germany's Rhine area with its bitterly cold winters, short growing season and picturesque, river-like lakes (Appellation America, 2009c).

While winemaking in The Finger Lakes dates back to the 1820s (with the production of sacramental wine), The Finger Lakes wine region was not officially established until 1982

(New York Wine and Grape Foundation, 2004). Most of the original wineries that established in the late 1800's went out of business during prohibition. The few that survived did so by making and selling grape juice and sacramental wine. Wine production was dominated by a few large firms who bought their grapes from small grape growers. The four labels that dominated the New York wine industry were Gold Seal, Taylor, Great Western, and Widmer. In 1934, Gold Seal Winery hired the chief winemaker of Clicquot Ponsardine (Reims, France), as their production manager to restore the winery's pre-Prohibition reputation. Fournier successfully introduced a Brut champagne to the US market, and in 1953 hired Dr. Konstantin Frank to establish a *Vitis vinifera* grape nursery at Gold Seal (Dyson, 2007). Dr. Frank was convinced that *Vitis vinifera* would thrive in the region despite most claims that it was too cold and Frank is often credited with setting the region on its current trajectory and proving that the region was capable of producing high-quality wines from *Vitis vinifera* grapes.

Similar to Central Otago, Finger Lakes marketing initiatives and media emphasise the risk-taking, entrepreneurial spirit of the pioneering wine producers who succeeded in growing European varietals in The Finger Lakes. A Finger Lakes wine touring book compares the risky and heroic efforts of New York wine producers to the pioneers who conquered the western United States during the 19th century:

The Eastern United States, with its largely untapped potential for wine production, is a new frontier for American wine much as the West once was for American pioneers. Establishing a vineyard and winery east of the Rockies has many parallels with homesteading in the Old West: developing a modus operandi in a new environment, aiming to transform dreams into realities... (Klees, 2000, p. 5).

Prior to Dr. Frank's igniting of the "Vinifera Revolution" in The Finger Lakes, sweet and fortified wines made from native American grapes were the staples of the large corporate producers. During the 1970's, there was a shift in American consumer preferences and demand for traditional Finger Lakes wines began to erode. As market conditions worsened during the 1980s, an increasing number of Finger Lakes growers decided to get out of the

grape business, either abandoning their vineyards altogether or planting alternative crops (Newman, 1992). It was not until the large companies (Gold Seal, Taylor, Great Western, and Widmer) disintegrated that small farm wineries emerged and have come to define the ownership and management style of The Finger Lakes. With the changes in demand and structure in the dominant wine companies, smaller growers did not passively allow these broader structural forces to damage their livelihood. Many of these growers were taking action by pressuring their local representatives for financial relief. The Farm Wineries Act was one way the politicians could demonstrate their concern about it to voters (Newman, 1992). In 1976, the New York State Farm Wineries License Act was passed with the intent of encouraging the development of a small winery sector. As long as production remained below 50,000 gallons a year, the law reduced annual licensing and other fees and allowed sales directly to the public, including on Sundays, a day when retail wine and liquor stores are forced to close (Newman, 1992). Before the act, wineries were required to sell 95 percent of their wines through distributors; the act made small wineries exempt from this (Telfer, 2000a).

The first Finger Lakes wine producers fall into two general categories; either former full-time grape growers who concluded that the only way to keep their farms was to make and sell wine, or wine romantics who were attracted to the mystique of making wine (Newman, 1992). The winery entrepreneurs of the 80s are widely credited with transforming the region from an impoverished, rural, underdeveloped area, into an attractive rural destination for tourists, investors, in-migrants and businesses. Respondents commented on their own experiences:

In 1982 the interior Finger Lakes region was a disaster area. I mean, the vineyards were abandoned, the wineries were padlocked. It was an ugly landscape. There were all kinds of ramshackle farms. You know, non-vineyard farms, dairy farms or whatever...And now what you see is just the opposite. It's something that lures all kinds of people (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

The actions of these entrepreneurs and growth of the wine industry “spurred a rural renaissance” – they created a “mecca for tourists, stimulated optimism and accelerated growth, and received international recognition” (New York Wine and Grape Foundation Annual Report, 2006-2007, p. 11).

From 1985 to 2006, production in the region increased from 852 tons to 2,115 tons (Gannon, 2008). The specialties of the region are Sparkling wine, Riesling, Pinot Noir, and Ice Wine. Riesling is the region’s flagship wine; production from The Finger Lakes constitutes the bulk of the Riesling market in the US. Riesling has thrived in the Finger Lakes due to the region’s unique climate, soil and topography.

The micro-climate condition and the slate soils that are so special to the Finger Lakes is exactly what makes Riesling thrive. Considering all this, it is no wonder why the Finger Lakes is one of the top Riesling producing regions in the world (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2011b).

While many Central Otago wine labels do not have working wineries attached to their vineyards, in The Finger Lakes many wineries purchase grapes (grown both within and outside of the region), to make wine at their own facility. The importation of grapes in this way has led to conflicts amongst winery owners, which will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

Two organisations represent the Finger Lakes wine industry as a whole, and each sub-region has its own wine trail organisation (see below). The two umbrella wine organisations are The Finger Lakes Wine Alliance and the New York Wine and Grape Foundation. The Finger Lakes Wine Alliance was founded in 2002 with a focus on promoting and branding the wines coming from The Finger Lakes (Finger Lakes Wine Alliance, 2008). It is comprised of a twelve member Board of Directors who are winery principals, and is funded by a voluntary industry levy based on wine production and awarded grants (Finger Lakes Wine Alliance, 2008). The New York Wine and Grape Foundation is a non-profit, official state organisation that represents the whole of New York State and its grape products: grape juice, wine and table grapes. Its two main purposes are promotion and research. The State of New York matches

funds from the private sector for both their research and promotion programs (New York Wine and Grape Foundation, 2009).

The two primary regional tourism organisations also work closely with the wine industry, and include wineries and wine-related experiences in their marketing material. The Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance is officially designated by the state as the regional TPA (Tourism Promotion Agent) for The Finger Lakes and represents all 14 counties of The Finger Lakes tourism region. The second organisation is The Finger Lakes Wine Country Marketing Association (FLWCMA), which is a tourism marketing association, and represents four counties within their territory. These regional tourism organisations are funded both privately and publicly.

Similar to Central Otago, place-based marketing and branding initiatives are utilised in marketing Finger Lakes wine and tourism (see below). Marketing campaigns employed by the various regional associations (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, Finger Lakes Tourism Association, Finger Lakes Wine Alliance, Wine Trail Associations) all include appealing images of the region on their websites, in brochures, newsletters and media press releases. Most notably, images focus on beautiful vineyard landscapes along the lakes, featuring visitors drinking wine.

Figure 6.3 below is an example of the type of image that abounds in Finger Lakes promotional material. This photograph of vineyard dining is found on the cover of the 2011 Finger Lakes Wine Country brochure, the official publication of the Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association.



Figure 6.3: Finger Lakes Wine Marketing Promotional Image

Source: (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2011)

Wineries around Keuka, Canandaigua, Seneca and Cayuga lakes have also organised wine trails with their own brochures, special events, and other activities to welcome visitors.

Sub-regions

Cayuga Lake and Seneca Lake are recognised as separate viticultural areas (AVAs) within The Finger Lakes region, due to their unique geographical conditions for growing grapes (New York Wine and Grape Foundation, 2009). Seneca Lake is the largest and most active wine trail in New York State with a community of 34 wineries, a distillery, two breweries and a meadery (produces honey wine). Its unique geology and topography protect the growth of hardy native grapes and premium hybrids as well as more delicate varieties such as Riesling, Chardonnay, Cabernet Franc and Pinot Noir. Seneca Lake was established as its own unique AVA in 1988 (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2011a).

The Cayuga Lake Wine Trail was the first organised and longest running wine trail in the United States, formed in 1981 when four wineries banded together. By 1988, the

appellation was granted its own AVA status. Cayuga Lake is the longest lake at 38.2 miles (61.5 km), the widest at 1.75 miles (km), and one of the deepest of the eleven Finger Lakes. The trail includes 15 wineries, one cidery, one meadery and four distilleries open to visitors. The city of Ithaca is a major hub for the region, and is located at the southern end of the lake, which is host to Ithaca College and Cornell University (Cayuga Lake Wine Trail, 2011; Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2011a).

Keuka Lake has the longest viticultural history, with the first bonded winery established in 1860. It was also where the first *Vinifera* vines were planted. The Keuka Lake Wine Trail was established in 1985, and promotes its diverse production of wine: "Whether your taste is dry or sweet, fruity or austere, our vintages of *Vinifera*, Hybrid and Native wines are sure to please every palate" (Keuka Lake Wine Trail, 2011). Keuka Lake is 19.6 miles long (31.5 km) and 3/4 of a mile wide (1.2 km) (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2011a; Keuka Lake Wine Trail, 2011).

The Canandaigua wine trail was formed in the mid 1990s, and stretches 41 miles (66 km), including the towns of Fairport, Canandaigua, and Naples. Canandaigua town is also the host of the New York Wine and Culinary Center, which has become a major draw for visitors. The center offers a full array of Finger Lakes wines in the tasting center, along with several wine and food educational classes throughout the year. The Canandaigua wine trail promotes itself as "just right" for a one-day trip; it's only 41 miles to travel the trail...from Fairport to Canandaigua to Naples...it makes for a great "Staycation" (Canandaigua Wine Trail, 2011, p. 1; Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2011a).

While separate trails and organisations exist for each individual lake, they all constitute the "Finger Lakes Wine Region". In marketing and promotional material at various levels (regional, sub-regional and individual wineries), the broader region is promoted first and foremost, followed by the individual wine trails. This thesis considers the single "Finger Lakes Wine Region" in its analysis and discussion.

6.2.2 Wine Tourism Background

Many rural areas across the United States have undergone significant economic changes over the past three decades. Traditional goods-producing sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing have given way to service-producing sectors such as leisure, recreation and tourism (Deller et al., 2001). Rural areas seeking new economic strategies are increasingly interested in farm-based agritourism operations to generate new sources of income through sales, services and linkages with other tourism-related activities (Veeck et. al., 2006). The importance of agritourism is increasingly being recognised in the United States. As recommended by the USDA Advisory Committee on Agricultural Statistics, the 2007 US Agricultural Census included a new section devoted to agritourism. Similarly, The New York Wine and Grape Foundation (2006a) argues that the key to sustaining growth in wineries is drawing tourists to them.

The New York grape and wine industry has experienced a dramatic renaissance over the past two decades rising like a Phoenix from the ashes to become the shining star of New York agriculture and tourism (New York Wine and Grape Foundation Annual Report, 2006-2007, p. 11).

Given the declining profitability of America's smaller farms, many small, family-run farms are looking to agritourism for income. In each individual state there is a complex spatio-temporal geography that affects the conversion to tourism (Veeck et. al, 2006). Small, rural farms that have access to urban areas often capitalise on selling to consumers close by who want specialty produce or crops and/or a relaxing day in the country. Those states that have a higher population density and smaller average farm size recognised the potential of agritourism earlier than states with fewer large cities (Veeck et. al, 2006). As a result, the US Northeast and Atlantic states have developed state networks promoting agricultural tourism to a greater degree than in the West and Midwest (Kuehn et al., 2000, Veeck et al., 2006). In this way, the physical geography of rural areas is paramount in shaping their development (see Chapter Two).

The unique agriculture and the rural culture of the Finger Lakes is emphasised in regional tourism marketing efforts. As promoted by Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance and Finger Lakes

Wine Country Tourism Marketing, visitors can actively engage with this rural place through a multitude of rural experiences:

Finger Lakes Wine Country, New York is an agricultural paradise. This is a land rich with green pastures, strawberry and blueberry fields, corn fields, apple orchards, pumpkin patches and, of course, lots of vineyards... (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2011a).

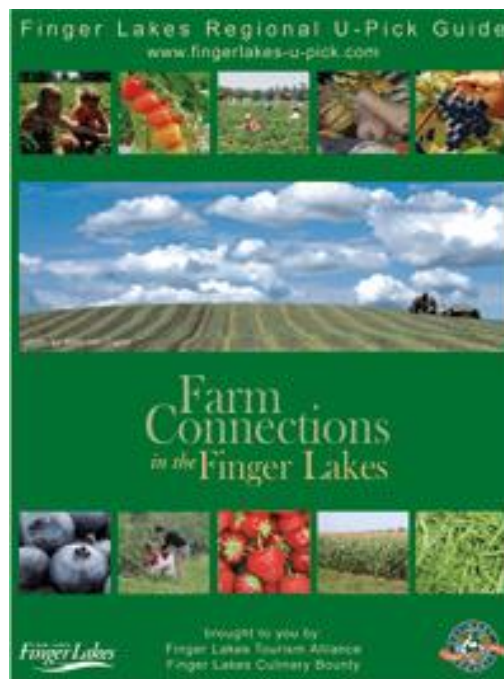


Figure 6.4: Farm Connections in the Finger Lakes Guide

Source: (Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance, 2009)

The FLTA is part of the New York State Department of Economic Development “I Love New York” campaign. The I Love NY logo brand has been strongly associated with New York City, despite the efforts of the Empire State Development Corporation to incorporate the more rural areas of New York State. In 2008, the I Love NY program started the “Re-imagine Your New York” campaign, which focuses on aspects of the rest of New York State outside of New York City, including wine, history and wilderness. The campaign maintains the iconic heart-themed logo but now includes mini-symbols, one at a time, to symbolize wine (grape clusters), wilderness (a butterfly and squirrel), seasons (snow) and other aspects of New

York outside of the city. The marketing strategies aim is to entice New Yorkers to travel upstate, and to lure visitors from neighbouring states and Canada to the more rural areas of New York State (New York State Department of Economic Development, 2009).



Figure 6.5: Re-imagine Your New York Brand Logo

Source: (New York State Department of Economic Development, 2009)

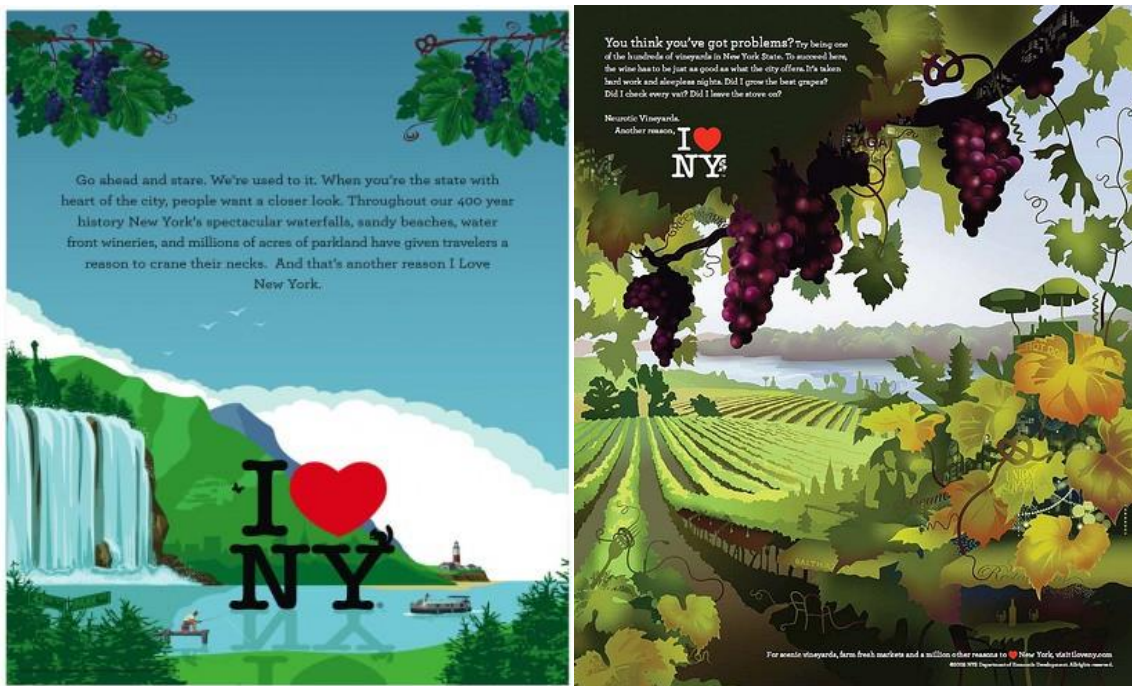


Figure 6.6: New York State Rural Marketing Initiatives

Source: (New York State Department of Economic Development, 2009)

In relation to tourism, the Finger Lakes region is depicted as “an area of legendary beauty, captivating geology, spectacular waterfalls, small historic towns, outstanding glacial remains, and rolling hills” (Baxevanis, 1992, p. 131). The region is known for its remoteness and its natural inaccessibility, which safeguards the region’s pristine remoteness (Cecchini, 2006). Although The Finger Lakes is not located within or bordering a major urban centre, the region is easily accessible for those visiting from cities including Syracuse, Ithaca, Rochester and New York City is approximately five hours away by car. The tag line of the Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association is “Just down the road” (see below) because the target visitor market is within a three-hour driving distance (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, personal communication, 2007).



Figure 6.7: Finger Lakes Wine Country Symbol

Source: (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2009)

In terms of the characteristics of visitors to The Finger Lakes, statistics show that New York State accounts for the most visitors (46%), followed by: Pennsylvania (8%), Ohio (6%), New Jersey (4%) with 32 percent coming from other areas of the United States. Interestingly, international visitors make up only four percent of all visitors to the region (4%) (Finger Lakes Visitors Connection, 2009). The Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance (2009) reports that the top cities of origin for Finger Lakes visitors were New York City (39,621), Rochester (33,550), Buffalo (8,902) and Syracuse (8,075). The Alliance also noted that tourism today ranks as a leading industry in the Finger Lakes, accounting for more than 14,865 jobs, \$167,111,822 in tourism payroll, over \$200 million in taxable visitor spending, and more than \$8 million in state tax revenues (Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance 2009).

The importance of the wine industry for regional tourism illustrated by the fact that a regional tourism marketing association has named itself “The Finger Lakes *Wine Country* Tourism Marketing Association” and their tag line is: "See the beauty, feel the history, taste the wine". “Wine country” has been used in the name of the brand since regional research revealed that the emerging wine industry was one of the most important attractions driving tourism in the region. Their strategy states:

Marketing under the brand Finger Lakes Wine Country, "Finger Lakes" places us on the map in terms of geography, "Wine" is our unique differentiator as the largest wine producing region east of the Rocky Mountains, and "Country" conveys the message that we have a basket of disparate attractions with a broad visitor appeal. A unified branding initiative with strategic marketing and promotional programs attracts tourists to the Finger Lakes region (FLWCTM, 2011).

Similarly, The Finger Lakes Tourism Alliance prints an “Official Finger Lakes Regional Travel Guide” each year, and uses the slogan: “Lakes, Hillside, Wineries, Shopping, and Fun!” An industry survey reported that about one million visitors a year stop by the wineries surrounding The Finger Lakes (“Tucked-away”, 2006). According to tourism promotion officials, “wine production and its [tourism] potential is a driving force behind the economy of The Finger Lakes region” (Dickinson, 2004, p. 1).

As noted above, the Farm Wineries License Act (1976) marked the birth of The Finger Lakes wine tourism industry and the emphasis on cellar door sales. The infrastructure for tourism at a regional level has become more sophisticated and advanced over the years, but the importance of wine sales at the cellar door has remained unchanged. Initially, wine sales were geared towards the local population and as a “curiosity” for passing tourists. Today, The Finger Lakes is a wine tourism destination in its own right. The region’s tourism and hospitality industry has increasingly developed alongside the wine industry. Wineries have joined together with restaurants to offer unified experiences through special wine events and festivals. In recent years, there has been a notable increase in a broad array of accommodation options and restaurants; from Bed and Breakfasts (B&B’s) to lakeside

cabins; fine dining and farmers markets (Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association, 2011a).

The Finger Lakes is primarily a summer and autumn destination, and for most wineries, over half of their cellar door sales are accounted for over the months of September and October (New York Wine and Grape Foundation, personal communication, 2007). Because of the extreme seasonality in visitation, marketing efforts have been employed in recent years to extend the tourism season by promoting the region as a year-round destination. In addition to promoting the various seasons of the Finger Lakes, regional organisations and wine trails host events and festivals during the shoulder- and off-peak season to mitigate the negative impacts of the slow periods.

Other challenges facing The Finger Lakes wine and tourism industry include national policies on inter-state shipping, migrant labour laws; state taxes and state laws on wine sales; local government regulations and policies all impact the daily business practices of wineries. These issues are discussed in Chapter Seven from the perspective of research participants. Challenges are often exacerbated by the fact that a myriad of local political bodies (based on county, town, village) directly influence the Finger Lakes wine industry. This can lead to inconsistent regulations and a weak framework to create comprehensive and long-term development plans for the region.

In New York State, the county is the primary political division, but cities, towns and villages still remain highly autonomous (Pendall, 2003). Counties are primarily responsible for police service, social welfare and regional planning, but have little authority over local land use decisions. Without an overarching regional mechanism to actively direct and manage growth, many upstate municipalities, such as the Finger Lakes region, have implemented uncoordinated, often conflicting growth-oriented policies. Many of these policies have had the effect of reinforcing New York State's highly fragmented, and often inefficient, governmental system (Pendall, 2003). This fragmentation and inconsistency was identified by respondents as particularly problematic in implementing progressive and efficient development for the region, and bolstering the economy.

The wine industry is also significantly influenced by state and federal decisions and actions: along with the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, the US Federal government gave the power to each state to regulate the production and sale of alcohol within their own state. Most states, including New York, have developed a three-tier distribution system between the producer, wholesaler and consumer (Wine America, 2006). In recent decades there has been consolidation in this industry with the market now controlled by relatively few wholesalers who are less interested in marketing for small wineries, because they need large-volume sales in order to remain competitive (Barbera et al., 2008).

While New York wine producers are allowed to ship their products directly to consumers within the state, the restrictions and regulations for out-of-state shipments is extremely complex and difficult (Barbera et al., 2008). The system requires multiple steps on the part of each winery wishing to ship to consumers out of state and requires that winery to obtain a permit. In essence, wineries have to obtain three types of permits (a sales tax permit, a direct shipper's permit, and a distributor's permit to allow excise tax payments) and they have to file three types of tax returns (The Wine Institute, 2008). There is also a limit on the volume of total shipments a winery can send per individual per year (The Wine Institute, 2008).

These laws have made it very difficult and costly for Finger Lakes wineries to direct ship to consumers (including wine tourists that wish to purchase cases of wine after they have returned home). As Barbera et al. (2008) note, the more challenging the paperwork and licensing requirements and the higher the fees, the less opportunity wineries will have to improve their market position through direct sales. The three-tier system is often too expensive for small wineries; not only do they have to reduce their price to accommodate the extra middlemen, there are often regulatory agencies and taxes that must be paid. Further, wholesalers are often not interested in working with a winery that has a very limited amount of product. Therefore, small wineries must consider the best combination of marketing strategies that will suit their business objectives. Choosing to sell their product directly to the consumer at the winery through tourism is a critical strategic decision for many.

Another important policy issue, which dates back to Prohibition, is the issue of selling wine in New York State grocery stores. Unlike California and many other wine producing states that permit consumers to purchase wine in grocery and drug stores, New York limits consumers to buying wine in the state's 2,500 licensed liquor stores (Centonze, 2010). The issue has received mixed reviews from grocery stores, liquor stores, wine producers, and consumers. Proposals were put forward in 1984 and 2009 to allow wine to be sold in New York State grocery stores, but neither resulted in legislative changes (Rickard, 2009). Reports show that approximately 35 percent of New York State wineries publicly opposed these proposals, with the remaining 65 percent strongly in favour of legislation that would allow wine sales in grocery stores (Rickard, 2009). While the Finger Lakes wine sector is relatively small compared to the major wine-producing regions in the world, it has experienced significant recent growth, approaching a stage in its development where it needs to attract a larger domestic consumer base. Introducing wine into grocery stores would increase the availability of wine to domestic consumers, and may be a mechanism to foster the development of the region's burgeoning industry (Rickard 2009).

6.3 Conclusion

Chapters Five and Six presented an introductory discussion on the differences between the two case study regions in order to prepare for further critical comparative analysis in the findings chapters. Table 6.1 below outlines the major regional differences between The Finger Lakes and Central Otago that have been identified in relation to the wine and tourism industries. These regions are clearly very different in terms of their emphasis on sales at the cellar door; this may be partly explained by the larger regional population in the Finger Lakes, which is almost 30 times the size of Central Otago. This size makes it possible for Finger Lakes wineries to draw a substantial number of domestic day-trippers into the region. Because of the limited local population of Central Otago, wineries there focus on exports in order to find a large enough lucrative market for their wines.

Table 6.1: Regional Differences

Descriptor	Finger Lakes	Central Otago
Number of wine labels in region	90	104
Varietal focus	Riesling	Pinot Noir
Major “hubs” in region	Ithaca, Watkins Glen, Geneva, Canandaigua	Queenstown, Cromwell, Alexandra
Distribution focus	Sales at cellar door	Export
Emphasis on tourism	Heavily reliant (70-100% of sales at cellar door)	Not a primary focus for most players (5-10% of sales at cellar door)
Regional population	1,196,334	43,050 (sum of Central Otago population: 16,650 and Queenstown Lakes District population: 26,400)
Visitor market	Primarily domestic day-trippers	International and domestic

Sources: (Department of Internal Affairs, 2009; Fiscal Policy Institute, 2003; New York Wine and Grape Foundation, 2009; New Zealand Wine, 2009a; Statistics New Zealand, 2009a, 2009b)

Despite the many similarities between these regions, The Finger Lakes and Central Otago wine industries have followed different development trajectories. This distinctiveness highlights the fact that the changes occurring in rural places is not a broad, generalised and homogenous process. Instead, it is a result of distinct historical and contemporary contextual influences and the decisions and actions of individual agents. Clearly, broader economic, political and social forces have influenced the Central Otago and Finger Lakes wine industries, and have shaped the development of the region. National and local political decisions and actions have shaped the wine culture and broader attitudes towards alcohol in both regions, as well as the ability for wineries to distribute and sell their wines. Environmental conditions dictate what types of industries have been established in these regions, fluctuations in visitor numbers and seasonal migrants, and the “flagship” grape variety that has been grown.

Chapter 7: At the Winery

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the processes and daily operations of participating wineries, based on the personal perspectives and experiences of respondents. The chapter is split between the two regions. Section 7.1 discusses Central Otago winery context, including the ownership style and management structure of participating Central Otago wineries. This section also discusses the operational challenges identified by respondents as the most important in their efforts of producing and selling wine. Section 7.2 discusses the Finger Lakes winery context. This section outlines the ownership style and management structure of participating Finger Lakes wineries and the operational challenges highlighted by respondents. The variations of entrepreneurship are important because they influence the outcome of the research, because it affects who is actually interviewed for this research and what they say (copreneurial spouses may have different perspectives regarding their business for example). Furthermore, the ownership and management structure of the business is closely intertwined with owner motivations, business practices and strategic decisions, which is of crucial importance to this research.

7.2 Central Otago Participating Wineries

The Central Otago wineries that participated in this research were diverse in size, structure, organisation and management. Production of participating wineries ranged from 2,000 to 20,000 cases per annum at the time of fieldwork. Most wineries were primarily focused on the production of premium, high-quality Pinot Noir, while also experimenting with varieties of white wines including Riesling, Pinot Gris and Chardonnay.

While wineries were contacted across Central Otago, wineries from certain sub-regions (see Chapter Five) were represented more than others, given that all winery owners and managers who were willing to participate were interviewed. Table 7.1 illustrates where participating wineries are located, by sub-region. The number of respondents is compared to the number of labels identified by the Central Otago Winegrowers Association (COWA)

and wine trail map, as of 2007 (the time of Central Otago fieldwork). COWA was used as a point of reference because it is the most extensive and detailed account of Central Otago wineries.

Table 7.1: Central Otago Sub-Region Representation

Sub-Region	Winery Interviewees by Subregion	Wineries within each Wine Trail (sub-region)	Percentage (%) of sub-region wine trail members interviewed for this research
The Cromwell Basin	12	23	52
Wanaka	0	2	0
The Alexandra Basin	3	10	30
Gibbston-Wakatipu Basin	9	13	69
Total	24	46	52

It is clear from the table above that each sub-region is not represented in proportion to the total number wineries in each sub-region. However, the inequality in numbers has been considered during analysis and discussion in terms of participants' perspectives and experiences based on their geographic location (winery owners may have a different view of seasonality, for example, based on their proximity to regional hubs).

7.2.1 Ownership Style and Management Structure

While there are various entrepreneurial forms ascribed to the Central Otago winery owners involved in this research, for the majority of them, producing wine was a long-time dream, a lifestyle-move, an investment decision or a hobby/side-project, and the winery did not serve as their primary income. As noted in Chapter Five, Central Otago wine is often referred to as the "new gold". For many of these participants, the challenge lies in their ability to successfully cultivate quality wines from the land, above and beyond goals of making money. Therefore, this idea of "finding gold" may not represent wealth, but other forms of success:

It's one of the great fallacies about owning a winery; you don't make any money doing it...most people barely make a living...success is measured not in profitability but in how good the wine is and, how well-recognised the wine is, and what sort of image you develop (Representative, Central Otago Regional Organisation).

Out of the 24 Central Otago participating wineries, only two (8%) of the wineries are owned by individuals originally from the region. The majority of those interviewed moved to the region in the 1990s to start their vineyards. In the case of the four winery managers being interviewed (see Chapter Four), the ties of the actual *owner* of the winery to the region, not the manager are taken into account. Two of the participating winery owners had previously been involved with another Central Otago winery operation (one as part owner, the other as a viticulturist), and had recently established their own winery as sole proprietor.

Of the 24 Central Otago wineries participating in this research, seven (29%) are owned by sole proprietors and eight (33%) are owned by multiple, (non-family) partners. The number of partners ranged from a winery with two partners, to a winery which had eight separate families sharing ownership. The largest proportion of the wineries (38%) is family-owned wineries (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Central Otago Winery Owner Type and Involvement

	Sole proprietor	Family business	Partnership
Owner-operator (living in region)	3	8	2
Mix: Both owner-operator and absentee owner	0	0	4
Absentee owner	4	1	2
Total	7	9	8

Of the nine family-owned wineries, copreneurial wineries eight of the owners (and their family) live in Central Otago year-round. In six cases, the interview was conducted with the

husband, the wife was the participant in two cases, and a general manager was the interviewee in the case of the winery where the family owners were absentee. Apart from this one winery, participating Central Otago winery copreneurs tend to be involved in the daily operations of the winery. In the case of the copreneurial winery where the owners live elsewhere, they participated only in strategic decision-making. While these husband and wife owners reported doing a “little bit of everything”, they explained that they tended to fall into specific roles. For most copreneurial wineries, the husband served as winemaker and/or viticulturist, and was responsible for financial management. The wife was most commonly responsible for administration, overall organising, communications, marketing and public relations work, such as hosting visitors and tradespeople. The following quotations illustrate two copreneurial wives’ views of their roles:

I do everything really. Applications, moving wine for evaluation, sending wine to competitions, magazines, all the advertising, marketing overseas. I guess my major job is communication...so I communicate on a day to day basis...I don't have anything to do with any of the financials because I don't have any ability at all in that...but yeah, I'm dealing with a myriad of things (Winery owner, Central Otago).

I look after the olives, the vines, the gardens, it's an overall thing. And because it's a family thing, I have to make sure everyone's fed, well stocked up on drinks and those kinds of things as well (Winery owner, Central Otago).

One of these wives described herself as the matriarch in that she felt responsible for not only taking care of business-related duties but being a mother figure for all of the employees and family members involved. The copreneurial arrangements reported by winery respondents parallel the findings of previous research that found copreneurs tend to adhere to traditional sex roles at home and in the business (see Chapter Three). Two of these family-owned wineries involve two generations of the family. In these cases, the intrapreneur's (son or daughter) largely runs the winery with their spouse, while their parents, the founding entrepreneurs, are starting to take on less responsibility in daily

operations. Family dynamics is clearly influential in how Central Otago family-owned wineries are structured, operated and in how strategic business decisions are made.

There are eleven participating Central Otago wineries that have at least one absentee owner, who is not involved in the daily operations and management, and whose primary residence is not Central Otago. These wineries varied in the number of owners, and combination of present and absentee partners (for example, one winery had eight separate families that owned the winery – four of these families were absentee and lived overseas).

Absentee owners have various motivations for investing in a Central Otago winery, despite the fact that they do not live in the region year-round, nor participate in the daily management of the winery (see Chapter Eight). The wineries with *all* absentee owners are operated by hired managers who are responsible for general daily oversight. The following quote is a manager's description of their personal involvement in the business, and this statement is representative of the accounts provided by other Central Otago winery managers:

I handle basically every aspect of the business in terms of budgeting, forecasting, sales and marketing and promotional campaigns, general administration, making sure there's coffee for the crews... Pretty much everything that doesn't involve growing it or making it... Once it's all been harvested, I follow it through the winery and follow it through while it gets bottled. Then, in terms of business decisions, I sit down with the owners and we look at all this so they make the decisions in terms of what we're trying to achieve (Winery manager, Central Otago).

Of the wineries with absentee owners, the manager was interviewed in four cases. Five interviews took place with one of the resident, or present, partners who is involved in the business and lives in Central Otago. Two of the absentee owners (who normally reside elsewhere) were in Central Otago at the time of fieldwork and were able to participate in this research; this was possible most likely because fieldwork was conducted leading up to

the Christmas and summer season, when some absentee winery owners were visiting Central Otago.

The number of hired employees varied greatly, regardless of whether it was a sole proprietorship, partnership or family-owned winery. At one end of the spectrum was a winery that had only one full-time, year-round employee (and seasonal contract crew for the vineyard). At the other end of the spectrum was a winery with over fifty year-round, full-time and part-time employees.

While some of the owners of wineries served as winemaker and/or viticulturist, many hired someone for this role. Depending on the winery's production size and financial capabilities, some of the winemakers and viticulturists work solely for one winery, while others were also contracted to make wine and manage vineyards for other wineries in the region. The smaller participating wineries were more likely to hire contract viticulturists (if the owner did not take on this role) and were also more likely to have their wine made by a contract winemaker. The owners of these smaller wineries explained that this is because their production is not large enough to justify building their own winery facility, nor hire a full-time winemaker and viticulturist dedicated solely to their label.

Table 7.3 below outlines the ownership and management structure of the Finger Lakes wineries that participated in this research, including owners' involvement, management structure and involvement with tourism.

Table 7.3: Participating Central Otago Wineries

Name	Entrepreneurial type and owner involvement	Hired management structure	Involvement with Tourism
Winery 1	Family business (Copreneurship): Owners involved full-time daily basis..	Hired sales manager	Full time cellar door and cafe
Winery 2	Partnership: Two absentee owners, not involved in daily operations.	Hired General Manager (Cellar Door, Administrative, Marketing), Viticulturist, Contract Winemaker	Full time cellar door and restaurant
Winery 3	Sole proprietor: Owner involved full time	Owner manages all aspects	No official cellar door. Tastings by appointment only
Winery 4	Sole proprietor: Absentee owner not involved in operations	Hired General Manager, Viticulturist, Winemaker	Fully-developed cellar door: tastings by appointment only
Winery 5	Partnership (three owners) One owner involved in daily operation. Other two are absentee, silent partners.	Hired General Manager, Viticulturist, Winemaker	Fully-developed cellar door. Open part-time 10-3 five days a week.
Winery 6	Sole proprietor: Absentee owner not involved in operations	Hired General Manager, Cellar Door Manager, Viticulturist, Winemaker	Full time cellar door and restaurant
Winery 7	Partnership: Two owners involved in daily operations	Owners manage all aspects; hired cellar door manager.	Fully-developed cellar door. Open part-time (weekends only).
Winery 8	Partnership: Two owners involved in daily operations	Owners manage all aspects.	No official cellar door. Tastings by appointment only

Name	Entrepreneurial type and owner involvement	Hired management structure	Involvement with Tourism
Winery 9	Family business (Copreneur): Husband involved full-time, wife involved part-time.	Hired General Manager, Viticulturist, Contract Winemaker	No official cellar door: Tastings by appointment only
Winery 10	Partnership - Two owners: One owner manages full operation. Other is an absentee "silent" partner.	Hired Viticulturist, Contract Winemaker.	No official cellar door: Tastings by appointment only
Winery 11	Partnership - Eight owners: One owner partly involved in daily operations. Others are absentee "silent" partners	Hired general manager, Viticulturist, Contract Winemaker	Fully-developed cellar door. Open part-time (Wed-Sun 11-4)
Winery 12	Family business (Copreneur): Owners not involved in daily operation, only strategic decision-making. Live in Central Otago part time and help out during busy time.	Hired General Manager, Viticulturist, Contract Winemaker	Fully-developed cellar door. Open part-time (December - January). Tastings at house by appt only
Winery 13	Family business (Copreneur): Husband and wife involved in daily operations.	Hired Contract Winemaker	No cellar door. Tastings by appointment only. Office and tastings inside home.
Winery 14	Family business (Copreneur): Husband and wife involved in daily operation.	Hired Contract Winemaker	No cellar door. Tastings by appointment only. Office and tastings inside home.

Name	Entrepreneurial type and owner involvement	Hired management structure	Involvement with Tourism
Winery 15	Family business (Copreneur, Intrapreneur): Parents are founding entrepreneurs, whose adult sons and their spouses manage the full operation	Two sons manage the full operation. Wives work part-time with administration and marketing.	Full time cellar door and restaurant. Office and winery on vineyards, separate from cellar door and restaurant facility.
Winery 16	Partnership - two owners: One owner involved part-time, other is an absentee "silent" partner.	Hired Viticulturist and Winemaker	No cellar door. Tastings by appointment only held at small building on property that serves as office.
Winery 17	Sole proprietor involved full time in operations.	Hired Cellar Door Manager, Restaurant Manager, Viticulturist, Winemaker.	Full time cellar door and restaurant. Organised tours.
Winery 18	Sole proprietor involved full time.	Owner oversees everything. Hired General Manager/ Winemaker and Viticulturist	Fully-developed cellar door. Open part-time (weekends only).
Winery 19	Family business (Copreneur): Husband involved full time; wife involved part-time.	Hired Cellar Door/Restaurant Manager, Viticulturist, Winemaker	Full time cellar door and restaurant
Winery 20	Family business (Copreneur): Husband and wife involved full time.	Hired Contract Winemaker.	Open for tastings (at owners house) part-time. Separate entry and room in house serve as a "tasting bar".

Name	Entrepreneurial type and owner involvement	Hired management structure	Involvement with Tourism
Winery 21	Family business (Copreneur, Intrapreneur): Husband and wife involved full time. Son and daughter-in-law are winemaker and viticulturist.	Hired sales and marketing manager.	Fully-developed, full time cellar door.
Winery 22	Partnership -three absentee owners, not involved in operations	Hired General Manager, Cellar Door/ Restaurant Manager, winemaker and viticulturalist.	Fully-developed, full time cellar door and restaurant
Winery 23	Sole proprietor: Absentee owner not involved in operations	Hired General Manager, Cellar Door/Restaurant Manager, winemaker and viticulturist	Fully-developed, full time cellar door and restaurant.
Winery 24	Sole proprietor: Absentee owner not involved in operations	Hired Sales and Marketing manager (who is also the winemaker), cellar door/restaurant manager, and viticulturist.	Fully-developed, full time cellar door and restaurant.

7.2.2 Central Otago Wine Production

Respondents conveyed a sense of heroism and personal accomplishment attached to the production of Pinot Noir in Central Otago, which reflects marketing efforts (see Chapter Nine). This is partly because the Pinot Noir grape is widely considered to produce some of the finest wines in the world, but is also one of the most difficult varieties to cultivate and transform into good wine (Robinson, 2006). This reputation was recognised by respondents:

People who make Pinot Noir are pretty crazy people. They're very dedicated, focused... Anybody who is involved in Pinot Noir does have a streak of romantic idealism. People who get into it are obsessed by it – And that's why

we've attracted successful people. People who've been successful in other lives and have come to live here (Winery owner, Central Otago).

There's a hell of a lot of wine out there now...we're lucky that Pinot Noir is a niche segment in the wine world...and it's a niche because it's hard to grow, with this climate and all. There's not many places that can do it well (Winery owner, Central Otago).

For many Central Otago winery respondents, the challenge of growing Pinot Noir in a marginal environment is what attracted them in the first place:

I became initially curious, ultimately obsessed and challenged... I could see no reason why grapes couldn't be grown here but all the advice at the time was 'you can not grow grapes in Central Otago'. It's too cold...too high... all of the expert advice that I got was negative. That made me more determined (Winery owner, Central Otago).

While the region faces particular challenges related to their climate, respondents also noted that Central Otago's unique climate is partly to credit for the high quality wines produced in the region:

Even though we're considered marginal, it's what contributes to the quality of the pinot [noir grape] because it just gets ripe and that's where pinot noir expresses it's best qualities - where it struggles to ripen (Winery owner, Central Otago).

The major challenges associated with grape growing and wine production were identified by Central Otago respondents as: frost protection; pests; and managing the seasonal variations in activity in the vineyard and winery. As one winery owner described it: "It seems really romantic sitting back and watching the grapes grow, but it's just full of peaks of stressfulness". The owner-operators who are directly involved in vineyard and winery operations are particularly impacted by these "peaks of stressfulness". The burden ultimately falls on these owners to protect their vineyards, and to successfully complete

vineyard tasks on time. For example, a winery owner described the stress he was under at the time with the demands of shoot thinning in his vineyard (a process of removing, by hand, unwanted shoot growth in the spring):

It has to be done in this small window where shoots reach a certain size...so it really has to be done in a three week period. You can't say 'oh it doesn't matter if we get it done because we'll finish the job in a few weeks. It affects your whole production so you have to get it done (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Other peaks of stressfulness identified by Central Otago producers include the period of time leading up to harvest and the heavy cold, wet weather during flowering in December. Central Otago wine producers face further challenges in preventing the spread of phylloxera (see Chapter Five). Respondents explained that they have called for help from government to impose regulations and protocols to prevent the spread of the disease, but to date this support has not been forthcoming:

We get no assistance from local government. We tried to register phylloxera as an identifiable pest...and by doing so we would have had more teeth to bare with legislation with phylloxera protocol...now the local government came back and said, that's an industry specific problem and the industry will deal with it themselves...so therefore the protocols that we've set up for trying to exclude phylloxera are toothless. We can do best practices but we don't have any legislation to back it up...and that's particularly disappointing (Winery owner, Central Otago)

One research respondent noted that they had to replant some of their vines due to phylloxera, while the others are focused on preventing its spread.

While some vineyard locations within Central Otago are at higher risks for frosts than others (in the valley, for example), all respondents identified frost as a particularly significant issue. These wineries utilise various frost protection techniques including helicopters, water with flippers and wind machines. However, some wineries have faced opposition by nearby

residents in regards to their use of noisier frost protection techniques, and the use of wind machines, and bird scarers in their day-to-day operations, raising the issue of reverse sensitivity (see Chapter Two). Respondents expressed their frustration because a major part of the appeal for in-migrants includes the aesthetic landscapes of vineyards, and this technology vital to the industry's survival. As one winery owner stated:

It can be interesting at times. People come to live in the country and then they complain about the country things that happen here...they didn't realize that actually rural means it's just a rural industry – and industry should be emphasised in that because there's tractors making hay in the middle of the night, there's wind machines going off all night long – only at certain times of the year, there's sheep on the road and you know, farmyard smell...A lot of people are moving here to live permanently; hey see the romance of the countryside, so they have their romantic notion of what it's like to live in the countryside but it's not very practical or realistic about some of the other things that happen in a rural setting (Winery owner, Central Otago).

The economic and social changes that have occurred in Central Otago including the arrival of new migrants have posed additional challenges for participating wineries including issues with water availability and opposition to building expansion and operations, as illustrated by the following statements:

One of our neighbours tried to stop our cellar door because the trucks, noise, so he tried to stop it because he basically didn't want a cellar door and functions and all that sort of thing going on. So that cost us a bit of money to fight with a resource consent hearing... (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Water is a very big issue across the region...There has been a change in land usage in a very quick span of time. With agriculture, if you got more water delivered to your block than you expected, that was seen as a bonus. Now if you get vineyards flooded in the middle of the night, that's now legal. And in terms of availability of water, it is a limited resource, and there are conflicts in

demand for use. There's something like 20,000 hectares that are available for viticulture – the biggest problem is lack of water (Representative, Central Otago Regional Organisation).

With the expansion of viticulture and horticulture in Central Otago, some participating wineries have faced challenges in finding enough local labour to work in their vineyards. This is because both viticulture and horticulture are labour intensive industries, and because many of the participating wineries require manual labour; either because they cannot afford machines to pick mechanically or because of the fragility of the Pinot Noir grapes. Over harvest, their demand for manual labour often far exceeds the available labour supply:

You never go into a season saying “Oh, I’m just going to wait for people to come to us at the time” - because everyone’s looking for people at the same time...you can’t be too laid back, you have to be proactive in finding the seasonal staff, especially someone like us that requires so many of them (Winery owner, Central Otago).

While respondents explained that the viticulture industry often competes with the horticulture industry for labour, sometimes it works out to be beneficial:

A lot the viticulturists are vying with the horticulturalists for the staff and sometimes it actually works well where the horticultural season precedes the viticultural season and so the staff working on apple orchards or cherry orchards they then come into the vineyards. So, it can be good and it can be bad (Winery manager, Central Otago).

According to respondents, the availability of a migrant labour force has become increasingly unreliable and challenging in recent years due to changes in immigration policies. Central Otago wineries and vineyards have been affected by a Department of Labour Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme, which was introduced in 2007. The RSE scheme allows New Zealand horticulture and viticulture employers to hire seasonal overseas labour if there are no workers available locally. Those workers granted a permit under the scheme can stay in New Zealand for seven months during any 11-month period and cannot transfer to

another permit; they must leave New Zealand after their stay. Once it is determined that no New Zealanders are available to work in vineyards, labour can be sourced from Pacific countries – unless employers have extreme reasons why they should recruit from elsewhere (Cunliffe, 2007). Although winery respondents acknowledge that the new scheme is beneficial in theory, they state that the scheme has taken away their flexibility to hire casual, short-term workers. For example, Queenstown and Central Otago have a significant transient population, including visitors such as backpackers, due to its popularity as a tourist destination, and in the past many vineyards were quite content hiring casual labourers who wanted short-term work.

The regulations have tightened up quite considerably. We won't have the same freedom that we've enjoyed over the last few years. If a backpacker turned up this afternoon, in the past we've been able to say 'sure, you can go to work this afternoon, shoot down to Seasonal Solutions and get your work permit' (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Under the new scheme wineries must commit to paying for half of the worker's airfare from the Pacific Islands and commit to employing them for a given amount of time. While this may work for some larger operations, many of the smaller vineyards cannot afford to make such a commitment, and have found these new regulations very challenging:

The new system is more designed for somebody who wants a lot of people, full time. Someone like me, I'll need someone for a couple weeks. So it would be much easier if I could just get a work permit for someone who comes in looking for work for a couple weeks (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Issues related to migrant labour are especially relevant when the issue of seasonality is considered (see Chapter Ten).

7.2.3 Selling the Wine

Central Otago participating wineries were varied in their distribution channels and sales outlets, with various combinations of export, domestic distribution and on-site sales. Most

participating wineries reported selling the bulk of their wine throughout New Zealand or by export. Most will hire a New Zealand distributor, or will share a distributor with another winery so that they are able to consolidate shipments. Some of the larger wineries have multiple distributors for specified geographic markets (South Island and Auckland for example), while the owners and managers of some of the smaller participating wineries are able to handle their own distribution.

Due to the small domestic wine market and relatively high prices of the region's output, most participating Central Otago wineries export more than 30 percent of their production (see Chapter Five). The key export markets were identified by respondents as Australia, UK and US. Respondents explained that they collaborate with importers in these export markets, who then sell to distributors within that country. Many Central Otago winery respondents reported that exporting is beneficial because they are able to send large shipments at a time, while still making an equitable profit:

Most of us ship on a "FOB" basis, meaning it's free on board. The importer, whether he's in Singapore, Australia, UK or the US pays for the shipping costs. So the price you negotiate is at the jetty or wharf in New Zealand. Our responsibility is to get it there and do the paperwork to get it on a ship. So our costs are basically FOB costs...and there's no added value in export, in the sense that most of us are shipping it at the price we would sell it to a wholesaler or a retailer in New Zealand as. The benefit with exporting is that you ship a lot, because an importer usually represents a country (Winery owner, Central Otago).

In general, the distribution focus of participating Central Otago wineries, including their emphasis on tourism, was largely dependent on the strategic business goals of the owner, as illustrated by the following quote:

We don't sell in New Zealand to supermarkets, we don't sell in bottle shops. We sell to restaurants, and only the best restaurants in any area... We're

aiming for that ultra premier, boutique style... we are not mass marketed at all, that's just not what we are (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Central Otago participants reported selling only between five and ten percent of their wine at the cellar door. There were, however, two outliers in Central Otago with one winery selling 70 percent of their production at the cellar door and another 35 percent. These two wineries are well-known in the region as two of the most popular tourism wineries which emphasise visitation. They are also located close to Queenstown and attract more day-trippers than those wineries in more peripheral areas, such as Alexandra. Respondents in Central Otago noted that those wineries closest to Queenstown are in a much better position to attract visitors. Efforts to pull visitors through the region to visit more peripheral wineries, has not been as fruitful an opportunity as initially imagined by some winery entrepreneurs and tourism businesses.

Ten participating Central Otago wineries (42%) host visitors year-round and are open for tastings full time. Eight (33%) of these have a cafe or restaurant as part of their operation; these varied in nature from a formal, full dining restaurant to a cafe with three picnic tables that only served cheese boards and antipasto platters. Six participating wineries (25%) are open for tastings part-time only (certain days of the week or certain hours of the day for example). Eight participating wineries (33%) are open for tastings by appointment only. Respondents reported that these tastings by appointment are held either off- or on-site, including at the owner's house, office, at the vineyards or in the winemaking facility. Interestingly, three of those open for tastings by appointment only have a fully-developed cellar door, but have chosen not to open it regularly for personal, lifestyle reasons, or because it is not financially worthwhile to do so (see Chapter Nine). No respondents claimed to charge for tastings, and only one respondent noted that they encouraged large bus tours to come in for tastings. The following quotation explained this rationale:

We've set ourselves back off the main road on purpose... we don't want mass markets, we're not into buses. They can come after three. Buses that come up during the day, we tend to come out and say 'look, we are booked – we appreciate you coming down to see us, but come back after three or make an

appointment'. There's nothing worse than sitting down and enjoying a beautiful lunch or a beautiful wine, and then having 30 people plough past you. It's just not what we're about. We're set up for FIT's Free, Independent travellers; we're not set up for that group market (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Most respondents did note, however, that they are happy to work with smaller (8-10 passenger) local winery tour companies, who book ahead:

We don't really do bus tours. We do work with a couple of companies, but rarely. And the ones we do work with have a maximum of eight people... We're trying to get quality customers, not quantity, so... one guy that comes in and buys four cases is much more valuable than a busload of 30 people who aren't interested at all (Winery owner, Central Otago).

While the size and scale of the tasting facilities in Central Otago vary greatly, most participating wineries have their cellar doors located in the same building as the offices of the owner or manager. If the winery does not have a hired cellar door attendant, it is the owner or manager that will attend to visitors. Respondents explained that this can be frustrating if they are distracted from more pressing responsibilities in their office:

There's other stuff I need to be doing. So you have to decide what's more important - the cost of employing someone against the potential volume of sales. We wouldn't even be in the break-even position. Our other issue is the volume of supply - We don't have it. So for now, [the cellar door] will just sit there (Winery owner, Central Otago).

While this tended to be reported most commonly by those wineries open part-time or by appointment only, some wineries were open to visitors full-time that reported not having full-time cellar door staff, year-round. Here again the responsibility falls on the owner or manager to conduct tastings:

It's hard to work out how to staff it, especially in the winter. Some mornings no one will come, and then the afternoon, you get really busy. If I could get my head around how to do it, that would be fantastic. But people come at random times, random numbers. So with me in the winter, I just come out here and work in the office, and if someone turns up, I have to deal with it (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Other challenges identified by respondents include restrictions on signage and difficulty in obtaining building permits from the local council to expand their current facilities.

Respondents noted that they have also faced a great deal of difficulty in dealing with Transit New Zealand, as illustrated by the following quotations:

We'd like to have a lot more signs but [Transit New Zealand] won't let us because we're on a main highway. People complain that they still can not find how to get to us. The signage could be a lot better but we can't do much about it really (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Since the creation of the Resource Management Act, Transit New Zealand has become power crazy...The last few years we've been battling to get road signage which we still haven't achieved (Winery owner, Central Otago).

For some wineries that are located on a major road, whether or not they obtain approval from Transit New Zealand for signage or entry roads has influenced the extent to which they are involved with tourism:

Everything has to go through Transit New Zealand...all the signage has to be approved. You're not allowed to have too much because people might slow down...quite a few people along this road wanted to open tasting rooms and Transit won't allow it because of the added traffic, so they don't get consents. It's not the Council, it's Transit New Zealand who has turned them down. So they can tell you if you can only have tastings by appointment only, or whatever (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Central Otago respondents discussed the various direct and indirect costs and benefits of hosting visitors; these ranged from building maintenance expenses and personal privacy concerns to increased profit margins and developing brand loyal consumers. For many participating Central Otago wineries, weighing the costs and benefits of hosting visitors is a constant balancing act and largely dependent on the owner's personal motivations and business goals, as analysed in Chapter Nine. While some winery owners have very clearly decided that wine tourism is, or is not, a strategic business or lifestyle goal, many reported struggling with the decision:

We've had several discussions in the recent months about the cellar door. We see the cellar door as being quite important to us in terms of growing our business...but there is a question of how much more we can, or should be spending to entice people into our winery cellar door (Winery owner, Central Otago).

The structure of participating Central Otago wineries, and their involvement with tourism may change over time as a result of changes in the owner's personal circumstances, or changes in context, such as economic and political conditions. As these businesses mature, they may grow, expand, or limit the size of their business. They may position themselves differently in the market, or re-structure the business and their involvement with tourism.

In summary, Central Otago participating wineries were located across the region including in the Cromwell Basin, Bannockburn, Gibbston Valley and The Alexandra Basin. The annual production of wineries ranged from 2,000 to 20,000 cases and was primarily concentrated on Pinot Noir. Most of the Central Otago winery owners are not originally from the region, and moved to the region seeking to fulfill some personal satisfaction by producing wine in Central Otago (discussed further in Chapter Eight).

7.3 Finger Lakes Participating Wineries

The production of participating wineries in The Finger Lakes ranged from 2,000 to 35,000 cases of wine per year and was largely focused on the production of Riesling, the variety for which the Finger Lakes region has become increasingly recognised (see Chapter Six). Finger

Lakes winery participants also reported growing and producing a small portion of other European varieties (Pinot Noir, Merlot, Cabernet Sauvignon, Gewurztraminer, Chardonnay), Native American varieties (Niagara, Cantawba, Seyval Blanc) and French-American hybrid varieties (Baco Noir). Some participating wineries also have experimented with the production of ice wine and fruit wine (peach, pear and strawberry for example), often made from fruit that they grow themselves.

As in Central Otago, all Finger Lakes winery owners who were willing to participate were interviewed. It was therefore possible for wineries from certain sub-regions to be represented more than others. Table 7.4 outlines the location of participating wineries, by sub-region. To illustrate the proportion of wineries interviewed by sub-region, Table 7.4 compares the number of respondents by sub-region, to the number of wineries identified by the individual wine trail organisations, because this is the most extensive listings (Seneca, Cayuga, Keuka, Canandaigua). While not all wineries officially belong to these wine trails organisations, they are still listed on the wine touring maps as non-members.

Table 7.4: Finger Lakes Sub-region Representation

Wine Trail (sub-region)	Winery Interviewees by sub-region	Wineries within each Wine Trail (sub-region)	Percentage (%) of sub-region wine trail members interviewed for this research
Seneca Lake	7	36	19
Cayuga Lake	5	16	31
Keuka Lake	5	9	56
Canandaigua Lake	1	6	17
Total	18	67	27

7.3.1 Ownership Style and Management Structure

Twelve (67%) of the participating Finger Lakes winery owners were originally residents of the region. Thirty-three percent (six) had moved to the region either to start their winery business, or for other reasons, and then later decided to enter the wine industry. All participating Finger Lakes winery owners reported being very involved in the daily operations of their wineries - from the grape growing and winemaking processes through to the sales, marketing and tourism-related ventures:

As co-owner with my wife I oversee everything. I'm also the winemaker. So I oversee winemaking operations, I oversee the vineyards... it's kind of like four businesses in one. You're a farm, you're a grower, you're also a production facility, a retail shop and you're also a wholesaler...My wife takes care of all the paperwork, the accounting. We do everything (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

For Finger Lakes winery owners, it is a sense of pride that their wineries are run hands-on, and as “real” businesses.

People here run businesses to make money. I don't know anybody who's that rich, that they're just doing it because they think it's cute – that's an important distinction right there. The wineries in this region are run by individuals whose intention is to run profitable enterprises (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Two (11%) of the participating Finger Lakes wineries are owned by a sole proprietor, two (11%) are owned by multiple partners and the remaining 14 (78%) are family-owned wineries (see Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Finger Lakes Winery Owner Type and Involvement

	Sole proprietor	Family business	Partnership
Owner-operator	2	14	2
Mix: Both owner-operator and absentee owner	0	0	0
Absentee owner	0	0	0

Most of the Finger Lakes family-owned wineries are owned and operated by a married couple (copreneurs). Three of the family-owned wineries have an intrapreneur involved, spanning two or more generations. The following is a quotation from an intrapreneur whose parents were originally grape growers in the Finger Lakes, and have since expanded the business to produce wine and host visitors:

My parents bought this land the year I was born and began planting on it the following spring...I gave up my career to come back here so that my parents could retire. With my father, he's more of behind the scenes, we just discuss things. My mother helps with errands and greeting table for big events. My wife took over from the event planning, foods and things, which is what my mother used to do all herself (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Of the 14 family-owned wineries that participated in The Finger Lakes, the wife was the interviewee in six cases, and the husband in eight. Similar to the copreneurial arrangements of Central Otago wineries, Finger Lakes copreneurs reported doing a “little bit of everything”, but also fell into specific roles. Their roles and responsibilities varied greatly depending on the winery’s size and structure, and the personal situation of the family (whether they had children, for example) as the following quotation illustrates:

When the kids were really little, my husband did all the front-room meeting and greeting, pouring wines, paperwork and off-premise stuff. Now that the kids are a little older, that's sort of shifted and I do a lot of off-premise work, a

lot of paperwork, scheduling, keeping track of things...there's a lot of little things and they really stack up. Things just sort of end up on my desk (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Clearly, the ownership and management style is quite different from that of participating Central Otago wineries. The most notable difference is the large number of family-run, owner-operated wineries in the Finger Lakes and the fact that there were no absentee owners associated with participating Finger Lakes wineries.

Table 7.6 below outlines the ownership and management structure of the Finger Lakes wineries that participated in this research. The table includes the owner's participation in the business, the management structure and winery's involvement with tourism.

Table 7.6: Participating Finger Lakes Wineries

Name	Entrepreneurial type and owner involvement	Hired management structure	Involvement with tourism
Winery 1	Partnership (two owners) Owners involved full-time daily basis.	Hired wedding planner; restaurant and cellar door manager; viticulturist; winemaker.	Full-time, year-round restaurant, gift shop and cellar door. Hosts events and weddings.
Winery 2	Sole proprietor Owner involved full-time daily basis.	Hired sales and marketing manager; cellar door manager; viticulturist; winemaker.	Full-time cellar door, gift shop and self-serve deli. Closed January and February. Hosts events.
Winery 3	Family business (copreneurship) Husband and wife involved full-time, daily basis.	Hired cellar door manager.	Full-time, year-round cellar door and gift shop.

Name	Entrepreneurial type and owner involvement	Hired management structure	Involvement with tourism
Winery 4	Partnership (two owners) Owners involved full-time daily basis.	Hired wedding planner; restaurant manager; cellar door manager; sales and marketing manager; viticulturist; winemaker.	Full-time, year-round restaurant, gift shop and cellar door. Hosts events and weddings. 30-room "Inn". Daily Public Tours in Summer and Autumn.
Winery 5	Family business (copreneurship) Husband and wife involved full-time, daily basis.	Hired general manager; winemaker; viticulturist.	Part-time cellar door. Closed December-April. Hosts small events.
Winery 6	Family business (intrapreneurship) Founding entrepreneurs involved part-time. Second generation involved full-time, daily basis.	Hired winemaker; viticulturist.	Full-time, year-round cellar door.
Winery 7	Family business (intrapreneurship) Founding entrepreneurs involved part-time. Second generation involved full-time, daily basis.	Hired winemaker	Full-time, year-round cellar door. Hosts events.
Winery 8	Family business (copreneurship) Husband and wife involved full-time, daily basis.	Hired sales manager.	Full-time, year-round cellar door and self-serve deli. Hosts events and weddings.
Winery 9	Family business (copreneurship) Husband and wife involved full-time, daily basis.	Hired general manager.	Full-time, cellar door. Closed January and February.

Name	Entrepreneurial type and owner involvement	Hired management structure	Involvement with tourism
Winery 10	Family business (three siblings) Owners involved full-time daily basis.	Hired cellar door manager.	Full-time, year-round cellar door and gift shop.
Winery 11	Family business (copreneurship) Husband and wife involved full-time, daily basis.	Hired marketing manager; winemaker; viticulturist.	Full-time cellar door. Open part-time January - March.
Winery 12	Family business (copreneurship) Husband full-time general manager and viticulturist. Wife part-time administration.	Hired cellar door manager; winemaker.	Full-time, year-round cafe, gift shop and cellar door. Hosts events and weddings. Daily Public Tours in Summer and Autumn.
Winery 13	Family business. (copreneurship) Husband full-time general manager and viticulturist. Wife part-time cellar door and administration	Hired winemaker	Part-time cellar door. Closed November-May. Hosts small events.
Winery 14	Family business. (copreneurship) Husband full-time general manager. Wife part-time.	Hired cellar door manager; winemaker; viticulturist.	Full-time, year-round cellar door, gift shop, "Inn" (five rooms). Hosts weddings.
Winery 15	Family business. Six family members (siblings and cousins) involved full-time daily basis.	Hired brand manager.	Full-time, year-round restaurant, gift shop and cellar door. Hosts events and weddings. Daily Public Tours.

Name	Entrepreneurial type and owner involvement	Hired management structure	Involvement with tourism
Winery 16	Family business (copreneurship) Owners involved full-time daily basis.	Hired sales manager.	Full-time, year-round cellar door and gift shop. Closed January and February.
Winery 17	Sole proprietor Owner involved full-time daily basis.	Hired general manager; winemaker.	Full-time cellar door. Open part-time January - March.
Winery 18	Family business (copreneurship) Husband and wife involved full-time, daily basis.	Hired cellar door manager; winemaker; viticulturist.	Full-time, year-round cellar door and gift shop.

Wine Production

While most participating Finger Lakes wineries did have hired winemakers and vineyard managers dedicated to their winery, many of the owners were directly involved in the grape growing and wine production process as well. Similar to the accounts provided by Central Otago participants, Finger Lakes respondents stressed that grape growing and wine production is a difficult and strenuous industry in which to be involved. Finger Lakes wineries face similar challenges as those in Central Otago including protecting their vineyards from frost and finding a sufficient labour to meet seasonal peaks of activity in the vineyard and winery:

Everything in the wine business is time consuming and slow...if you're the impatient type than you're probably better off somewhere else. If you're willing to tough it out while things sort of grind along – we've had some tough weather and some other stuff to deal with...But we've gotten through it (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Finger Lakes respondents described themselves as farmers, whose lives are dictated by the seasons:

Farming keeps you humble. Believe me. Last time we almost had our crop wiped out by a hail storm. You can't get too cocky when you're working with Mother Nature...and anybody that starts out cocky eventually mellows out after 20 years or so. It's a great equalizer. People's character comes out (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

In past years, some Finger Lakes wine producers have lost all of their crops due to frost, and as a result, have been forced to purchase grapes from outside of the region. While only two winery respondents claimed to have purchased grapes from outside of the region, many respondents (including representatives from regional organisations) discussed this issue in interviews. The following quotation is representative of many respondents concerns:

A big thing about New York is it's a very difficult place to grow grapes...we've had a couple of bad winters and lost a lot of grapes. A lot of people went outside the region to get grapes and I'm concerned about that. There's more and more wineries popping up and they're not growing their own grapes, and that's not viable. If people keep going out of the area to get grapes I think it's going to have a big effect on peoples perception of the area as a grape-growing region (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

In addition to challenges with the climate, respondents identified other reasons that local producers may purchase grapes from elsewhere, including the marginalization of grape growers from prime vineyard land along the lakes. Respondents feel that this is largely due to the arrival of new migrants, and the increased demand for lakefront homes:

We don't have a lot of acreage, and where do people want to sit their retirement home down? It's right where these old vineyards are. There's only a limited amount of land that's viable for growing the kind of grapes I grow. And suddenly all of this land is house development (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

A lot of the vineyards are owned by third- and fourth-generation farming families and they've stayed vineyards. But it will be interesting to see what happens with the next generation because the value of the property for someone who is looking for a lakeview or anything or a second home or third home....there's more value in that than there is for a vineyard. So you can see that what's planted now the best property for vineyards is along the lake, so it will be interesting... (Representative, Finger Lakes Regional Organisation).

According to one lakefront winery owner, his property taxes almost doubled from \$28,000/year to \$52,000 within two years time because he is located right on the lakefront:

The tax structure is set up so that most of the tax is right on the lakeshore people. So the lakeshore is what really pays like 80 percent of the taxes, and all of the locals kind of live back away from the lake (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

The skyrocketing costs of lakeshore property and associated property taxes has made it increasingly difficult for people to own a vineyard, produce grapes, and make an economic return from it. Respondents fear that if producers start purchasing grapes from elsewhere that it will lead to detrimental implications for the quality and reputation of Finger Lakes wines (see Chapter Nine).

Other challenges reported by Finger Lakes respondents include finding enough seasonal labourers to meet their demands in the vineyards. As is the case in Central Otago, Finger Lakes wineries have long been reliant on a seasonal migrant workforce (primarily Mexican labourers) to work in their vineyards. Respondents have been overwhelmingly satisfied with these labourers, as the following quote illustrates:

These crews of migrants do a fabulous job. They insist on working piece rate rather than hourly, so they have an incentive to work really hard. They do a great job, quality work and they make a good wage (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

In recent years however, wineries have faced difficulties in their ability to hire the seasonal workers they have traditionally relied on. At the time of this research, there was a crackdown from the governmental agency ICE (US Immigration and Customs Enforcement) which included regular raids of vineyards and other farming establishments in The Finger Lakes and across New York. As a New York Times article describes it:

In 2005/2006 a record-setting enforcement of immigration laws upended old, unspoken arrangements... and a new climate of fear swept through the rural communities of western and central New York (Bernstein, 2006, p.1).

These raids severely impacted Finger Lakes wineries that relied on these workers, particularly over harvest, and many Finger Lakes winery respondents highlighted this issue as an important concern for the future of grape growing and wine production in the region:

It's getting harder and harder...US immigration right now is coming in and doing raids all of the time and taking half the guys. When we get all of the paperwork, everything looks perfect. They all have social security cards, green cards... we photocopy it all and we show it to the immigration and they go, 'yeah, this looks perfect' you know, but they're not... We did everything we were supposed to do. But it's hard, like last year, right before harvest, we had a frost come in and we were going to lose all of our Riesling – like \$80,000 of Riesling and Cab Franc. And we lost half our Mexican crew...so we almost lost all of that and at the last minute we had a neighbour with a machine picker and could come down and machine pick it all and get it in the tanks. But it was like touch and go, we would have lost like half our business (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Many of the growers say that they'd like to see a guest-worker program that allows foreign workers to accept jobs here and return home when they finish:

Politics has totally distorted the issue. Unfortunately everyone thinks that these people are breaking down the doors to become American citizens. Couldn't be further from the truth. They want to come here, earn money and

go home and be able to pass back and forth easily through the borders. And because our stupid government didn't put in a guest program after the amnesty program twenty years ago they have just re-created the same dilemma they were in twenty years ago (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

The labour challenges that have been identified in this research, both in the Finger Lakes and in Central Otago, may reflect the problems faced by rural areas more broadly with small populations and a limited labour force. Seasonal industries such as viticulture require a sufficient supply of labour at a given point in time. These industries therefore may become reliant on a migrant labour force, making them particularly vulnerable to changes in government policy.

7.3.2 Selling the Wine

The participating wineries in The Finger Lakes reported selling 70 to 100 percent of their wine at the cellar door and all had a dedicated tasting room on site. Sixteen (89%) of these are open full-time, while two (11%) are only open part-time. Six (33%) have an established restaurant, cafe or deli, and two (11%) offer accommodation on their property. Many of the participating Finger Lakes wineries host events and weddings on property, which are most commonly held outside overlooking the vineyards during the summer and autumn months. Two of the participating wineries have a special events facility solely dedicated to hosting weddings and events.

According to respondents, summer and autumn are the busiest times for wine tourism in The Finger Lakes. The peak of visitation is August through October, with the height of the tourism season coinciding with the height of activity in the vineyard (harvest). Respondents explained that tourists are attracted to the region during this time due to elements of the natural environment - when the grapes are ready to be harvested and when all of the leaves on the trees change colours, as the following quotation indicates:

The colours. September, October. The colours are out there, the grapes are ripe...things are getting pressed. The smells are in the air. Everyone's coming out, it's that time (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Seasonality in wine tourism has posed many challenges for participating Finger Lakes wineries as discussed in Chapter Ten.

For those wineries that do not sell 100 percent of their wine on-site, the remainder goes through a three-tier distribution system and is sold largely in New York State restaurants, liquor and wine stores because of the challenges with inter-state shipping laws (see Chapter Six). The following quotation is typical of the distribution percentages reported by Finger Lakes participants:

About 70 percent of our sales come out of here. The other 30 percent is other distribution, and of that, by far the majority, 95 percent, is sold in New York State. A little bit in a few other states like Florida, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and some dribs and drabs here and there over the map (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While four of the participating wineries have developed a wine club and regularly ship bottles of wine to consumers each month, they are only able to ship to certain states. Other winery respondents explained that there is a demand from out-of-state visitors to order cases of wine once they have returned home, so they do not have to travel with it. However, because of the restrictions, most wineries are unable to do so:

We can't really ship inter-state. They've closed it down in a very sneaky sort of way. You used to be able to ship when the supreme courts first said 'Ok, level the playing field'. But then they've made it so you have to take out permits, and for a small winery it's way too much. Our neighbours do it and it's basically a full-time job setting up the permit papers, shipping papers, paying the taxes to each state, quarterly or monthly or whatever the individual requirements are. It's nuts (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While respondents expressed concerns that they are too heavily reliant on wine tourism and have had to put “all their eggs in one basket”, they are of the opinion that they face too many obstacles in selling their wine through other distribution channels:

Distribution is a way of moving inventory and converting inventory to cash...So we're all trying, in strategy, to get our cash flow more consistent with distribution...and that's just to protect yourself (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Other obstacles identified by respondents include the added wholesaler and distribution costs associated with the three-tier distribution system and legislation that prohibits wine sales in New York State grocery stores (see Chapter Six). While most respondents supported legislation that would allow wine to be sold in grocery stores, some respondents are against it. Those in favour of such changes argue that the more outlets selling wine, the better:

If our industry allows this proposal to be defeated we'll be committing economic suicide...we need more outlets to sell our wines, so our industry can grow and sustain itself. When you can not sell your entire inventory at your own tasting room, what are you going to do? Liquor stores are not going to expand the shelf space for New York wines at the expense of their Australian, Californian or Chilean sections (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

The opposing perspective voices concerns that supermarkets would stock cheap, bulk wine, which would be in direct competition to their own higher quality product:

Selling wine in supermarkets would be the worst thing that's ever happened... what they're going to do is sell primarily cheap wine – it's going to be the gallon of Gallo or whatever, that kind of thing. And then people will be buying cheap wine in the store and not going to the stores that sell good wine, and they'll never learn (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While this issue was raised in the majority of interviews, it was primarily the larger wineries that were concerned with ensuring this legislation passed. The smaller wineries are generally able to sell all of their wine through the cellar door and are not as preoccupied with fostering other distribution channels. The majority of the respondents believe that allowing wine sales in grocery stores will increase demand and provide a much-needed outlet for their wines. This is a sensitive issue, however, because many Finger Lakes

wineries have developed long-standing, close, loyal relationships with liquor and wine stores that sell their wines. If the legislation is passed, it may have a devastating effect on liquor stores, particularly small-scale, specialty stores (Fickenscher, 2009; Rickard, 2009). There are reports that liquor stores have created a blacklist of Finger Lakes wineries that support the policy change and refuse to sell their wines (Fickenscher, 2009).

Similar to the accounts provided by Central Otago respondents, Finger Lakes respondents have encountered problems with residential in-migration (see Chapter Two) and resistance to efforts to expand their involvement with tourism:

As we have more and more people moving in from outside the area. Generally speaking, they build a house here overlooking the lake and they're not interested in having a whole bunch of tourists, they're not interested in all of the things that go with it. So it generally makes it more restrictive (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

On one hand, rural areas such as the Finger Lakes will attract visitors eager to experience the image of rurality, on the other hand however, tourists are unlikely to be welcomed by rural newcomers, who first came to the region often as tourists themselves. An example of this was a winery that wanted to start a tourism service, and was stopped by the people who owned property along the lake:

I was approached a number of years ago by the Finger Lakes railroad company and they wanted to run a tour between my winery and Watkins Glen and vice versa. It takes an hour and a half, nice ride...Well the people that bought all the property down below and they had built houses there, heard about this tourist train and they said 'no way'. And they went to the town board and raised all kinds of havoc. I think if I pushed I could have had the train, it's the same with my other location, I was trying to do something on the lake over there, and I could have done it, but at what cost? (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

According to respondents, issues related to residential encroachment are exacerbated by the actions (and inaction) of local government. The most common complaints identified by respondents included poorly maintained roads, restrictions on signage, and difficulty in obtaining permits for buildings and events. One winery owner discussed the obstacles he regularly encounters in obtaining permits for events at his winery:

It's getting more and more difficult to do things. The state of New York are jerks. New York is very difficult, very anti-business. Just to give you an example, something that's just idiotic. We have our jazz concerts and I have to get a building permit to put up our tents and on top of that I had to put exit signs on a tent. Now this is a tent with no walls. One year we forgot to get them, we got the tents all up, the concerts going. This guy comes down - it's a Friday afternoon and he goes "I'm not going to give you a break. You can not have a concert". I said, ok I'll come up and get the permit. And he says, "my office is closed at noon on Friday we're not open again until Monday". It's just crazy. Instead of trying to help, they make it more difficult (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Restrictions on signage was also highlighted by many Finger Lakes respondents as a particularly challenging obstacle in regards to their involvement with tourism:

The local municipality is very anti-business. They won't give us sign permits, they won't allow us to put signs on the lakes, they won't allow us to put signs on the highway...and it's so important to draw people into your business, just simple things like signage (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

In general, Finger Lakes respondents expressed a strong opinion that New York's political process does not encourage a long-term view of what drives the regional economy, and this often poses challenges in running their business:

When you look at wine regions of the world that have this advanced process set up, you see the infrastructure that supports it. It's coming very slowly here. Roads haven't been touched, signage is still woefully inadequate, cell phone

reception has improved, the availability of high speed communications, that's starting to happen. Upstate New York is maybe just starting to get there (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

You travel to major wine regions and can see what's making the place click. In France, it's crystal clear. The French government has institutionalized their interest in the industry - viticulturally, wine-wise, and tourism – by providing infrastructure...they have these intersecting interests of academia, government and industry. We don't have that here. We simply don't have that here (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Respondents were particularly frustrated with the perceived lack of services and support given the amount of taxes paid, which they feel are unjustifiably high:

Between state taxes, the local, and the federal government, we pay 26 different taxes. From those 26 different taxes they consume 40 percent of our gross [profit] (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

My taxes all go to the county. Counties can either distribute those taxes back to the town in a fair manner – I give them this percentage of taxes, they should give that percentage back to the town - our county doesn't. My town is in a sense, very poverty-stricken in respects with being able to do infrastructure improvements. They just don't have the resources because the county isn't sharing back even though we've got three, four wineries in this county that pay huge amounts of tax. But the county can not service these roads because they're town roads. So, it's a nightmare. And I'm located on the edge of three counties and three towns. All converge essentially on this road, so you can almost tell where the county line is (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Aside from the obvious financial burden of taxes on winery businesses, taxes are seen as a huge burden in terms of *time*:

Right now, I spend probably half my time just on all the government regulations. If I could just spend 70 percent of my time on winemaking quality, things would grow so much faster than having to spend half my time on IRS and excise taxes. There's so much paperwork to do in all this all the time (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While issues related to government were raised by Central Otago respondents as well, these issues were voiced far more emphatically by Finger Lakes respondents as challenges in the daily operations and management of Finger Lakes wineries.

In summary, participating Finger Lakes wineries were located across the different Lakes, including Seneca, Cayuga, Keuka, Canandaigua. Wineries largely focused on the production of Riesling, and production ranged from 2,000 to 35,000 cases of wine per year, most of which is sold through the cellar door.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the ownership and management practices of participating wineries, as well as the daily operations and processes that occur at the winery, from the perspective of winery respondents. Participating Central Otago wineries were owned by families (38%), sole proprietors (29%), and multiple partners (33%). Almost half of the Central Otago wineries (46%) had at least one absentee owner not involved in the daily operations and management of the winery. In the Finger Lakes, however, *all* winery owners were involved in daily operations, and the overwhelming majority were family-owned (78%).

Participating Central Otago wineries have largely focused their efforts on selling wine outside of the area (domestic and overseas markets), so cellar door sales are of less importance to them. There are a number of contextual features that support or encourage this decision. First, as outlined in Chapter Five, the wineries of Central Otago are not the primary tourist attraction for the region, and the local population is not large enough to foster a high proportion of cellar door sales across the region, particularly in some of the more isolated sub-regions. Furthermore, increasing tourism is not a priority for most

Central Otago winery respondents; as one Central Otago winery respondent noted, wine tourism is still “not a fixation that many Central Otago wineries have...it is an important part of their businesses, but it is secondary for most players” (Representative, Central Otago Regional Wine Organisation). This issue will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Nine.

Finger Lakes wineries are heavily reliant on cellar door sales and respondents noted that tourism is crucial for the survival of the wine industry in the region. This is because wineries gain many benefits from selling wine directly to consumers at the cellar door - most notably increased profit margins. Finger Lakes wineries also face many obstacles in selling their wine through other distribution channels, such as inter-state shipping laws and state laws on wine sales in grocery stores. The wineries are an important attraction for the Finger Lakes region and draw many day-trip visitors from nearby urban centres.

Wineries in both regions face challenges related to the natural environment (frost), the availability of migrant labour, the arrival of new migrants, local government laws on land use and zoning and local government decisions and actions in regards to infrastructure and services. Based on this chapter, the remaining findings chapters focus on the characteristics, motivations, and goals of winery entrepreneurs, and how these influence lifestyle decisions and business practices related to selling the wine, tourism, marketing, and seasonality.

Chapter 8: Typology of Winery Entrepreneurship

"Well, Sam, this is where wine is made, the vineyard. The vineyard's best fertilizer is the owner's footsteps" (Bottle Shock, 2008).

8.1 Introduction

The case study regions may at first appear quite similar: they both are cool-climate, rural, New World wine regions with an existing tourism industry, however they are in fact very different in terms of context and winery ownership style. While the specific personal and contextual situation of each individual is unique, respondents do tend to coalesce around particular types. Based on a critical analysis of research respondents, a typology of winery ownership has been developed that may be extended beyond these two regions. These types are a product of, and response to, broader contextual elements. These individuals also influence the broader context by way of their actions and decisions. This typology has been developed based on the model of Winery Entrepreneurship Process and Place Identity Development derived from the literature review (Figure 3.4). This chapter outlines how the typology of winery ownership was developed, and applies this to Central Otago and The Finger Lakes.

8.2 Archetype of the Ideal Winery Entrepreneur

Both case study regions reflect similar idyllic rural narratives, which include images of rural, rugged and determined individuals as symbolic representations of the region. The risk-taking, individualistic hero historically associated with the entrepreneur (e.g., Collins and Moore, 1964) is reflected in what constitutes a legitimate wine producer/entrepreneur in the case study regions. The image of hands-on, hard-working individuals is also rooted in larger societal ideas about the ethic of hard work and rurality (see Chapter Two). Both the US and New Zealand have historically emphasised and glorified their country's individualistic, pioneering, innovative spirit and the culture's hard work ethic that has its origins in Protestant values (Weber, 2002).

The humble farmer who conquers the land and the harsh climate to prove the “experts” wrong by producing quality wine serves as an archetype for the rural winegrower in these regions. It is not just through respondent statements that this archetype becomes apparent: guide books, promotional material, and wine and travel magazines emphasise romanticised notions of wine production and the characters behind the winemaking process in these regions. These individuals are generally portrayed as humble, creative, passionate and dedicated individuals that cultivate quality wine from the land. Finger Lakes winery respondents construct a “working class” definition of rural and assertively portray themselves as hardworking farmers and business owners.

This business is here because the business has been successful. It's not here because my family had any money. My father came out of the Second World War and bought a farm for \$5,000, and had to borrow the \$5,000 to do it with. So it's not like there's outside money coming into this thing. It's really grown because of its own success (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

This depiction is influenced also by nostalgic sentiments based on the past, and is evident in articles, brochures, and guidebooks for the Finger Lakes. Figure 8.1 below of the region's trailblazing winery entrepreneur, Konstantin Frank (see Chapter Six) is featured regularly in articles and promotional material, such as the 2011 Finger Lakes Wine Country Tourism Marketing Association brochure, which had an article titled “Deep Roots”. This image was also included with a 2009 article in *Entrepreneur Magazine*.



Figure 8.1: A Vinifera Pioneer

Source: (Entrepreneur, 2009)

Similarly, the pioneering wine producers of Central Otago have been glorified and mythologised for their endeavours. It is the story of these individuals, their hardships, perseverance and ultimate success that are emphasised by wine and tourism marketing campaigns, in the media and at the cellar door. This is clearly illustrated by a quote on COPNL's (2009) home page: "Some people talk about 'terroir'. We think we've got some pretty good dirt." The archetype of a rugged risk-taking "man-alone" (Mulgan, 2002) fits the overall image of Central Otago as a vast, stunning, rugged and harsh landscape with a formidable climate. These images and associations have a strong tradition amongst other alcoholic beverages in New Zealand, notably beer. The "Southern Man" campaign employed by Speight's Brewery of Dunedin (see Figure 8.2), for example, emphasises the distinctive landscape and the mythical characteristics of the rugged individualism of the "Deep South" - the typical southern son (Law, 1997).



Figure 8.2: Speights “Southern Man” Campaign

Source: (Speights, 2009)

A tension was evident in interviews around who and what were “legitimate” representations of the region.

The growers who get their hands dirty, they tend to be pretty practical, down to earth people...but some of the owners that got into the industry, not because they like to grow grape vines but because they like the kudos that they perceive owning a vineyard will bring them (Winery owner, Central Otago).

In reality, many of the Central Otago and Finger Lakes winery owners are not farmers who get their hands dirty working the land. In particular, many Central Otago winery owners come to the region with a good deal of existing wealth. In fact, as has been outlined in

Chapter Seven, quite a few of these owners do not work the operation themselves at all, and have little to no experience in grape growing or wine production.

There are clearly various types of winery owners, with diverse characteristics, motivations, ownership/management style and business practices. Still, assertions of this particular identity, and the opposition to those that threaten this identity, provide an insight into these places, the individuals within them, rurality, entrepreneurialism, and the wine industry more broadly. Just as wine is invested with subjective qualities, winery entrepreneurship includes broader definitions beyond the “hero entrepreneur” focused on growth and profit-maximisation. Success is measured by several different indicators, including quality wine production, lifestyle, status and image, all of which are in the eye of the beholder (in this context, the owner). Therefore, in studying winery ownership we must analyse individual owner perceptions, experiences and motivations. The complex and subjective nature of winery entrepreneurship makes studying this topic interesting, yet particularly elusive and complex.

The remainder of this chapter develops a typology of winery entrepreneurship based on participating winery owners in the case study regions; the three types that have been identified in the case study regions are: Status-seeking; subsistence-seeking and lifestyle-seeking winery entrepreneurs.

8.3 Developing the Typology

The three factors that emerged as the most significant in shaping the entrepreneurial process, and shaping respondent’s views, decisions and actions are:

1. Individual motivations;
2. Place and contextual forces (political, economic, social, cultural, environmental); and
3. Individual assessments of place identity.

While there are other characteristics and categories by which owners could be divided (e.g., production size, emphasis on tourism, personal grape growing and wine production), it is

argued here that these characteristics are consequences of an interaction of the three components outlined above. Chapter three concluded with the presentation of the WEPPID model, which is presented again here (Figure 8.3). This model conceptualises the entrepreneurial process and illustrates the interaction of these three factors by embedding the entrepreneur (with unique personal/business motivations and place identity) within their context, leading to particular entrepreneurial *types*. These types lead to unique

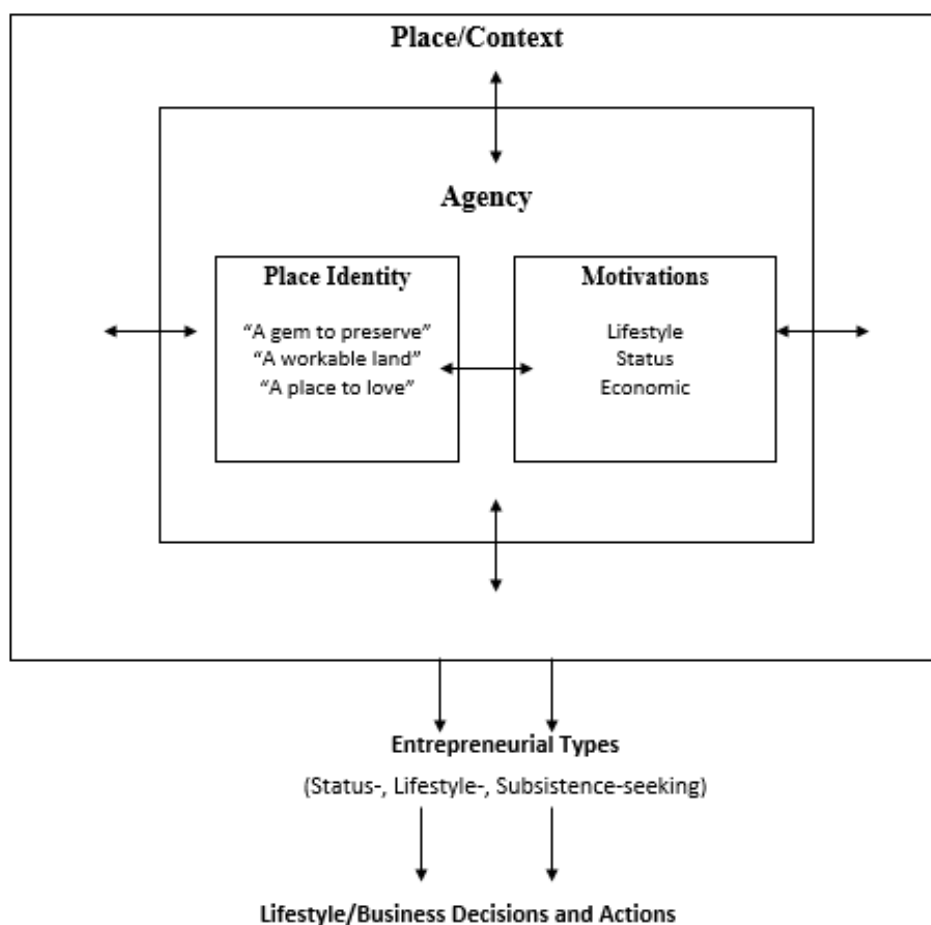


Figure 8.3: Model of Winery Entrepreneurial Process and Place Identity Development (WEPPID)

8.3.1 Individual Motivations

Chapter Three discussed the multiple and diverse discourses attached to entrepreneurship, many of which are in sharp contrast to each other. In the context of rural wine regions, the entrepreneurial process is not only an economic activity, but is driven also by the

motivations of individuals seeking to fulfil their own personal, social, and economic goals. The wine and tourism industries attract entrepreneurial in-migrants with a variety of lifestyle and business motivations. These different motivations influence the way they employ business practices, make strategic decisions, and relate to other businesses within and across industries. A combination of the following motivations has been identified by research respondents: Economic-related motivations, Personal, family and lifestyle-oriented motivations, and Status-oriented motivations. These motivations are briefly outlined below as a first step in establishing a typology of winery entrepreneurs in the case study regions.

Personal, family and lifestyle-oriented motivations

For these entrepreneurs, the maintenance and protection of a certain lifestyle will be prioritised over a commercial focus on profit-maximisation. They emphasise the perceived lifestyle associated with owning a rural wine business and the environmental, recreational and amenity appeal of the region. In a similar vein, family-related motivations were highlighted as particularly important in these wine regions: These entrepreneurs have founded, purchased or taken over a winery with the needs and preferences of their family being prioritised.

Status-oriented motivations

Entrepreneurs motivated by status-oriented goals highlight the appeal of owning a winery and property in a high amenity area and the perceived image associated with producing high-quality wine. Gaining personal satisfaction and recognition is more important for these individuals than economic motivations. An important component of status motivations includes the ability to produce a particular product. For many of these operations it is not just about producing wine, but about incorporating other personal wine production goals, such as producing “ultra premier”, single vineyard, organic wines, or a particular variety of wine. In a neoclassical model, a business will supply those goods and services demanded by consumers (Scott et al., 2002). However, as illustrated by this research, there are industries, such as wine, where suppliers themselves have preferences about what to supply.

Economic-related motivations

Those motivated by economic and financial benefits are primarily focused on earning a living and maximising profit. Founding or purchasing a winery may have been an investment decision, a career move or a necessary diversification of another business (e.g. the original Finger Lakes grape growers expanded their business into wine production and wine tourism because it was more profitable to do so).

While these different motivations are outlined separately, they are not exclusive; there may be multiple motivations involved for each entrepreneur. The typology developed below is based on the dominant motivation identified by the entrepreneur that most strongly dictates their views and agendas in relation to the issues raised during the interview.

8.3.2 Place and Contextual Forces

An analysis of *contextual forces* is a crucial component in coming to a holistic understanding of winery entrepreneurship in these two case study regions, as these factors are significant in an entrepreneur's decision to establish a winery, and ultimately shapes their decisions and actions once the winery has been established. Environmental factors, such as climate, geography and topography influence what types of industries and businesses can be established in a particular place. Economic and political factors, such as land prices, tax and land rates and relevant legislation, influence the viability of such businesses and how attractive the place is to entrepreneurs and investors for specific purposes. Changing consumption patterns, including renewed demand for locally-produced foods and the attractiveness of rural tourism, is important also in shaping and reshaping places.

8.3.3 Individual Assessments of Place Identity

As well as the characteristics and motivations of the entrepreneurs and the contextual influences at work in each region we must take into account winery entrepreneurs' *perceptions* of place and these contextual forces. While a micro focus dominates respondents' thoughts, including their personal and business characteristics and motivations, these are underpinned by broader, and largely unquestioned, interpretations of place and their relationships to these places.

While a place is in part defined by its physical attributes, places do not exist apart from larger social and cultural notions (see Chapter Two). Both case study regions are defined by broad meta-narratives that construct an identity for the places and the people who live and work there. These meta-narratives are propagated through regional identity projects, marketing and promotional initiatives, and the broader collective discourse. Still, there may be different interpretations and constructions of the same region at the same point in time, depending on the individual's relationship to the place, past experiences, lifestyle and business motivations, and location within the region.

Entrepreneurs' motivations and goals are closely intertwined with their interpretation of place. For example, an individual's perception of the types of ventures that are appropriate and possible in a place has a significant impact on their entrepreneurial decisions. Their assessment that a place offers them the ability to pursue and achieve their desired goals (lifestyle, profit, status) affects their motivations to establish a business, and influences their decisions and actions once the business has been established. Their resulting actions are constrained within, and influenced by, their context, including social, cultural, environmental, economic and political structures. However, they are still able to recognise and manipulate aspects of their social situation in order to create opportunities and operate their business. The following section examines how these three sets of factors are articulated through the three winery entrepreneurial types identified.

8.4 Winery Entrepreneurial Types

This section discusses the three winery entrepreneurial types identified in the case study regions: status-, lifestyle- and subsistence-seeking. Table 8.1 and 8.2 below map out the entrepreneurial types according to the categories of ownership structure categories identified in Chapter Seven.

Table 8.1: Central Otago Winery Entrepreneur Type

	Status-seeking (12)	Lifestyle-seeking (12)	Subsistence-seeking (0)
Family business (9)	1	8	0
Sole proprietor (7)	4	3	0
Partnership (8)	7	1	0

Table 8.2: Finger Lakes Winery Entrepreneur Type

	Status-seeking (0)	Lifestyle-seeking (4)	Subsistence-seeking (14)
Family business (14)	0	4	10
Sole proprietor (2)	0	0	2
Partnership (2)	0	0	2

8.4.1 Status-seeking

The owners that have been categorised here as status-seekers are primarily motivated by the appeal of owning a winery and property in a high amenity area, and the perceived status and image associated with producing wine. Half of the participating Central Otago wineries are owned by status-seekers (12), while no owners of participating Finger Lakes wineries could be identified as status-seekers. The primary motivation for status-seeking owners is to produce recognised, high-quality wine. In the case of Central Otago, it is the desire to produce exceptional Pinot Noir that attracts these individuals. As one winery respondent stated:

Pinot Noir has something of [a] mystical pulling power. When a region becomes known for producing Pinot Noir, suddenly, everyone wants a piece of the action (Winery owner, Central Otago).

These owners emphasise “long term strategic goals of being a globally distributed brand” (Winery manager, Central Otago) or assuring their place in the market as an ultra-premium, niche-market wine:

We're sort of pursuing the exclusivity/scarcity model...we want our wines in the right place, right up the top, the best restaurants... (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Owning a winery is a personal endeavour and challenge from which status-seekers gain personal satisfaction and kudos. The winery serves as a supplemental business venture/career, often supported by their real career or “real life” elsewhere:

Last year in the UK, three of us were sitting around a table in Oxfordshire and it happened to be three New Zealanders, we didn't particularly know each other - we started talking and we all had vineyards in Central Otago! We were all over there working to support them! (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Eleven of the twelve (92%) status-seeking wineries had at least one absentee owner, not involved in the daily operations and management of the winery, and whose primary residence is not Central Otago. Seven of the status-seeking wineries were owned by multiple partners (58%), four are sole proprietorships (33%); and one is a family-owned winery (8%). Many of these operations have hired managers, viticulturalists, and winemakers.

Status-seekers often come to the project of establishing a winery with substantial wealth, having been successful in other careers or investments. Therefore, they can afford to buy the best land and advice, and set up a well-run business which may be costly to operate, but fosters the production of high-quality wine. This trend is acknowledged by those outside of the wine industry:

Central Otago began to attract serious investors.... businessmen, doctors, lawyers, film actors, film producers - those sort of people who loved Pinot, loved the idea of being wine producers and had the money to buy good land,

good advice and do it properly (Representative, Central Otago Regional Organisation).

The definition of success for these status-seeking owners may not include the criterion of making a profit. When asked whether the venture was profitable, the manager of an absentee-owned winery in Central Otago stated:

*It depends how you view profitability – do you include financing? (laughs).
For this financial year we will pretty much break even (Winery manager,
Central Otago).*

Some respondents noted that they still may gain financial benefits from owning a winery, even if it is not profitable, because in some situations any losses can be used as a tax write-off:

There are quite a considerable number of wineries here who it doesn't really matter whether the enterprise is profitable or not...whether it's a tax write off or whether it's a hobby...whatever it is (Winery manager, Central Otago).

In general, status-seeking respondents expressed the opinion that whether or not the winery is profitable is less important to their goals of producing a well-recognised, high quality wine that is associated with them. As one respondent stated: "People love the idea of being able to put a bottle of wine on the table and say, 'I made this' " (Winery owner, Central Otago). For many of these owners, they also have personal wine production goals such as the production of single vineyard, 100 percent estate grown or organic wines. As the manager at one winery explained:

They've always had a house in Wellington and they come down here for holidays... on a personal level, they were very much into wine, and they wanted to have a vineyard and make their own wine, and they wanted to do it organically...It doesn't really run as a profitable business (Winery manager, Central Otago).

Central Otago has attracted such individuals because of the region's reputation internationally as a place of extraordinary beauty and its environmental and amenity value, as well as its growing reputation as a region where fine wines can be produced. While status-seekers often share similar motivations to lifestyle-seekers (see Section 8.3.3) in their decision to reside in the rural region and establish or purchase a winery, the difference is that the status-seekers often have a permanent residence elsewhere, while the *raison d'être* of lifestyle-seeking owners is to live in the region. For most status-seekers, they have a home on the property amidst the vineyards, which serves as a secondary (or even tertiary) residence, and is seen as a rural escape to visit for short periods.

While most of the status-seeking owners are not from Central Otago, some do have childhood ties to Central Otago and therefore wish to safeguard their nostalgic place identity from any threats. Status-seeking owners see the region as "a gem to preserve". Status-seeking owners were motivated to establish a winery business and develop a part-time residence in Central Otago because they were attracted to the extraordinary beauty and untouched nature of the area; because of this, they have an interest in preserving the beauty and attractiveness of the region because it is seen as a paradise to which they can escape. Despite the fact that these owners often do not have full-time roots in the region, their opposition to insensitive development implies that these individuals possess a strong place attachment to this locality. The opposition to further development also reflects status-seeking owners' lack of economic dependence on the region. Overall, status-seeking winery owners are against regional development unless it is very carefully planned and matches their expectations for how the region should evolve. This includes allowing for high-quality, sophisticated accommodation and restaurant establishments that are responsibly developed. A status-seeking owner of a winery that was involved in this research has been very outspoken regarding regional development. This owner, while living overseas, wrote several times in New Zealand papers in opposition to the local council's "boosterist" policies in 2000:

The objective of the council and its planners should be to keep Queenstown as one of the world's most beautiful alpine resorts. This makes not only good ecological sense, but good commercial sense as well. If we ruin the beauty of

our place, why would people come here at all?...But the biggest challenge really is to maintain the rural nature of the surrounds, keeping all building off the mountain sides, setting aside no-go building areas in the [Wakatipu] Basin, minimising sight line impact, and so on (The Press 10/11/2000).

Furthermore, because status-seeking owners are concerned with preserving and fostering a prestigious image for their wines, they have an interest in preserving the collective regional name and reputation. These owners are against mass-marketed, bulk style wine being produced and sold out of Central Otago because this will ultimately impact the image of their own wine (see Chapter Nine).

8.4.2 Subsistence-seeking

The subsistence-seeking winery owner characterises 14 out of the 18 Finger Lakes winery respondents (78%) interviewed in this project. Ten of the subsistence-seeking Finger Lakes wineries are family owned; two are sole-proprietorships; and two are partnerships (see Table 8.2). While some Central Otago winery owners may possess *some* characteristics of subsistence-seeking owners, they are *more* characteristic of status- and lifestyle-seeking owners. Therefore, none of the Central Otago winery respondents have been characterised as primarily subsistence-seeking. The subsistence-seeking winery owner's *raison d'être* is to earn a living – and they pursue any opportunity that will make their business more profitable. For example, the question of adopting tourism into their business is not a matter of wanting or not wanting visitors at their winery, but simply a question of whether it will be profitable to do so. For these operations, encouraging wine tourism and hosting visitors at the cellar door is an important strategic business decision that can increase profits. By selling directly to consumers, they cut out the distribution costs: “The problem is that when you sell it to a distributor, you take a hellacious cut in your profits” (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes). Most subsistence-seeking owners emphasise visitation and try to sell as much of their wine at the cellar door as possible. The various perspectives, decisions and actions towards tourism by these winery entrepreneurs are discussed further in Chapter Nine.

Subsistence-seeking owners see themselves as humble farmers, and often get frustrated with the snobbery attached to wine production. They are proud that they are hands-on, hard working wine growers, unlike the type of people who they perceive as having, “too much money” and who buy a winery for what subsistence-seekers perceive to be less noble reasons. As one winery owner stated: “We don’t have a sugar-daddy to buy things for us...We’re actually a for-profit business without any outside investors” (Winery owner, Finger Lakes). These Finger Lakes respondents often compared themselves to types of winery owners in other regions such as Long Island or Napa Valley who they viewed as establishing wineries as a hobby, to boost their ego or because it is a “quaint or prestigious thing to do”:

We don’t have too many vanity wineries. In Long Island you’ve got vanity wineries, they don’t make a dime. They’re a huge monument to the owners’ ego. There are very few that you could even think of like that here, it just isn’t the style of the region (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

These respondents stress that wine production is a difficult and strenuous industry to be involved in; only those that fully partake in the stress and hard work of grape growing and winemaking can fully understand and appreciate the intrinsic value of the industry. These wineries are run by the owner-operator(s), who work and oversee every aspect of the business including grape growing and wine production:

I pretty much do everything. I rebuild the tractors, work in the vineyards, do bookwork, I help the winemaker out, taste all the blends with him and do the final blending, work on the bottling line doing all the bottling and labelling and capping (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

These hands on business practices are seen also to be genuine and representative of the Finger Lakes’ meta-narrative; those winery owners that do not fit this narrative are often seen as “outsiders”:

This is farming. And that ties into the problem with someone just starting a winery with no vineyard. They don't realize that their business is farming. You don't order your widgets and your gadgets and assemble them in the back room. You've got a lot of worrying to do. And I think everybody that owns a winery should participate in some of that gut-wrenching stress (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Subsistence-seeking owners see themselves as true farmers whose “legitimate” rural activities contribute to the rural economy, society and environment:

Farming keeps you humble. Believe me. Last time we almost had our crop wiped out by a hail storm. You can not get too cocky when you're working with Mother Nature...and anybody that starts out cocky eventually mellows out after 20 years or so. It's a great equalizer. People's character comes out (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Subsistence-seeking owners think it is important that they are directly involved in all aspect of the process to ensure quality standards. For many of these operations, immediate family members are involved also in the operation of the business. Half of these individuals feel they are so overwhelmed with their own operation that they do little in terms of cooperative networking with other wineries, while the other half of these owners recognise the strategic importance of collaborative efforts and work tirelessly for regional efforts. Overall, subsistence-seeking winery owner's paramount concern is how to keep their business afloat and thriving, and they do what is necessary to achieve this goal.

The subsistence-seekers interviewed in this research viewed the identity of their place as “a workable land”; a traditional, rural area whose land should be cultivated to produce the most profitable yield possible. Unlike status- and lifestyle-seeking owners, subsistence-seeking owners advocate for more overall regional development, and more infrastructure and facilities that caters for tourism such as new restaurants and accommodations. Additional wineries are not seen as a threat, but as “growing the pie for everyone” (Winery owner, Finger Lakes). Those wineries located in more peripheral areas are particularly

interested in attracting more wineries and additional services and attractions as a means to build a critical mass to draw more visitors to their location. While these owners do think protecting the region from insensitive development is important, they are generally supportive of what they view as smart regional development.

Many of the subsistence-seeking owners also possess characteristics and motivations associated with lifestyle entrepreneurs (see below). There are significant grey areas between these types, as owners may possess characteristics and motivations from multiple types. While over three-quarters of Finger Lakes respondents are primarily motivated by financial incentives, not all actions and decisions are solely based on profit motives; for many, it is a mix of both economic and non-economic motives.

8.4.3 Lifestyle-seeking

The third and final category of winery entrepreneurs identified in this research is the lifestyle seekers. This category included half (12) of the Central Otago respondents and a quarter (4 of 18) of the Finger Lakes respondents. In Central Otago, eight of the lifestyle-seeking wineries were owned by families; three were sole-proprietorships; and one was a partnership (see Table 8.1). All four of the lifestyle-seeking wineries in the Finger Lakes were family-owned and operated (see Table 8.2).

While “lifestyle” represented something unique to each respondent, in general it refers to the fact that non-economic factors, such as personal and family goals, dominated economic incentives in their motivations to own a winery (see Chapter Three). This is reported by the representative of the Central Otago Regional organisation, and supported in a statement from a winery owner:

What I tell people is if you want to make a small fortune making wine, it's good to start with a big fortune. I doubt a lot of them make a lot of money. A few years ago we did a detailed look at boutique wineries and we concluded at the end of it – why would you do this? Apart from having a house with a long porch and a view over the back with a sunset. That's what it comes to. A

lot of people, they're fairly well off, it's a lifestyle choice (Representative, Central Otago Regional Organisation).

Everyone's got a different story. Most people are passionate about wine, a lot of people are here because Central [Otago] is the place they want to be – all sorts of lifestyle reasons (Winery owner, Central Otago).

The central motivation that all lifestyle-seeking owners shared was the desire to live in the region for its environmental, social and cultural value. This primary motivation was linked to other lifestyle aspirations, such as being near recreational and leisure opportunities, or being able to fulfil community and family-related goals. For others, a priority was securing a more flexible, independent, and slower pace of life, or being hands-on and working outside. For all these owners, success is measured in terms of their ability to secure their chosen lifestyle, so their approach to their business means looking not solely at profit and growth, but whether they are achieving these other goals:

People want to go live in vineyard areas because it's romantic – well, yeah, it's romantic, and the industry needs romantics, because it demands passion and imagination and creative people. But it's not an industry known for making money (Winery owner, Central Otago).

The beauty of the area, the people, it's a nice place to raise your kids...People will come here because this is where they want to live and they bring their talents with them. You know, they don't come here because they're sure it's the best place to start that particular business, but they evolve to that (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

The winery entrepreneur that has been characterised as a lifestyle-seeker generally expressed a romantic notion of wine, and the perceived lifestyle that accompanies it, and their ownership of a winery reflected this desire to be a part of the romantic ideal. Most of these respondents had moved into the region, and emphasized the environmental, recreational and amenity appeal of the region as important in their decision. The

establishment or purchase of a winery represented a new stage in their life, as either a retirement project or a new career move. It was either a long-time dream or something that they “fell into” after having decided that this was where they wanted to live, and seeing the success of the wine industry. While these individuals had various degrees of wine and grape growing experience, many had no experience whatsoever, and simply learned as they went along. Individuals in both regions came from various professional backgrounds such as academia, journalism, IT and government agencies.

Similar to the status-seeking owners, many of the lifestyle-seeking respondents noted that they do not make a substantial profit, and many of them came to the project with money from previous projects or careers. Most of the money earned from the winery is re-distributed into the business and simply sustains it. For those who are aware of the limited returns gained from owning and running a small wine business, but still enter the industry, it is clear that they have chosen lifestyle over wealth creation. For these owners, fulfilling lifestyle goals can be seen as a strategic business objective. This is illustrated by respondents in both regions in their reluctance to grow or expand their business, by adding on a cafe or shop, for example, or expanding their vineyard size in order to maintain the manageability of the business and their desired lifestyle.

While lifestyle-seeking owners reside on their property and oversee the running of the business, they often employ help such as a part-time manager, viticulturist and winemaker. This is in contrast to the subsistence-seeking owner who tries to work every facet of the business in order to reduce unnecessary costs, such as employing a manager. Although many of the lifestyle-seeking owners have found that owning/running a winery has involved more work than initially expected, this does not negate the lifestyle benefits they feel they gain, because lifestyle is broader than just the amount of work involved; for these individuals, it includes the intangible aspects of living in a beautiful area, the personal satisfaction gained from producing a high-quality product, working alongside family members, and having the independence to run the business as they wish:

I've seen quite a few people like myself and my husband – it's a middle age romantic image that you think you're going to have this gorgeous lifestyle

*with the vines. In reality the vines take over after awhile, and it's hard work...
However, I wouldn't change it for anything – it's a really really great lifestyle
(Winery owner, Central Otago).*

Many of the owners characterised as lifestyle-seekers had first visited Central Otago or the Finger Lakes as tourists, and then decided to move there permanently. Snepenger et al. (1995) termed this process “travel stimulated entrepreneurial migration” and it is referred to by Urry (1992, p.22) as the “colonising the tourist gaze” (see Chapter Two). For these individuals, the place was already seen as a consumptive-oriented locality with attractive amenity attributes. Similar to the place attachment of status-seekers, lifestyle-seekers are concerned with preserving their particular view of their place as: “A place to love”. These individuals want to protect their newfound rural lifestyle from any threats or disturbances. For many, this includes preserving the region’s landscapes and limiting further regional development. Woods (2009) calls this phenomenon “aspirational ruralism” – having bought into the dream of the rural idyll, they are willing to fight to preserve the rural landscape and lifestyle just as it was when they moved there (see Chapter Two). Furthermore, because these owners are not interested in increasing tourism, they are not particularly concerned with building a stronger infrastructural and facilities base to support tourism (see Chapter Nine).

Table 8.3 outlines the three different entrepreneurial types, with an analysis of the place identity, motivations and characteristics associated with each type.

Table 8.3: Winery Entrepreneurial Types

	Place Identity	Structure and ownership/management style	Primary motivation
A. Status-seeking	“A gem to preserve” – for both commercial and personal reasons. This is their escape from the real world and their real life.	Absentee owned or owner-operated (often with a hired viticulturist and/or winemaker)	Personal satisfaction, acquiring status or fulfilling a dream of making high-quality wine. Owning a property in this high-amenity area (even if they don’t often get to enjoy it).
B. Subsistence-seeking	“A workable land” - The region provides a means of making a living.	Owner-operated (family often involved)	Earning a living, making a profit.
C. Lifestyle-seeking	“A place to love” – A rural place that offers appealing environmental, social and cultural qualities	Owner-operated (family often involved). Many hire a manager, viticulturist and/or winemaker.	Lifestyle associated with owning a rural wine business.

8.5 Shifting Perceptions and Motivations

While respondents to this research have been categorized into three different types, it must be noted that an entrepreneur’s motivations and goals may evolve over time, due to changes in contextual or personal circumstances. This in turn will influence how these businesses are run and the strategic decisions that are made. For example, some subsistence-seeking owners that are primarily concerned with economic motivations may tend more towards the lifestyle-seeking or status-seeking type as time goes on as the winery becomes more profitable, grows and matures to a point where a formal management structure has been established. The statements below illustrate how perceptions may evolve along with experience over time:

It was exciting blazing a trail and doing something that hadn’t been done before in the region. All of the challenges and things I found out about growing grapes, making wine, creating brand images, packaging. The whole thing was all a huge and exciting learning experience. But at the end of it all I was sitting at a desk and managing staff. I felt I wasn’t doing what I had set out to do (Winery owner, Central Otago).

The ironic part of it is in 1975 I was zooming up and down the rows cultivating and disking grapes and saying 'I gotta get the heck off this tractor'...now some 30 years later I love to get out and on the tractor. As much as I'd like to jump on a tractor, I don't really have the time (Winery owner, Finger Lakes).

As a result of their changing lifestyle and business goals, or due to market forces, some wine producers may diversify their vineyard/winery operation to include a tourism/hospitality component. Some owners may reposition their business and begin focusing on producing higher-quality wines as a new goal. For example, one of the original winery owners in Central Otago sold his operation, which had a strong tourism focus, so that he could start a new operation that did not cater to tourism. While he still receives visitors by appointment, these visitors are generally trades people, restaurateurs and distributors who actively seek out his wines. In this new operation, he is able to focus on the production of ultra-premier, niche-marketed Pinot Noir and cultivate his winemaking skills:

I enjoyed the tourism side of things. I enjoyed establishing a restaurant in the middle of nowhere...but I certainly do not have any interest in going down that route again... I was getting further and further away from the reality of wine. So in an attempt to get back to that reality...because I had achieved everything else...I set up a small one-man winery that was designed as a winery where I could be the winemaker, general manager, the marketing manager, cellar hand, everything (Winery owner, Central Otago).

Some owners may simply get tired of working so hard and choose to limit the size of their business to a more manageable scale. This may involve limiting the scale of their business and reducing production. For others, they may decide to reduce cellar door hours and focus on other distribution channels that allow them to sell wine in large shipments, rather than having to sell each individual bottle at the cellar door. Other wineries have grown and matured to a point where a formal management structure has been established, and the owner is less involved.

8.6 Conclusion

As this chapter has outlined, winery entrepreneurship is determined significantly by the individual's personal characteristics, goals and motivations as well as the broader environment in which the individual operates. Further, the entrepreneur's perception of their place and environment is also crucial to this process. The WEPPID model conceptualises the entrepreneurial process by embedding the entrepreneur (with unique personal/business motivations and place identity) within their context, leading to particular entrepreneurial *types*. As discussed in Chapter Three, there are many motivations and entrepreneurial guises that exist beyond the historical depiction of the "hero entrepreneur", driven by economic imperatives, and this Chapter has revealed a range of alternative entrepreneurial types, which result in unique entrepreneurial outcomes, in the form of decisions and actions. Chapters Nine and Ten analyse the manifestation of entrepreneurial outcomes in the form of business practices and regional initiatives related to tourism, marketing and seasonality.

Chapter 9: Selling the Wine: Tourism and Marketing

9.1 Introduction

Chapters Nine and Ten present an application of the WEPPID model (Figure 8.3) to issues highlighted as particularly important by respondents: Tourism, Marketing and Seasonality. This chapter discusses the individual perspectives of winery entrepreneurs regarding their own, and their region's tourism and marketing activities, focusing on each case study region separately and the entrepreneurial types that were identified within these regions. As wine and tourism are both products that are significantly differentiated on the basis of regional identity, it is little surprise that region-wide issues such as tourism development and regional marketing are extremely significant for individual wineries, although there were diverse perspectives and experiences reported in both regions. This chapter also discusses the challenges of collaborative marketing efforts for wineries in the case study regions, and the conflicts that result over *what* is included and excluded as part of the regional branding and marketing process. Respondents' opinions about how the region should be defined and portrayed are clearly discernable by their opposition to perceived threats to the shared regional name and reputation. Bound up in these conflicts are broader disagreements as to how individuals work collaboratively, how they perceive and promote for tourism, how they see this place and the trajectory of future regional development.

9.2 Place-based Marketing: Respondents' Perceptions

As has been reported in the literature (see Chapter Two), respondents in both case study regions acknowledge that the place that wine is grown (and its reputation and image) is a crucial component in the promotion and selling of wine products and wine experiences. Wine, like tourism, is one of the few products whose attributes are naturally conducive to cooperation at a regional level, as the region itself can be a source of differentiation, added value and reputation (Hall & Mitchell, 2008). A collective regional name and reputation is a key resource and asset from which all stakeholders draw. As respondents noted, the regional name: "Central Otago" or "The Finger Lakes" signifies something for consumers; they believed that a particular image is conjured up in the minds of consumers – whether

they are purchasing a bottle of wine or considering the region as a holiday destination. Both case study regions have developed a regional brand based on place, which has been framed as both a destination brand: “Finger Lakes Wine Country”, “Central Otago – A World of Difference” and also a brand based on the wines geographical origins: Finger Lakes Riesling, Central Otago Pinot Noir. In both cases, the aim of creating a brand is to convey messages to potential markets about the product, as the following respondents acknowledged:

It's taking a brand and making sure that we have a clear articulation of the brand values. And then being able to attach what we need onto that. So if the brand value is “Finger Lakes – beautiful place” then we can attach wine country to that, we can attach quality wine [and] take that out through our imagery and through our words (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

The branding of Central Otago as a destination is based on a set of values...the Central Otago wine brand is also based on a set of values – it's about niche, it's not about mass. Its lifestyle, it's a very hands-on, labour-intensive wine producing....The Central Otago brand is about creating this point of difference. The unique conditions, the climate, soils, landscapes. The environment that produces this very good wine (Representative Regional Organisation, Central Otago).

While recognising that each individual winery must earn and develop its own reputation and unique brand, respondents in both case study regions highlighted the importance of a strong, collective regional reputation based on place that conveys a message to potential markets:

We promote the region first, then the winery, then the country...Promoting the region first is a positive for everyone, and it's a really good foundation for building a world famous Central Otago reputation (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

If you think of “The Finger Lakes” as being a brand...the challenge is basically to take that brand statement and be able to invest enough in the correct markets so that we can create awareness of that brand. And that awareness has two consequences – one which is people become interested in the region and they express that interest through visitation and they express that interest through buying stuff on shelves. They don’t do just one thing (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While the quality of the wine is clearly a critical element in developing a reputation and recognised brand, respondents noted that a successful wine brand needs depth. Just as the physical characteristics of the case study regions are fundamental in shaping the regions’ wines and regional wine brand, so too are wine-growing traditions (and associated appealing stories). The critical influence of the environment and the creative process involved in the production of wine has resulted in wine being strongly associated, and named after, the places in which they originate (e.g. Champagne, Burgundy). Many long-established wine regions, particularly those in Europe, have enduring and powerful place-based brands, often protected under a wide range of institutions and arrangements (e.g. French appellation laws). More recently-established New World wine regions, such as The Finger Lakes and Central Otago, do not rely as much on well-known, historically-based geographical reputations and regulations. Wine producers in these regions have therefore used other ways to connect with consumers, and demonstrate that their wine is distinct to a place, including place-based marketing initiatives and encouraging visitation. The association between wine production and heritage is engrained in the culture of wine consumption, and new wine production regions, even when lacking an established wine heritage, feel compelled to identify some form of local heritage in their marketing strategies, or at least feel that there is marketing potential in doing so (Alonso & Northcote, 2009). These images and stories provide a point of difference, and serve to build an emotional connection with potential consumers.

The global wine market is full of wine brands that are competing on price, long-established regional winemaking reputations and/or quality. Consumers’ perceptions of wine quality is at least partially subjective; what one considers to be a quality wine, and how one chooses a

“quality wine” to purchase differs significantly between consumers (e.g., Charters & Pettigrew, 2006; Dodd et al., 2005). Unlike many modern foods, a wine's attractions rely not on bold consistent flavours, but upon a subtle array of shifting sensations that make its charm difficult to define. In essence, wine producers are selling a sensory experience to the consumer (Bisson et al., 2002). Therefore, one of the most important marketing techniques available is to leverage emotions. As one Central Otago winery respondent noted:

The quality of product reflects the quality of place. It's so important for the story to be emotive and appealing. Central Otago wine is exported around the world, and with it, the story has also been taken global.

Place imagery and desirable regional attributes were identified by research respondents as key components of marketing for wine and tourism in Central Otago and The Finger Lakes, and are used by regional wine and tourism organisations in their marketing initiatives (see Figures 5.4 and 6.3). Both The Finger Lakes and Central Otago are defined by broad metanarratives that employ idyllic notions of rurality and rural individuals, influenced by nostalgic sentiments based on the past (see Chapter Two). These selective narratives are used deliberately in place-marketing initiatives to add depth to the regional brand, but are also propagated through individuals in the industry as well as word-of-mouth by consumers. Place-based marketing promotes the image of these regions as beautiful, untouched landscapes that produce distinctive, high-quality wines:

No one comes to Central Otago without being in awe of the natural beauty of this region. In some respects an 'emotional buy in' for every tourist that visits this land and its people is what we are capitalizing on with each wine sale. Often the idea of taking a bottle of wine home to share with friends, will I hope start the stories of our mountains, and natural beauty and sell the idea of more people to come and visit. The wine will I hope be evocative enough to do this (Representative, Central Otago Regional Organisation).

We need to promote the image of The Finger Lakes region and the wines of The Finger Lakes region. There should be that instant awareness – so when

you ask “What’s Finger Lakes” – Finger lakes is great cool-climate wines, Rieslings, late harvest, that kind of thing. Beautiful hills, lakes and vineyards (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Along with the landscapes and physical attributes of Central Otago and The Finger Lakes, place-based marketing efforts have focused on the historical image of these regions as once desolate, sparsely-populated, rural areas, which have been transformed by the wine industry and its hard-working, rugged pioneers. An important component of this image is romanticised notions of the wine producer (See Chapter Eight), who is a verifying element in cultivating a niche brand that builds an emotional connection with consumers.

Wine is similar to other aspirational commodities into which consumers imbue subjective qualities and from which they derive symbolic attributes; the region of production, the artistic reputation of the producer, and the conditions of production are important factors in the perceived value of wine (Yegge & Noble, 2000), and this was recognised by respondents:

As a marketer, I know just intuitively that people can buy wine anywhere. But people come to your front door because they want to know what your winery is all about. What you’re all about. They want to know why, if there’s 25 or 30 of them on this road, what makes yours special (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes)

We focus on the personalities behind the wine and promoting the uniqueness of the region in everything that we do – that is what makes Central Otago wine special. With all of our events we usually have our winemakers representing Central Otago, as this gives the personalized message, which is so important. If we are hosting guests (especially international VIPs) we always try and host them in the region as this is the first hand experience that provides the ‘WOW’ factor that delivers above all else the message of Central Otago (Representative, Central Otago Regional Organisation).

Respondents also highlighted the importance of creating a connection with potential consumers through sharing stories about their winery, their wines and the region in general. As Hall and Mitchell (2008) argue, visitors want to be enchanted (not just entertained) by the stories that connect the land, the people and the wine; a position supported by the respondents:

People who visit the wineries are meeting the people behind the wine. They're hearing the story from the ground level up. They're not getting the big marketing sales pitch, they're actually meeting the people who own and operate that winery and telling the stories – so that brings in that whole emotive appeal again and then people purchase that wine and go away feeling good. It's that intangible experience, it plays on people's emotions and they want to come back or they want to go home and purchase that wine and talk to people about it (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Many respondents were of the opinion that the most effective way to do this is through hosting visitors and providing them with the opportunity to experience the reality behind wine production, which highlights distinct points of differentiation and added value, particularly in offering a sense of genuine (rather than industrial) wine.

The importance of a collective regional name and reputation (a regional brand image and its associations) makes it necessary for the multiple stakeholders of a region to compete and/or negotiate over whose values and interests are represented by the regional brand. Collaboration has arisen as an important issue and point of contention in both The Finger Lakes and Central Otago, given the diversity in agendas and goals of winery operators.

Despite the differences in motivations and agendas, one way in which diverse stakeholders come together is in face of perceived common threats from the “outside”. This is apparent in the case study regions through respondents’ use of place comparison, in which actors negatively characterise other places to maintain differences between them, and to construct an identity based on what they are *not*. While this is often in comparison to other regions, it is more broadly in opposition to placeless modernising forces perceived to be

driving the global wine industry; this certainly has important implications and expressions in the case of place-marketing.

9.3 Central Otago

This section focuses on the views of Central Otago winery entrepreneurs in regards to tourism and marketing, highlighting the perspectives of the winery entrepreneurial types identified in Chapter Eight. As noted in Section 7.2.3, Central Otago wineries sell close to 90 percent of their wine through exporting and domestic retail sales; selling only between five and ten percent of their wine at the cellar door. Therefore, respondents noted the importance of focusing their efforts on key markets, particularly overseas, rather than trying to be all things to all people. Respondents are of the opinion that the region should be selective in how and where they focus their limited resources and energy in terms of marketing. The primary regional wine marketing organisation, Central Pinot Noir Limited (COPNL) plays an important role in these efforts. COPNL markets Central Otago as a premium international wine growing region for Pinot Noir (COPNL, 2013) in its communications with trade and media, and by organising events in key overseas markets.

Another influential organisation in the region is Tourism Central Otago, which is the Regional Tourism Organisation (RTO) for Central Otago, and is a division of the Central Otago District Council. This organisation works directly with wine and tourism stakeholders, and develops marketing initiatives for Central Otago as a visitor destination within New Zealand and internationally. The Gibbston Valley sub-region falls under the jurisdiction of the Queenstown Lakes District Council (see Chapter Five), and is therefore represented as part of Destination Queenstown. The Gibbston Valley sub-region is, however, considered an important part of the “Central Otago Wine Region” by COPNL, and is therefore represented by COPNL in its regional marketing efforts.

A third collective regional organisation that was identified by respondents is the “Central Otago Cellar Door Network”, which was developed under COWA in December 2006 (see also Caple, 2011). The network is made up of local wineries whose key objective is to develop wine tourism in the region. It is a way for cellar door managers to meet with each other

regularly, and to integrate with Tourism Central Otago, various education sectors and Government programmes (Tourism Central Otago, 2008c). The Cellar Door Network's key objectives include:

- Development of a wine tourism strategy.
- Development of viticulture and winemaking knowledge by cellar door staff – better knowledge of products and processes means better experience for visitors at the cellar door.
- Development of “global” wine knowledge - allows cellar door staff to better understand Central Otago's place in the global wine market.
- E-commerce, website, database, marketing development – seminars developed for cellar door network members through Otago Chamber of Commerce.
- Industry nights and chef hosting – educating staff from local restaurants, cafes, pubs etc for a briefing on the local wine industry and chef hosting – international chefs work on wine/food matches and cooking workshops, help raise the profile of the region's wines in international markets (Tourism Central Otago, 2008c, p. 98).

Interestingly, this network was only mentioned by two of 26 Central Otago respondents during fieldwork. This is surprising given the number of questions asked about Central Otago wine tourism during interviews. This may be due to the fact because it was newly established at the time of interviews (12 months prior). In addition to this Cellar Door Network, an informal network of cellar door staff was created in 2007 which included a seminar with University of Otago staff (see also below). This network, which was “largely (but not exclusively) limited to the ‘new kids on the block’ in terms of wine production and cellar door development” (Mitchell & Schreiber, 2007, p. 95) has “since fallen by the wayside” because it was perceived to be “stepping on the toes of the educational committee of the winegrowers association” (Status-seeking winery manager, Central Otago):

Who is the winery? What does Central Otago represent? The cellar door is a correlation between the wine and the experience. A bottle of Central Otago Pinot Noir is only a bottle of Central Otago Pinot Noir until you add the

experience. The BRAND (both for the winery and the region) has a life bigger than the BOTTLE itself” (Cellar Door Network 2007, personal communication).

Respondents spoke of the unique attributes and elements that they feel constitute the brand “Central Otago”. Examples of these attributes are outlined below:

“The purity of Central Otago – the clear air, the refreshing climates etc – the aspects that should be concentrated on are the uniqueness of the region, the clear definition of seasons, the history and heritage but also the contemporary nature and premiumness of the region in cuisine etc”

“The great outdoors”

“Stunning Landscapes, Mountainous”

“The most southern wine growing region in the world, friendly and hospitable people”

“The colours of autumn, the open roads and relaxed nature, the mountains, the food grown and served here, the organic / sustainable viticulture”.

“Central Otago brand is more than the landscape to me; it is just as much the attitude”.

Respondents noted that these elements should be clearly utilised when marketing and branding the regions’ wines, and in promoting Central Otago as a place to visit, but expressed diverse opinions regarding the best way to implement marketing initiatives.

Winery entrepreneurs that have been characterised as status-seekers reported that hosting visitors is often a valuable marketing and branding tool, and an opportunity to develop relationships with important consumers and stakeholders. These status-seeking owners did explain, however, that they are opposed to “cheesy” or mass tourism because they fear that it cheapens the reputation and image of the region and its wines. These respondents believe there is a perception that wineries *either* produce serious, quality wine *or* cater to the demands of tourists:

One of the downsides to being involved in winery tourism to a big scale is that your credibility is going to suffer as wine producers. People are going to say, well you're just a tourism winery. The wines are ok, but...And it doesn't matter how many gold medals you win, they're still going to say that (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

In this way, tourism is afforded less legitimacy, and is seen to be a less important pursuit in the overall personal and business goals of status-seeking owners. Since increasing tourism is not a priority for status-seeking owners, they do not actively lobby for, or participate in, efforts to strengthen regional wine tourism.

As noted in Chapter Eight, status-seeking owners are primarily focused on producing quality wine and cultivating a niche brand; their production is limited, selectively focused and at relatively high prices. Because of this, many status-seeking owners do not think it is strategically beneficial to regularly cater to tourists, as the following quotes illustrate:

We come into different cost points in the market...they get the kind of people that are coming through here and will spend \$22/25 on a bottle of wine. They're a little bit cheaper whereas most of ours is priced \$30 plus, and they have a lot of volume (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

To get people to come in you've got to have a range of wines. We've decided to focus on Pinot Noir and focus on export and so it's a bit boring for someone to come to our place because at any one time we might only have one wine for them to try, so we'd have to plant other blocks with different varieties and then have them made and have small parcels which is all a big nuisance really (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Many of the wineries owned by status-seekers offer tastings by appointment only, and do not consider this to be "tourism" necessarily, as these visitors tend to be industry stakeholders and trades people such as exporters, overseas importers and trades people such as restaurateurs:

We do quite a bit of trade in the tasting room...Our trade customers are our most important because they sell two-thirds of our wine...like we had a guy from Disneyland come in and decided he wants our wine... we'll have people from the restaurant pop in – that's better than me banging on their door (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

We don't know who's going to walk in the cellar door. For example, two years ago a guy walked in, he had a tasting and he disclosed that he had just come from a nearby winery where he was all set to take their wine. He was an important European importer... he said he was going to take their wines, but then now he wanted ours. So he got two shipments. So you never know who's going to come (Status-seeking winery manager, Central Otago).

Like the status-seeking owners, lifestyle-seeking owners in Central Otago reported that hosting visitors is a secondary, side project - and one which they will continue doing *only* if it fits in with their more important personal, family goals and responsibilities. Most of the wineries owned by lifestyle-seeking owners in Central Otago have limited cellar door opening hours to host visitors. Some are only open for certain months of the year; others may only open on weekends, or until they have sold out of production. Lifestyle-seeking respondents reported that tourism is sometimes an annoyance or distraction; as one Central Otago winery owner stated: "It's only something I'll do until I want to anyway". This winery owner opens at certain times of the year and is willing to host people for tastings by appointment as long as it does not interfere with necessary vineyard and winery work.

Other Central Otago lifestyle-seeking owners reported that they initially planned to be open regularly for visitors but then decided it was not worth the hassle:

We used to be open Monday to Friday 10-5, and we found that we were getting bugged at lunchtime. We like to sit down and have lunch with everybody and then we'd have a customer come in, it's just frustrating for someone to go have to stand there for an hour talking to somebody and then maybe sell a bottle of wine if we're lucky. And we thought because we sell

out at the cellar door anyway, because we allocate a certain amount to sell through that, why beat ourselves in the head with trying to be open and please all people (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

For those owners that have entered the wine business for lifestyle reasons, adopting an additional facet (tourism) into their operation may be undesirable as it may interfere with the lifestyle dimensions and goals that motivated them in the first place. Many of the Central Otago lifestyle-seeking winery respondents have the potential and capability to expand their business (adding on a restaurant, café, gift shop) or planting more vines yet they choose not to in order to maintain the manageability of the business and their current lifestyle:

We've thought about opening a tasting facility and we decided we don't want to do it...we've looked at what's happened to other peoples' lives when they've done that sort of thing and it's a bit of a headache because you've got the issue of keeping it open during holiday hours, and there's an intrusion on your own privacy... (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

On the other hand, some lifestyle-seeking owners discussed the personal satisfaction and enjoyment they gain from hosting people to taste their wines. They appreciate the opportunity to meet people who are genuinely interested in learning about the region, their wines and experiencing their way of life:

We have an occasional bus in, it might be a load of Rotarians or something, but we're not geared for that and we don't want to do that... part of our whole philosophy is to give people a really good experience, and that means actually really engaging with them and telling them about the wine. I think we probably overdo it... Maybe it doesn't really make as much money because you're spending more time than you should, but people really enjoy it and we actually quite enjoy that (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

We like people to come here, to see the terroir, the places where we produce. Then they can associate with it, tell their friends about it (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Most of the Central Otago winery owners, both lifestyle- and status-seeking, explained that their motivation in hosting visitors is not primarily focused on selling bottles of wine. For many of these wineries, sales at the cellar door often do not even cover overhead and building costs. Still, these owners consider hosting visitors to be an important branding and marketing tool. Hosting visitors provides an opportunity for them to showcase their wines to industry stakeholders and loyal consumers that specifically seek them out. This provides a means of reaching consumers that seek more differentiated and higher-status products (rather than low-cost, high volume products), as these quotations suggest:

There's other benefits of having a cellar door, a lot of trades people come in, people can identify with our brand because they can actually come here...if you don't have a tasting room, you don't have that direct contact with customers. They'll tell you stories about where they drank your wine, we can get people's name on a mailing list (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Tourism is really important, even just building this tasting facility – the brand has been around since 2002 but until we built this building in 2006 and people started coming here, I mean, they didn't know we existed. It's more of the presence, people can see you, they can come and meet the person behind the label. It makes all the difference to them. For us it's huge (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Respondents also noted that through visitation, consumers are able to associate the wines with a set of physical, environmental characteristics assumed to convey desirable qualities. In this way, the wine incorporates appealing representations of the region into the product itself:

I'm sure as a contributor to the wine brand is just that the region is so beautiful. Wine writers come here and they're just blown away by the natural beauty. The wines have to taste good, but the beauty of the area contributes to the message we send in promoting the wines. There are not many areas as visually striking as Central Otago (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

By having consumers and industry stakeholders visit, these wineries are also able to share stories about the people and processes behind their wines. Both lifestyle and status-seeking respondents in Central Otago identified the importance of “creating a story” as an important way to engage visitors and create an emotional connection between consumers, the region and the winery:

You have to have a good wine and an image of some kind, a story behind your wine...you have to give people an experience and that's what wine tourism is all about. Wine tourism involves an experience of the place and particular environment, and a story about the wine and the people who make it (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

In a world where consumers are regularly exposed to commercial messages, one of the most important things marketers can do is leverage emotions. These unique stories serve as a point of difference used to sell bottles of wine (which encapsulate these stories) and a tourism experience (providing an insight into these stories), which helps build brand loyalty and brand recognition (see Chapter Two); a position supported by the respondents:

If people are coming here, they like to be at the vineyard, talk to the owner, talk to the winemaker, look at the vineyard, want to know how much money we make...they like to know that what they're getting is the genuine article. So single vineyard wines, made by the owner on site is the way to go. Rugged Individuals. It's the story behind it (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

The biggest benefit we get from tourism is getting people to actually visit the wineries, meet the people, taste the wines, sample the scenery et cetera. It's a Money-can't-buy experience (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Central Otago respondents noted that those operations that have a working winery, cellar door, visible vines and winemaker on-site will tend to get more tourists and press attention. These wineries are able to compellingly create an emotional connection with potential consumers:

People are spending \$40 on a bottle of wine...you're paying two or three times what you could. So there's got to be a reason. There's got to be some sort of connection with the place or the people (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

The most important issue related to marketing identified by all Central Otago winery respondents was related to the protection of the high quality niche brand and reputation that has been developed. All Central Otago respondents emphasised the importance of *place* and *terroir* for their industry, and were concerned with protecting the region from any forces they perceive may harm or dilute the uniqueness of this place, its wines, and its reputation:

A small area like Central Otago will survive on its brand and on its awareness...the image, the intangible thing we can add to the Central Otago brand, wine is part of that as well. Central Otago – world of difference brand, space not pace... (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Respondents expressed concerns that worsening economic conditions would mean consumers spend more cautiously, and will be less willing to purchase luxury goods such as premium-priced Central Otago Pinot Noir. As a result wineries might struggle financially, and will be forced to manage their inventory at lower price points, seek to extract returns from higher volumes at lower prices, and ultimately lead to the production of lesser-quality wine. Respondents fear also that there may be a consolidation of the wine industry, which

has the potential to harm the high end, premium regional brand that has been developed; both status- and lifestyle-seeking winery respondents expressed these concerns:

A lot of the larger wineries – Villa Maria, Montana, are starting to buy fruit and then they brand it as Central Otago. And wines that you normally would pay \$30 for, they're starting to put on a \$50/\$60 price point. For us, the best thing we can do is protect our brand...everybody has their own different view as to how to establish that (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Larger wineries from outside the region that are planting and producing by mass and are driving the price down which is making it quite difficult for local wineries here.... The biggest threat to the brand is certainly the dilution of the integrity of the brand and its values (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Respondents are concerned that the involvement of corporate producers changes wine from being an expression of the uniqueness of a place, to a homogenised, mass-produced product. All Central Otago winery respondents were opposed to large-scale corporate wine producers coming to the region. While the involvement of big corporations in the wine industry may be a natural outgrowth of the economic geography of the industry (Sommers, 2008), respondents felt that this trend is part of a long evolutionary process that takes winemaking decisions away from individual vineyard owners and places them in the hands of “faceless” corporations.

These fears align with the motivations and interpretations of place of both status- and lifestyle-seeking winery owners. Status-seeking winery owners, who are strongly focused on maintaining a high quality, status-oriented image for their wines rely heavily on the collective regional name. These owners emphasise the regional name before their sub-region or individual winery in their sales and marketing efforts, and seek to protect the integrity of its reputation. Similarly, lifestyle-seeking owners gain personal satisfaction from producing unique, artisanal, place-based wines that incorporate nostalgic ideas and images attached to place. Both lifestyle-and status-seeking owners highlighted the importance of

establishing a point of difference by promoting unique place-specific characteristics and attributes:

Our biggest challenge is to try and avoid the homogenisation of wine that comes with globalisation. These big companies that take over other companies, they want wine by formula, and that's not wine. That's not what wine is about. Wine is about reflecting a site and the environment, the place. It should give you a sense of place... We can do it with Pinot Noir, because Pinot Noir needs to be made on a small scale... it's best when it's made on a smaller scale. The future of Central Otago – our challenge is to be ourselves and try to avoid the pressure to be what other people want us to be... (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Status-seeking owners generally do not want to conduct broad-scale marketing for their wines. Rather, they seek to develop relationships with particular types of restaurants, importers and distributors to ensure that their brand is positioned in the right markets, and offered at the right places such as high end hotels and restaurants. In this way, their brand is associated with luxury (an important component of the overall status and image they seek). An interesting analogy is Champagne, which is synonymous with a place, and has transcended the wine label to become a status symbol. Consumers associate Champagne with celebrations and special occasions, and producers and marketers of Champagne make sure we don't forget that. While Champagne is a reflection of the place, history, and people who produce it, it also reflects wine's role as a status symbol and a sign of wealth (Charters, 2006; Sommers, 2008). Status-seeking owners emphasised the importance for Central Otago to secure a niche position in overseas markets given they cannot compete on price with low-cost, bulk producers.

In addition to perceived threats of large corporate producers, status-seeking owners also expressed concerns that inexperienced, newer producers are over-pricing their wine without regard for quality, and that this will ultimately dilute the prestigious reputation of top-quality Central Otago Pinot Noir wines:

If you've got someone who's monkeying around who are not all that high quality, then that's going to have a dramatic negative effect on the rest of us (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

You see a lot of younger producers come on board, they're putting their wines up at market rates without any experience: without any knowledge. I'm not saying that they're producing bad wines, but I think as we get further and further down the track, the Central Otago brand really needs to protect itself (Status-seeking winery manager, Central Otago).

Some of the status-seeking respondents identified these newer producers who they consider to be just “monkeying around” as “lifestylers”. In fact, the owners that have been characterised for this research project as lifestyle-seeking shared the same concerns as the status-seeking owners regarding the protection of Central Otago’s brand, as illustrated by the following quotation:

The Central Otago region has achieved a huge amount of press and profile on the domestic and international markets for its premium wines. We just need to continue doing what we are doing to ensure that we protect the Central Otago brand image (Lifestyle-seeking winery manager, Central Otago).

Lifestyle-seeking owners generally felt that most effective marketing is done through spending quality face-to-face time with consumers, and sharing stories about their winery. In a world where consumers are differentiated by social segments and lifestyle niches, it is not just inherent qualities of products that are important, but also their symbolic meanings (see Chapter Two). These attributes are embodied in successful brands (Pawson 1997). Family-owned wineries themselves can add to the perceived “authenticity” of their brand by incorporating the image of the family-owned vineyard. As noted in Chapter Three, “family branding” can serve as a powerful point of difference and competitive advantage, and this was acknowledged by respondents.

If you don't have a facility, or if you're not there on the ground where you've got your own winemaker to tell the story to show your level of commitment is your wine going to be taken seriously? Not in the market. Sure, it might be good wine, it might win a gold medal here or there but it's got to be backed up right through the...brand proposition with the vineyard or winery people and the story to tell. Some of these new brands, you sort of think, I wonder what their story is. Why would somebody buy that wine? (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

These perspectives and fears are in line with identity promotion techniques employed by wine producers in many other parts of the world. The production and consumption of these products invokes feelings of nostalgia and establishes a connection between consumers, producers and the experience of the place. As outlined in Chapter Two, media and popular culture abound with a romanticised notions of wine production and the individuals behind the process. One such popular documentary film, *Mondovino* (2004), portrays the globalisation of wine by pitting the ambitions of large, multinational wine producers (particularly the American Mondavi company) against the small-scale, single-estate producers that emphasise the concept of *terroir* and the importance of history and tradition in their vineyards and winemaking. The quotation that opened this thesis illustrate this discourse, as does the following taken from *Mondovino*:

It's very difficult to keep vines alive. But it's not just the rich who should be able to do it. Poor people also have the right. Before, these hills were covered with small plots. Everyone cultivated them. There were vines everywhere. Now people have become carried away by consumerism. They've lost their identity. They don't know where they come from, or where they're going...Wine has to reflect the place it comes from. Otherwise it's just a brand name (Mondovino 2004).

Just as *terroir* is more than the soil and climate of a region, but also includes human dimensions, Central Otago respondents expressed that a wine brand should have a personality that is associated with real people, places and events that create a winery's

sense of place, and have the added power of authenticity. Those individuals or businesses seen to be commodifying or cheapening the region's authentic brand identity, such as a large conglomerate or outside investors producing low-quality, bulk-style wine, are perceived as a threat by the winery respondents.

While wineries are concerned about their own operation and brand, they are also reliant on a collective regional reputation, which draws them into collaborative behaviour. Central Otago winery respondents identified the importance of building relationships with other members of the community:

You are doing it for yourself but you're also doing it as a commitment to the whole region (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Respondents noted the benefits of pooling resources to reduce costs, such as for marketing, and also by sharing equipment such as machine pickers and bottling equipment.

We've maintained that mentality of sticking together and 'we can do more as a group than we can individually' and the idea that 'you'll get more bang for your buck if you hunt as a pack' (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

As the wine industry in Central Otago has grown from a few small pioneers to a world renowned wine growing area with over 100 labels, the nature of cooperation has changed. The pioneers had to learn on their own how to grow grapes and make wine in Central Otago. They helped each other learn and worked together closely:

It was necessary for us to work together in those very early days because Central Otago isn't a small compact area... it's an hours drive to Wanaka and a half hour drive to Cromwell and an hour to Alexandra. We were all scattered. But we knew about each other and we were all blazing a trail in a new region, so we had to share ideas and share solutions and share equipment if we were able to, and stick together and do things together (Winery respondent, Central Otago).

As the region has grown, expanded and gained increased recognition for its wines, some respondents noted that the same level of cooperation does not exist: “We shared the knowledge and now we can stand on our own feet” (Winery respondent, Central Otago). Furthermore, cooperation has become more difficult because of the increasing diversity of styles, sizes and types of wineries in Central Otago:

The way we cooperate is changing compared to what it was when you had a smaller group of wineries. We had to work together in the early days to push the region, push the branding, push the wine. Now you see a bit more commercial sensitivity coming into the network relationships which is obvious given that some of them are twice the size and have large volumes of wine to sell, all selling in different markets at different price points (Lifestyle seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Now there's people coming in with a lot of money, they've bought vineyards, they've got their land, they've got their winery and they've got their vision. When I first turned up here I thought I could help put Central Otago on the worldwide map...I think with that sort of being achieved now, everybody is a bit more on their own agendas (Winery respondent, Central Otago).

While most winery respondents believe collaborative organisations are able to achieve objectives individual wineries could not do on their own, the benefits that derive from a collaborative process are not necessarily distributed equitably among the parties (Ring & van de Ven, 1994). Marzano (2008) argues that while stakeholders work together to pursue a mutually beneficial outcome, these individual stakeholders draw on individual and collective resources in order to influence the outcome of the process to their own advantage. The way that an individual works collaboratively depends on the way they view their business and the region and industry overall.

As discussed in Chapter Eight, the case study regions are dominated by a particular style of winery ownership: Central Otago is dominated by what I label “status-seeking” winery owners. The values and interests of this dominant ownership type are reflected in regional

marketing: COPNL identifies their focus as “position Central Otago Pinot Noir at the very top of the market through regional cooperation and activities... Encourage premium quality and protect and support the quality brand.” (COPNL, 2009). Their goals do not include increasing tourism or increasing production, but to focus on maintaining a niche-marketed, exclusive brand image for their wines, which reflects the goals of the status-seeking majority.

Furthermore, those participating wineries that were more focused on increasing exports and international recognition for their wines tended to view COPNL as more beneficial than those wineries that were more focused on increasing domestic sales. This is because COPNL focuses their marketing and promotions in key export markets.

[COPNL] spends a hell of a lot of time marketing Central Otago overseas. And that's because the more established brands, they already have their markets here in New Zealand. So I get that. But for someone new like us, we need to establish ourselves here in the domestic market first. We still find it beneficial, but it costs us a lot (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Some Central Otago Lifestyle-seeking winery owners expressed the opinion that they do not have the time nor resources available to participate in organisations or collaborative initiatives. An example of this was when a Central Otago Winery Manager attempted to initiate a cooperative cellar door network . It was unsuccessful partly because it was difficult to “rally the troops”:

There is a lot of owner-operators whose excuse is they're too busy. They cannot really be involved, they cannot really get into this stuff. So it was really hard to get people to...a lot of people are like us. We've only got two people who work here. Those two people have got to do everything. To try and add on top of that another obligation, it was just too much (Status-seeking winery manager, Central Otago).

Furthermore, stakeholders do not agree on where efforts should be focused –to increase tourism (and how), promote wine (and how), to lobby for legislation (e.g., wine sales in grocery stores) or increased infrastructure and services. Therefore, despite the apparent benefits of working collaboratively, the characteristics and goals of owners can pose significant challenges to such initiatives. One respondent explains the lack of cooperation as a result of the strong-willed, stubborn nature of winery owners:

A lot of it is an ego thing. The wine industry is really interesting because there's so many facets and dimensions to it. It does tend to attract some pretty big egos (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

This is very much in line with the entrepreneurial literature, which emphasises independence (Carland et al., 1984; Davids, 1963; Dunkelberg & Cooper, 1982; Hisrich, 1985), egoistic passion (Baum et al., 2001; Shane et al., 2003), locus of control (Borland, 1974; Carland et al., 1984; Rotter, 1966; Liles, 1974; Timmons, 1978; Welsh & White, 1981) and self efficacy (Baum, 1994; Davids, 1963). Following this line of thought, a picture emerges of an industry that is dynamic and diverse, consisting of independent and opinionated individuals.

9.4 Finger Lakes

Finger Lakes winery respondents were overwhelmingly of the opinion that the wine and tourism industries are mutually beneficial and mutually reinforcing. As a representative from a regional organisation stated in an interview:

*We promote the wine because tourism is a component of the wine industry.
The more recognition that the wines get, the more that it drives tourism.
People are not going to want to come up here if you have crap wine
(Respondent, Regional Association Finger Lakes).*

As outlined in Chapter Six, the reliance on cellar door sales has been a defining feature of the Finger Lakes wine industry and a key to the region's survival since its "renaissance"

following the Farm Wineries Act of 1976. This shift in focus on wine tourism is evident in the reminiscences of winery respondents:

I was working with a farm producing grapes and selling them to the large wineries, most of which don't exist anymore...when New York State pass the Farm Winery Act it made it much easier to establish small wineries because you could sell everything at retail. So in 1976 and 1977 we established this wine cellar...we were the only winery here, so there definitely was not a wine trail. It's more of a unique thing: people just kind of falling in the door, not really planning on coming here. However, as more and more wineries were becoming established, more and more people were coming in the area (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Respondents noted that tourism is crucial for the survival of the wine industry because they face too many obstacles in selling their wine through other distribution channels (see Chapters Six and Seven) and they can earn full margins on their product:

A ten-dollar bottle of wine goes through the tasting room and we get ten dollars. If it goes through the door downstairs and through the three-tier system, we get five dollars (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Similar to the accounts provided by Central Otago respondents, Finger Lakes winery respondents also highlighted the intangible marketing benefits they feel they gain from wine tourism. Finger Lakes respondents reported that through visitation, consumers are able to associate the wines with the landscape and beauty of the area that they experience on their visit:

Our concern is mostly in how to promote wine, but nevertheless, we do that by resting on this notion of beautiful region, good water, you know...all the regional values that are generally around tourism. That helps identify the wine as well – those values... (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Tourism is therefore seen as very important in branding and promoting the wines from the region. Finger Lakes respondents explained that the wine industry is an important contributor to the attractiveness of the Finger Lakes regions as a tourism destination more broadly, and the romantic imagery of the wine industry is used in destination branding. There were however, differences between lifestyle- and subsistence-seekers in their perspectives and opinions regarding how best to adopt tourism, and differences in how they emphasize and prioritize tourism-related issues (discussed below).

In addition to providing consumers with the opportunity to associate regional imagery with regional wines, many respondents noted that visitation is important because consumers are able to directly experience the reality of a wine's production. Similar to the accounts provided by Central Otago respondents, Finger Lakes respondents highlighted the importance of creating an emotional attachment with consumers by sharing real stories about the people and processes behind their wines.

People want a wonderful wine, but they can buy wine in a liquor store. They want to have a great experience when they come to our wineries...they want to have fun memories, meet some nice people, sit in a beautiful place, enjoy themselves (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Subsistence-seeking winery owners in the Finger Lakes rely on the winery for their income and are focused on increasing profits, and minimising costs; selling wine directly to consumers on-site allows them to earn full margins on their product and avoid paying distribution costs, and therefore is an obvious focus for these owners. These small, owner-operated wineries do not have the means to conduct far-reaching marketing and promotions; they therefore must maximise the use of wine tourism as a sales outlet and marketing tool. As one of these owners stated: "We're selling an experience and a memory...we know we're in the tourism business here" (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes). While lifestyle-seeking winery owners recognise the importance of tourism, it is not seen as a primary strategic business goal, but rather, a means to sustain their business and facilitate their lifestyle.

Finger Lakes respondents noted that the region has become increasingly popular for groups of bachelorette parties, *Mardi Gras* celebrations, college reunions and other outings, leading to what is viewed by many winery respondents as undesirable visitors. According to respondents, these groups hire buses, limousines and vans to play the role of designated driver and bring them from one tasting room to another. Many respondents reported their own experiences with “rowdy” groups of wine tourists.

It's gotten quite out of hand. These people have no intention of learning about the wine or caring what the wine tastes like, they just want to continue their buzz. When I first got here, I tried to be diplomatic about it and easy-going but the problems are getting more intense and in some cases, dangerous, and I'm not going to put up with it (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

We've had people steal from us, go across the street and urinate in my parents' pond. On and on and on...We didn't sweat as much as we did to share our view and share our vineyard and our passion with people that are just going to step on it (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While this issue was raised by most respondents, lifestyle-seeking owners in particular reported their frustrations with this type of behaviour, and explained that they want to foster respectful, manageable tourism that complements their lifestyle and business goals. Some of these lifestyle-seeking winery owners have gotten so fed up with this type of wine tourism that they envision developing their wine club to a point where they could become a nearly private winery.

Because lifestyle-seeking owners are less reliant than subsistence-seeking owners on the income that wine tourism generates for their livelihoods, they have more flexibility with their choices to become involved with tourism. Many have chosen to limit their cellar door hours, and are not open to large groups, in order to avoid what they view as negative tourism:

We avoid the buses and limos just because of the clientele...they're out to have a great time, but not to necessarily buy wine...unless it's a really slow time, or we know them, if a limo pulls in we probably won't say anything, but very often we've gone to the door and said 'Don't come out! Don't come out!' (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Other lifestyle-seeking wineries have chosen to pull out of organised regional festivals and events because they do not want to be associated with the *type* of event that it has become, as the following two statements illustrate:

We're not doing the festival this year, it's not our customer. It's just too much of a drunk fest...my staff hates it, my husband and I hate it, my manager hates it, my winemaker doesn't like it. No one likes doing it...it's a hassle. This thing takes us a week to get ready for. We've got to set it up, we've got to tear it down. It's hotter than hell. Drunk people...men with hairy chest and gold chains [laughs]... We're more of a dry, semi-dry, and that's the sweeter crowd. It's not our market. So I decided this year we're going to take a year off (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While Finger Lakes subsistence-seekers are focused on increasing tourism for the region, they are vocal also in their opposition to what they perceive as destructive, non-beneficial tourism. Not only do these owners feel as if their wines and their efforts are being tainted, but they feel that it cheapens the brand, and ruins the experience for “serious” wine tourists:

We work very hard for 11 months a year or even longer...to have [my wines] tainted in any way, made less valuable by people who haven't got the time or the energy or the inclination to take the time to appreciate them...(Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

These groups that treat wine touring like a pub crawl, have “no interest in buying wine to take home...they just want to get drunk”. Therefore, wineries “do not even benefit

financially from dealing with drunk, loud and obnoxious groups” (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes). Respondents fear that if the region is perceived as a party destination, then their wines will be associated with such an image, and not taken seriously.

An area that we’re grappling with right now is rowdy visitors. And that’s absolutely contrary to what our industry is about. We want to educate people, we want them to know about wine, responsibly and so forth. This has become, ironically, a problem (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Subsistence-seeking winery owners emphasised the importance of working collaboratively with other wineries and businesses in the region, to combat destructive, non-beneficial tourism. Respondents explained that in 2007 an initiative was developed by wineries and wine trails to try and moderate people’s behaviour by implementing a warning system with yellow cards (warning) and red cards (eviction), adopted from the sport of soccer (football). According to respondents, this system has been effective, and has created awareness amongst visitors, transportation and tour companies that disrespectful, dangerous behaviour is not acceptable (see also Elk, 2010).

Overall, most participating subsistence-seeking winery owners contribute to regional wine and tourism marketing organisations and initiatives, as long as it is financially viable for them to do so. Subsistence-seeking winery owners were of the opinion that regional organisations were important for the strategic success of the region, and therefore the success of their business. Lifestyle-seeking winery owners were less likely to be involved in regional, or-sub-regional marketing and tourism organisations, such as the individual wine trails.

The focus of subsistence-seeking owners on increasing tourism for the region dictates their actions on various related initiatives, including lobbying for legislation and regional developments that facilitate visitation, such as improved regional infrastructure and services. While most of these owners are focused on marketing for tourism to encourage

more visitors and increase cellar door sales, some of the larger wineries want to concentrate on increasing marketing outside of the region, as illustrated by the quotation below:

If you've got a 45,000 case winery and then you've got a 5,000 case winery, the 5,000 case winery doesn't have any real interest in doing promotions outside of the area to try and build recognition for the industry because if you're producing 5,000 cases you're selling it all out of the front door. So you want to see all of the money channeled into ways that will bring people into the area. You're not as open to a more global approach of building awareness of our wines and products in other markets (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Subsistence-seeking winery owners want to maximise the use of marketing resources in ways that will best serve their business; they want to focus on the markets and distribution channels that offer the best opportunities to increase profits, while also taking into account the long-term viability of their business. Many of the subsistence-seeking winery owners expressed concerns that the Finger Lakes wine industry may have become too reliant on wine tourism for sales. Respondents noted that changes in the economy and environment directly impact the number of visitors, and if there were to be a significant change in circumstances, or a change in visitor's perception of the region as a destination, it would shock the wine industry.

Respondents noted that the geographic location of the Finger Lakes is largely to credit for the substantial visitor market, given the region's proximity to large urban centres. However, some respondents, both lifestyle- and subsistence-seeking, noted that it has also led to challenges, particularly related to the variable emphasis on the quality of the wine, as the following statement suggests:

[This region] has been very effective at building this stream [of tourists] in. All you have to do is open your door and some [tourists] will come. You don't have to do anything or do it particularly well. That's one of the challenges here, they all say 'I don't have to worry about this wine or that wine, I can sell

everything I make'. So regional quality has got some extremes (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Subsistence-seeking owners in the Finger Lakes noted that an important priority for their business, and the region overall, is to promote “The Finger Lakes” as a sophisticated, serious, high-quality wine producing region. Some winery owners joined forces to create a specialised regional organisation in 2004, The Finger Lakes Wine Alliance, for this specific purpose (see Chapter Seven). The Alliance’s mission is to “fund and support a marketing program that encourages the sales of Finger Lakes wines in and out of the region while simultaneously stimulating visitation” (Finger Lakes Wine Alliance, 2011). The goals of this organisation, and the other Finger Lakes cooperative organisations, reflect the subsistence-seeking majority, who are interested in increasing tourism as well as gaining recognition for their wines (see Chapter Five).

Each person needs to optimise their own business, both financially and operationally. The way to do that is to earn money, have profits. The associations are helping with this... This is their most highly functional role (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Subsistence-seeking winery owners expressed the opinion that by working collaboratively with other winery stakeholders, they can shape the future of the industry and the region overall. Respondents noted that it is important to project a unified, collective regional identity to sell their wines, and also to promote the region as a wine tourism destination – and consequently, their own business will benefit:

There has to be a blueprint where we track short term goals, long term goals, every association, every partner is involved, is on board. Because there is just so much competition out there (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

We couldn't make it if we were just [winery x]. You'd be asking a lot of everybody. Here we are out in the middle of nowhere with nothing around us,

nothing to support us. It'd be very hard to get people to come here and to build credibility...We can not do it on our own, it's just not possible (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

According to respondents, The Finger Lakes Wine Alliance will help battle perceptions that the Finger Lakes produces only unsophisticated, poor-quality, sweet wines. This is partly due to the history of wine production in the Finger Lakes: prior to the “Vinifera Revolution”, sweet and fortified wines made from native American grapes were the staples of Finger Lakes wine producers (see Chapter Six). Although Finger Lakes wines today win gold medals in major international competitions, the region is still struggling to battle this perception, as respondents acknowledged:

We've got to expand the awareness that we're here. That we've got quality wines that share the world stage. This is not the jug wine of the 70's. We're talking Rieslings and Cabs...Good things are happening here and we need to create more awareness for that (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

When we first started, nobody wanted to carry New York wines. In all fairness, New York wines had a well-deserved reputation for the last 150 years of producing mostly grapey sweet wines. And at the time we started this thing, we had no idea we could make world-class wine from European varieties. And now, 25 years later anybody that grows white varieties properly and makes their wine in a good way will usually win awards in national competitions because we have such an amazing climate here in The Finger Lakes (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

According to respondents, this lingering reputation is partly attributable to the fact that there are still wineries in the region that *do* produce “cheap, sweet, unsophisticated and fruity” wines, which harms the collective reputation they are working to develop. While this was an important concern raised by many respondents in the Finger Lakes, these

perceptions are only representative of respondents that participated in this research; no producers that participated in this research claimed to produce these types of wines.

Subsistence-seeking owners also raised concerns that the Finger Lakes has attracted people who establish a winery and “just open their doors because they think it’s a quaint thing” and as a result, are producing lesser-quality wine or producing wines that are not authentically “Finger Lakes” because they do not grow their own grapes, and some may purchase grapes from outside of the region (see Chapter Seven). The concern is that this will have a detrimental effect on people’s perception of the area as a grape growing region, because the wine they are tasting may actually be made from grapes grown outside of the region. While New York State regulations require a minimum of 75 percent grapes to label a wine by a regional indicator, respondents are concerned that consumers “do not read the labels” and will automatically assume it is 100 percent Finger Lakes grapes, particularly if they purchase it at the winery. As one Finger Lakes winery owner stated: “Every time I see a piece of land go up for sale and it’s vineyard land, it just makes my stomach churn because it’s finite. It’s really finite”. This was identified as particularly concerning by subsistence-seeking owners who are actively working to develop a strong regional reputation:

You can not expect this all to grow in a way that’s honest to the public. In other words, you’ve got your label requirements, but people don’t read labels. They don’t know that if you read New York it means this or if it says Finger Lakes it means this... Because they’re trying a Merlot from Long Island instead of a Merlot from The Finger Lakes. So when they come here it tastes so different and they’re taken aback. Those kinds of lack of understanding I find terribly offensive (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

For subsistence-seeking owners, respondents, producing wine that is true to the *terroir* of the region is incredibly important and is a source of pride. These individuals do not think that a producer should be able to use the name “Finger Lakes” on their wine unless they have “earned it” (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes). Opposition to wineries that source grapes can also be seen as a means of “protecting the turf” from practices that

they perceive to be depleting the collective name and reputation that subsistence-seeking owners rely on to sustain their business and their livelihood:

People coming in to just get on my coat tails and all of the efforts my friends families have put into making this place what it is....No foresight to think or care that you know, oh yeah – I'm buying all of my grapes from Long Island. What an insult that is to me and others that have worked so hard at our vineyard and how that impacts our customers (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

This sense of pride and hard work also dictates subsistence-seeking owner's responses to the issues of "rowdy" wine tourism, which they feel is disrespectful, insulting and harmful to the regional reputation that these owners are working to achieve.

Similar to the concerns directed at newly established lifestylers in Central Otago, some subsistence-seeking owners identified these problematic new producers as lifestylers that are producing wine just as a hobby. In fact, the lifestyle-seeking winery owners that participated in this research emphasised the production of premium, niche-focused wines. It is for this reason that many lifestyle-seekers explained that they choose to not partake in regional, and individual wine trail events; they feel that these events do not fit in with their personal goals of producing high-quality wines and offering their customers genuine, sophisticated and respectful wine experiences:

They have these wine trail events, they're absolutely cheesy. They are huge drunk fests... For people who have really experienced wine tasting around the world, they find this region to be very rustic and unsophisticated (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

We're working on developing high-end wine and food experiences...not competing with 1,000 people in the tasting room with your Mardi Gras beads and people that want to drink Strawberry wine! (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

The participating lifestyle-seeking winery owners are of the opinion that they do not benefit from these events, because they produce a focused, niche product, rather than the types of wine demanded by the “typical tourist”:

That’s not our crowd...they want a range of sweeter, fruitier wines, but we kind of have our own niche – we produce only dry wines, now we produce two semi-dry wines...we’re not into having tourists come very much (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Lifestyle-seeking owners expressed that they do not have the resources nor time to contribute to these initiatives. For many of these owners, the demands of their business are already more than they initially planned for, and sometimes get in the way of their personal, family and lifestyle goals. Therefore, they try to avoid any additional responsibilities or commitments (such as participating in wine trail events), which they perceive as being unbeneficial, and which take away more of their scarce time:

We didn’t join the wine trail for many years....we finally got pressured to join one year. We paid to be in the brochure, we had to participate in the various “bring em’ on in” events where people buy a ticket - but you don’t get anything for it. You have to buy everything, and the whole thing goes to benefit the trail...we didn’t sell enough wine to make it worth it. So we said, “let’s drop off” (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Finger Lakes respondents noted that there has been tension regarding the perceived insular and idiosyncratic behaviour of lifestyle-seeking business owners, such as inconsistent opening hours, and non-participation in regional events and regional initiatives such as seasonal extension marketing initiatives. This behaviour may conflict with the ambitions for tourism development carried out by regional organisations, as well as the profit-maximisation goals of subsistence-seeking winery owners. Respondents explained that they are unlikely to collaborate and share resources if they do not share common goals and agendas. As the following quotation illustrates, different characteristics and motivations

make it difficult for stakeholders to come to one platform, and this was particularly evident regarding collaborative regional tourism development and promotions:

I think everyone wants to see it grow but I think there's a lot of diversity on how people think of their role in that pie. There's a lot of diversity and that comes down to your personality....not everyone agrees what success means. Is it dollars? Is it being able to stay in business to lead your comfortable lifestyle, or your hardworking lifestyle, whatever it may be... And there is a lot of diversity in what people see as success for this region (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

A representative of a Finger Lakes regional wine and tourism organisation described the difficulty of unifying wineries by comparing the situation to a quote from Charles De Gaulle:

The wine industry is NEVER unified. – Charles De Gaulle, the president of France once said 'One can not impose unity on a country that has 265 different kinds of cheese'. To a certain extent it's the same thing here. It's one of the things that makes the industry interesting, its not cookie-cutter. Everybody's got their own opinions about which grapes are best, which types and so forth...so there's a lot of individuality (Representative, Finger Lakes Regional Organisation).

Not only are there multiple views in the Finger Lakes regarding tourism development and management, based on individual stakeholder interests and agendas, but there has also been fragmentation based on geographic location *within* the region. As noted in Chapter Six, The Finger Lakes falls under separate county jurisdictions, including Yates, Seneca, Schuyler and Tompkins counties. This has led to a fractured tourism marketing approach and challenges in implementing unified region-wide initiatives:

I think one of the biggest challenges is the fractured-ness of the region. There isn't really one association driving everything...each county does its own tourism marketing...they don't leverage all of the assets because each county

ends up competing against each other because it's all based on sales tax and room tax. So each county is trying to get the visitors to only come to the county when you should be looking at it from a broader macro level. Let's just get them to come to The Finger Lakes – the visitor doesn't understand county boundaries (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Because of the nature of The Finger Lakes geography, distances across the lakes may be only 10 miles, yet it may take up to two hours to drive from one point in The Finger Lakes to another:

These 50 mile long lakes with no bridges across, it may only be 10 or 15 miles as the crow flies, but it's an hour drive... just by proximity, the people that are closest to each other tend to work together more than they work with people that are farther away (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

In addition to a natural inclination to work more closely with neighboring wineries, each lake has its own wine trail association, each with its own brochure, events and strategies:

The bless[ing] in this region has been these lakes and the wine trails and the curse has been these lakes and the wine trails. They tend to run like little fiefdoms with a lot of difficulty moving any sort of cooperative programs to a meaningful extent (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

One of the challenges has been a lack of cooperation and cohesion between the different lakes– just the fact that we have the Seneca lake, the Cayuga, the Keuka and the Canandaigua lake, all separate wine routes. That to me indicates there's a certain degree of fractionalization of the different efforts that could probably be better accomplished if we could promote ourselves better and work better unified as a group (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Despite the fractionalization reported by respondents, the Finger Lakes region overall has been successful in attracting tourists who come to the region specifically to visit the

wineries. The most pressing matter in regards to regional wine tourism is how best to manage this substantial visitor industry so that it benefits all stakeholders involved.

It should be noted that the opinions regarding what represents a devaluation of the regional brand image represent the views of the dominant ownership type, and have come to be the dominant discourse in the region. Many voices, including some those who are criticised in this account, are not well represented in this research, nor represented in the regional wine organisations. In some cases this is because these individuals were not willing to participate in the current research, and it could be argued, perhaps, these same individuals may not want to contribute energy and money to an organization that does not represent their views, however only further research would determine whether this is the case

As illustrated by this research, regional marketing and branding is not an easy or gradual process but an actively contested and ongoing politics of place that is characterised by struggles and conflicts over who has the power to define and redefine meaning and identity of a place (Masuda & Garvin, 2008). There clearly is not *one* identity or discourse of a wine tourism region, but several. The multiple discourses and claims to place are reflected in the marketing and promotion of place image and whose discourse of place is articulated in this place image. It is the hegemonic discourse, characterised by the most dominant ownership type whose voices are heard and who have the ability to shape the regional marketing initiatives and the regional brand.

9.5 Conclusion

While the wine and tourism industries benefit from a united, cooperative network that promotes the region (see Chapter Two), an optimal level of cooperation cannot be assumed because many winery owners are not interested in working collaboratively, as illustrated by the actions of some participating winery owners in the Finger Lakes and Central Otago. Each stakeholder draws on individual and collective resources in order to influence the outcome of the collaborative processes to their own advantage. As discussed in Chapter Three while entrepreneurial networks offer a variety of benefits (Pittaway et al., 2004), and is recognised as important to the tourism and wine industries, poor linkages within rural

regions are often caused by the different goals of stakeholders (see also Hall & Rusher, 2004). Individual entrepreneurs are likely to have different goals, strengths, weaknesses, and bargaining positions, and be more or less prone toward opportunistic behaviours at the expense of their partners (Gibbs, 2003; Harrigan, 1985).

Cooperative organisations and associations have been established in the case study regions as a means of self-governance (e.g., COPNL, FLWTMA). However, these organisations, similar to cooperative efforts in general, face problems with a lack of involvement and contribution among stakeholders, conflicting views and opinions as to how they should be managed. The challenge is to transform several motivations, agendas and understandings of a place into one coherent and presentable image. As illustrated by the case study regions; while each winery acts individually, the collective decisions and actions of all the wineries in the region create a critical mass, ultimately shaping overall regional wine tourism and influencing the regional marketing process. The way that regional marketing for wine and tourism is conducted, and ultimately implemented, is influenced by context and human agency. Place and context are clearly crucial elements in the place-marketing process; the wine and tourism industries are both spatially fixed and rely on a regional name and reputation to market and sell their products. Environmental characteristics (climate, soils) shape what wines are produced in a given place (*terroir*), and a destination is made up of a combination of regional characteristics. Place imagery and desirable environmental attributes are deliberately used in the marketing and branding of wine and tourism products from a given region. Human agency also influences the way that regional marketing is conducted; individual stakeholders will contribute to and participate in regional initiatives that advance their interests and agendas and that reflect their individual place interpretations. The extent to which these differences influence the outcome of [regional] marketing initiatives depend on the individual businesses and the extent to which motivations and goals are common or conflicting.

The WEPPID model can be used as a lens to analyse issues of place-marketing and tourism: The entrepreneurial process leads to particular entrepreneurial types which influences perceptions of tourism and marketing, and consequently, behaviours toward related regional initiatives. The way that tourism and marketing is managed will feedback into the

agency/context nexus and influence the future development of the region. The collective actions of stakeholders will shape the outcomes of regional branding and marketing, including how the region is promoted and what attributes are emphasised in place-marketing efforts. Place-marketing and branding outcomes have the potential to shape the development of the region by way of reinforcing a certain image of place. This image signals to potential residents, investors and entrepreneurs what types of experiences are possible in a place, which ultimately has a significant impact on their decisions to come to the area and pursue particular goals. The ability of a region to attract new businesses and residents will influence the economic and social makeup of a place – which in turn may impact the physical environment through associated physical practices and changes to the landscape. This can also lead to compounded changes which will shape the region, such as stimulating related businesses and investments, and attracting new migrants to meet labour demands.

Chapter 10: Seasonality

10.1 Introduction

This chapter examines seasonality as a problem domain in which to view the different entrepreneurial types outlined in Chapter Eight. In contrast to the literature, which largely assumes that wine and tourism stakeholders share a common experience and perception of seasonality, this research analyses the diverse experiences and perceptions reported by research respondents. This chapter explores how the perceptions of seasonality, and the management strategies employed to deal with seasonality, reflect participating winery entrepreneurs' lifestyle and business motivations, and how place and context influence the perspectives and behaviours toward seasonality. The responses of winery entrepreneurs reflect the intersection of their motivations and perceptions of their business, and broader contextual forces including fluctuations in visitation at the regional level and environmental conditions. In the case of this research, seasonality poses important challenges that can threaten the viability of the business and impact all aspects of the business. Seasonality is a management issue faced by most tourist destinations and operators, particularly small operators (Allcock, 1989; Bar-On, 1975; Goulding & Hay, 2001). However, seasonality in wine tourism may be especially challenging because a winery hosting tourists must deal with the seasonality of tourism in conjunction with the seasonality of wine production. This research illustrates this by comparing two rural, cool-climate wine regions in which the emphasis on tourism is significantly different. This chapter focuses on how participating winery perceive seasonality, especially when dealing with the seasonality of tourism in combination with the seasonality of wine production.

10.2 Winery Entrepreneurs' Perceptions of Seasonality

Winery respondents reported that seasonality poses important challenges that can threaten and impact the viability of their businesses and impact all aspects of their business. Participating wineries in Central Otago and the Finger Lakes were impacted by both the seasonality of consumption (seasonality in visitation) and the seasonality of production (seasonality of grape growing, wine production). As one Central Otago respondent noted:

If you're making wine then you've got your season for making it, a season for selling it, and a season for bottling and releasing. It's the business (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Overall, Central Otago respondents reported being less impacted by the seasonality associated with wine tourism than Finger Lakes respondents. A combination of factors influences these very different perceptions, including contextual factors and the individual circumstances of participating wineries and winery owners. Central Otago experiences less overall seasonal fluctuations in visitor numbers than does the Finger Lakes, and is becoming increasingly less seasonal, according to respondents and regional tourism associations (see Chapter Five). The Finger Lakes region experiences extreme peaks of activity in August through to October, with the height of the tourism season coinciding with the height of activity in the vineyard, which is the harvest. Central Otago wineries are also better able to manage cash flow than wineries in the Finger Lakes because they sell wine through various distribution channels, and are less reliant on cellar door sales. Finally, many of the Finger Lakes winery owners are reliant on the winery for their livelihood and therefore have more at stake than many of the winery owners in Central Otago, who do not rely on the winery as their primary source of income.

The inherent seasonality of grape growing and wine production, and subsequent challenge of dealing with the climatic situation, which dictates the activity in the vineyard and winery, is perceived to be a “given” by respondents and not something that can, or should, be manipulated or changed:

We've been at this long enough to know that once every 11 years we get walloped. And when we get walloped, we have that year of loss and then the following year is a catchup year, recovery year. But, you know, it kind of goes with the territory of farming (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While respondents in both Central Otago and Finger Lakes accept the inherent seasonality of wine production, the way they spoke about their struggles in dealing with Mother Nature

was quite different. As illustrated by the quotations below, Central Otago wine producers are described as “achievers” in their efforts at battling the climate to produce wine; Finger Lakes producers are described as “survivors”:

The cooler more marginal climate the greater challenges, it requires a bit more dedication, commitment....Pinot Noir is known to be a heart break grape, a difficult variety....people who get into it are obsessed by it... I think that's a reason for our success as a region in such a short period is that we have attracted good winemakers and they have stayed. You talk to any winemaker in Central Otago and he'll tell you that his reason for being here apart from Pinot Noir is the environment... the fact that it's a really challenging and exciting environment to be in. This whole region is full of successful people... achievers (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

It's a tough climate up here weather-wise, it's a tough climate up here business-wise. People tend to be survivors. People tend to tough it out (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

These differences are largely due to the personal circumstances of winery entrepreneurs in each region. Finger Lake respondents explained that “surviving” was an important defining characteristic of the region; running a winery is not a passing hobby; rather, they have risked everything, and have survived. These respondents made references to producers “pulling themselves up by their boot straps” and persevering through tough times (crop destruction or tumultuous market conditions, for example). These individuals “tough it out and survive” – in line with the image of the rugged, determined farmer rooted in a rural place (see Chapter Eight).

By comparison, Central Otago respondents spoke in terms of battling the tough terrain and climate as a “challenge” they have chosen to undertake, and at which they ultimately succeed, similar to the gold-seekers of the 19th century. While these individuals certainly face risks, respondents did not imply that they risked losing everything, including their livelihood and ability to provide for their family (as did Finger Lakes respondents). This is

because many of these individuals are not primarily focused on financial motivations and earning a living; instead, they have chosen to undertake wine production to fulfil some personal satisfaction or goal. Part of this satisfaction is derived from their success in battling the tough climate to produce high-quality wine.

In terms of seasonality in tourism, respondents in both regions identified similar issues, including cash flow, staffing and labour challenges and the personal strain on the owner and family. While all respondents in the case study regions claimed to be impacted by seasonality, the *degree* to which winery respondents were impacted varied, and not all respondents viewed these impacts as necessarily *problematic*. As in the case of wine production seasonality, respondents' perception of, and response to, tourism seasonality depended on the motivations and goals of the owner, the size and structure of the winery, as well as the location of the winery within the region.

As noted in Chapter Seven, the location of wineries *within* the region can influence their ability to attract visitors, and this extends to patterns of seasonality in winery visitation according to respondents. Central Otago respondents noted that fluctuation in visitor numbers is partly influenced by a winery's geographic location within the region, highlighting the importance of the physical-geographical characteristics of regions. Unless the winery is a "destination winery" (one of the renowned and most popular wineries to visit), the more peripheral wineries will feel more seasonality in visitation than those wineries located close to a major regional city/town or along a major travel route. Central Otago wineries located closer to major hubs, such as Queenstown or Cromwell, do not experience the seasonal slumps as severely as the wineries in more peripheral sub-regions such as Alexandra, and this was recognised by respondents:

Alexandra absolutely struggles because they don't have any cellar doors that are open. They only have two...Nobody is going to go all the way from Queenstown to Alexandra for two cellar doors and no restaurants (Representative, Central Otago Regional Organisation).

Tourism Central Otago has identified the lack of consistent, year-round opening hours in the peripheral sub-region of Alexandra as an issue to manage. Many of the wineries either close during the slow periods or do not to open at all:

Within the Alexandra basin there is a distinct lack of cellar doors open regular hours with currently only two operating regularly from 14 in the area. Some wineries are not interested in tourism, the focus being on producing rather than providing a visitor experience (Tourism Central Otago, 2008c, p. 100).

In The Finger Lakes, respondents noted that wineries located on Keuka Lake experience more marked seasonality than wineries on Seneca Lake. Seneca Lake is the most central of the lakes, and has five times the number of wineries that Keuka Lake does. Seneca Lake is also easily accessible from a major State Highway and has a major route that runs alongside the lake, reducing visitors' fears of road closures due to weather incidents. Those wineries located closer to major cities, such as Rochester and Ithaca, get more day-trippers also over the winter period than the more peripheral wineries. The following sections discuss winery entrepreneur's perspectives of seasonality in each case study region.

10.2.1 Central Otago Winery Entrepreneur's Perception of Seasonality

In Central Otago, many of the owners and managers of participating wineries (characterised as primarily lifestyle- and status-seeking), do not view seasonality as an issue that requires active manipulation or mitigation. Lifestyle-seeking owners explained that during the slow periods they are able to take a break, go on holiday or pursue other goals. These owner-operators also noted that the built-in downtime associated with seasonality may be seen as an opportunity to catch up on other aspects of the business, such as maintenance and marketing, or a chance to sharpen and advance their winemaking skills:

I would say that seasonality works really well in this industry because there's significant down periods where people can get away and do other things. So I would say it's pretty good (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

As has been outlined, the *raison d'être* of lifestyle-oriented businesses is not to increase profits or grow their business, but to maintain a particular lifestyle. For some of these owners, the ability to take time off was part of the attraction of starting a business with a built-in downtime.

Status-seeking owners, who are focused on fostering the production of high-quality wine, do not view seasonality associated with wine production as a problem because it is a natural contributing factor in producing distinctive, quality wine. As outlined in Chapter Nine, tourism is not a significant or important aspect for wineries owned by status-seekers, and may sometimes be viewed as an interference or distraction from their primary goals of producing high-quality wine. These owners are focused on becoming a “globally distributed, internationally-recognised brand”, and are primarily concerned with exporting and cultivating relationships with global distributors, rather than increasing year-round cellar door sales. Many of these operations are open to visitors by appointment only, and therefore seasonal fluctuations in visitor numbers is not a concern. For those operations that do host visitors regularly, many set aside a limited proportion of their wine to be sold through the cellar door anyway, given they must maintain a consistent stock for the exporters, distributors and restaurants that sell their wine:

We allocate a certain amount to sell through the cellar door and we always sell out...We could certainly make more money by being open longer hours and being open on the weekends when you're selling at full retail margins at cellar door. It just hasn't been part of our strategic business goal (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Given that most Central Otago participating wineries sell only 5-10 percent of their wine at the cellar door, they are less impacted from a cash flow perspective. The two participating wineries that do sell a high percentage of wine through the cellar door (one who sells 70%, and another 35%) reported cash flow as an important constraint. Other Central Otago respondents noted that they have become too reliant on producing a single variety (Pinot Noir), which has led to cash flow problems:

Cash flow for wineries in Central Otago is the most important thing. With 74 percent of our production being made on Pinot [Noir], and your cash flow being 18 months out...We need to make more whites so we can get cash flow back on track... so Rieslings, Pinot Gris...all the things that you put in the bottle and you sell straight away (Status-seeking winery manager, Central Otago).

Many of the status-seeking owners may not be concerned by the cash flow and financial challenges associated with seasonality given they do not rely on the winery for their income and they can easily float the business through tough times. Staffing and labour, however was a challenging aspect identified by all respondents.

Both wine and tourism businesses require reliable labour capable of carrying out given responsibilities, at a specific point in time; this has led to particular vulnerabilities for participating wineries. For wineries that cater to tourists, the challenge is two-fold; they must find vineyard labour as well as cellar door and/or restaurant staff. Central Otago winery respondents emphasised the importance of hiring knowledgeable, friendly and professional staff at the cellar door. This is because the cellar door staff are an important component of the overall service offered, and they serve as the representative and showcase for that winery's product. However, winery respondents explained that it is often difficult to find staff willing to accept the seasonal fluctuations in employment:

You can't lay people off during the slow time because you won't be able to replace them. So we just eat it. We'll lose \$40,000 a month (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Respondents noted that once they do hire and train competent staff, they try and retain those individuals. Status-seeking owners in Central Otago are particularly focused on managing seasonal employees in all aspects of their business, to ensure that they have a set of reliable, qualified staff that perform at a high standard. These respondents explained that employee's performance, whether in the vineyard, winery and/or cellar door, directly

impacts the quality of their wines and reputation of their brand, which is an utmost priority for them:

We've worked quite hard to develop and maintain a reasonably permanent core crew. A few years ago we had a reasonably high attrition rate and we found that because people were coming and going all the time, we couldn't train people, and if we did train people than those skills were being lost to us quite quickly... and we were always playing catch up and it wasn't really advancing our cause particularly well...when our people are happy than the quality of the product is raised because they're making better quality decisions... (Status-seeking winery manager, Central Otago).

As the season evolves there are a lot of people who are needed to do very fundamental work, and if we haven't got them it can seriously affect the way the vines are performing, and if the vines are being disrupted by not being serviced properly, then that impacts the grapes which therefore impacts on the wine quality. It's absolutely vital that we've got good staff numbers. And for all of the region it's a very important issue (Status-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

While employing staff through slow periods may be less cost efficient, status-seeking winery owners are willing to invest this money in order to retain skilled employees. This is a strategic business decision on the part of these owners, and given they are not reliant on the winery for their livelihoods and financial gain is not the primary goal, the cost inefficiencies are accepted. In line with their personal goals, status-seeking wineries in Central Otago had developed formal management structures, with clearly defined roles for their employees. As a result, the owners themselves reported being less personally stressed in managing seasonal labour because the onus of responsibility falls on the manager or viticulturist. For example, when a status-seeking respondent was asked in an interview whether finding enough seasonal labour was difficult, he replied that he hires a viticultural contractor and "that's his job. I don't worry about that. He worries about that. That's not my problem".

Lifestyle-seeking winery owners also stated that staffing and labour is an important impact of seasonality. Unlike many of the status-seeking wineries that have established a formal management structure, many of the family-run, lifestyle-oriented wineries in Central Otago are more flexibly structured and operated. Nine of the participating Central Otago wineries are family-owned (see Chapter Seven), eight of these are owner-operated with family members involved in the business, and have been characterised as lifestyle-seeking. These owners explained that employees and family members are capable of moving between different facets of the business, and can shift responsibilities as needed, which is particularly important in dealing with fluctuations in activity, and coping with periods of high demand, as the following respondent explained:

Part of the reason I like being small is you don't have to struggle for labour....I don't have to find a crew of 20 people to work. I can get my cousin and one or two other people (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

While these smaller, family-run lifestyle-seeking wineries may be able to more efficiently manage seasonal staffing and labour issues, seasonality does create more *personal* stress for the owner and family during peak periods. As noted in the literature (see Chapter Three), and also by respondents, one of the paradoxes found with family-run operations is that instead of families spending more time together, the demands of the business mean that they may actually spend less, and this extends to leisure time such as the family holiday (Getz et al., 2004). This was acknowledged by Central Otago lifestyle-seeking respondents as a negative impact of seasonality, particularly those focused on personal and family goals:

You've got the mad dash of trying to keep on top of the work during the summer and work in your family, because it is the summer and you want to do things with your family...As a small producer you can't just ring up the contractor and say "can you do all the work for me"? You've got to get out there and do it (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

The owner-operators of Central Otago wineries explained that the busiest times for hosting visitors is when they would want to be spending time with their families and partaking in recreational or leisure activities:

Because we live in Central [Otago], it's nice because people holiday here, but they come over the busy time so we don't get to do as much over that time as everyone else does and they're on holiday – December, January, February, March – because that's when we're really flat out (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Central Otago).

Some respondents noted that this intense demand on the personal energies and resources of the owner-operator, and involved family members, is an important factor in their decision to become involved in tourism. As a result, many lifestyle-seeking winery owners have decided not to become involved with tourism, or have decided to only host visitors part-time.

10.2.2 Finger Lakes Entrepreneurs' Perception of Seasonality

Given the seasonality of wine production and wine tourism reported by Finger Lakes respondents, it is little surprise that the seasonal nature of both these industries have led to significant challenges for Finger Lakes winery owners.

Finger Lakes respondents stated that proper financial management is one of the most challenging and crucial tasks in running a seasonal operation. Because of the seasonal nature of both wine production and tourism, there are certain times of the year that winery operations incur high costs such as bottling, staffing and labour, and also certain times of the year when the operation is earning very little money due to sales fluctuations. In the Finger Lakes, a winery's cash flow depends almost entirely on cellar door sales. This can pose cash flow challenges because the tourism season is heavily compacted into a few months:

You have to get into the rhythm of a business and be able to manage your cash flow...get through the tough times and make sure everybody is paid...you

basically learn with time. You put off certain investments until you've paid off those initial investments and you've realized how your cash flow needs to go (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While lifestyle-seeking owners in The Finger Lakes also identified cash flow as important in managing their business, they were less concerned than the subsistence-seeking owners, who rely entirely on the winery for their income:

You have to be able to survive, with your income basically June – October. A lot of people see the money come in and spend it...you have to be able to live with a year round steady income (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

For subsistence-seeking winery owners that are primarily concerned with earning a profit and making a living, increasing sales through the cellar door is an obvious strategic business goal; as a result most of these owners are focused on extending the tourism season and increasing year-round cellar door sales (assuming they have the production to meet demand). Subsistence-seeking owners therefore tended to view seasonality in tourism as a challenge to overcome, or at least to try and reduce in impact.

It's definitely a seasonal region and a seasonal business. Seasonality's role is somewhere between huge and just about everything...that is why we have been trying to affect seasonality with the special events and that kind of thing. I mean, everyone still moans in January that they don't have any money because nobody's coming through the door...(Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Similar to the accounts provided by Central Otago respondents, staffing and labour issues were identified in the Finger Lakes as particularly challenging. Finger Lakes wineries may be even more impacted because they are heavily reliant on cellar door sales, and because the peak periods in the vineyard (harvest) coincide with the peak periods for wine tourism in the Finger Lakes.

Finger Lakes respondents noted that given the limited local population in their rural location there is not a sufficient permanent population from which they can hire staff. Therefore, respondents tried to retain qualified, trained staff, however this was made difficult during the slow periods when many wineries cannot afford to keep those people on the payroll. Therefore, wineries must either cut employees hours down significantly during slow periods or lay them off (and risk losing them permanently) or continue to employ them, with the associated cost:

Running a tasting room requires a lot of staff. You're in a pickle around here because your season is really only busy for six months, so come January, February, March, I don't need them, and then eventually they'll find something else to do...so it's hard to develop professionals (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

This was reported by subsistence-seeking winery owners as particularly problematic because these wineries emphasise cellar door sales, and are focused on reducing operating costs.

Overall, lifestyle-seeking winery owners in the Finger Lakes reported being less impacted by seasonality than subsistence-seeking winery owners. This is because these owners have less invested and less risk; many have purposely limited the size and scale of their operation in order to maintain the manageability of the business. By keeping their operation small, owners of these wineries can more easily manage seasonal staffing and labour issues. Some of the smaller lifestyle-seeking owners in the Finger Lakes explained that they are able to call on friends and family to help over particularly busy times:

We kind of have a stock of people to help out over harvest... we have friends who have done it for years, I come from a very close family and they'll all come help...we usually have a big gathering at the end with a dinner to say thanks (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Many of the Finger Lakes winery owners explained that because they are directly involved in many aspects of the business, they experience severe personal strain during peak periods, and this was identified as an important impact of seasonality. Respondents explained that it is the owner and family members that have to “pick up the extra slack” during the busy season:

For me over that time, I don't bother reading the paper or doing anything else like that. I'm either picking grapes, working on the vineyard, coordinating staffing, working with the group here to make sure everything's happening in a timely fashion. It gets crazy for at least a couple months there (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

I'm the overlap staff during harvest...I work in the tasting room, the office, I help out bottling, I do vineyard work (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Similar to the perspectives of lifestyle-seeking winery owners in Central Otago, Finger Lakes lifestyle-seeking winery owners noted that one of the challenges they face in running a hospitality and tourism-oriented business is that the busiest times are generally when people want to be spending time with their families and enjoying recreational or leisure activities:

I had a couple recently, getting close to retirement and they asked me “what are the disadvantages of owning a winery” and I was like, “what are you doing here?” And they were like “visiting the wineries” – “well, I'm working”. It's a lot of work. I work July 4th, you know, I don't get a lot of time off – and that's the nature of owning a business, but around here – the best times of the year, you've really got to be working. In the middle of the winter, you don't have to work, but what do you do then? (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Because of the intense personal demand on the owner and involved family members, many of the lifestyle-seeking winery owners in The Finger Lakes choose to open only for visitors for part of the year. During their downtime they may choose to go on holiday, pursue other lifestyle goals or catch up on other aspects of the business:

We close in the winter. We have always designed with closing in mind...I love the seasonality of our business because when you have downtime, you're working in the back room operation which is nice. Because you're like "ok, I'm tired of the public I just want to get hands on work done"...working on the wines, clean the place, inventory (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Other small operators with a limited production will choose to close because they sell all their wine at the cellar door and therefore do not have the capacity to keep the cellar door open for tasting and sales.

We close about mid-December through early April and it's wonderful. What happens with us personally is we sell out of a lot of our wines. So, if people come trucking up the driveway in the middle of January looking for a Riesling they're not going to find it and they're going to be mad (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

While closing down over slow periods may fit in with the strategic personal, business goals of lifestyle-seeking winery owners, this may be deemed problematic by some subsistence-seeking winery owners, who are focused on extending the tourism season and increasing year-round cellar door sales. Subsistence-seeking owners explained the importance of building a year-round critical mass for the region. This involves encouraging wineries and other services (accommodation, restaurants) to stay open throughout the year in order to attract more tourists. According to respondents there are many wineries and additional businesses that shut down during the off-peak season because there is not enough business to justify staying open. Yet part of the reason visitor numbers are low is because there is a perception that everything shuts down. This leads to a self-perpetuating cycle where

services and attractions shut down, therefore reinforcing the perception that everything is closed, leading to low visitor numbers, as the following two statements suggest:

I think a lot of people don't realize that we're open. They think we're open for six months and then shut down. Get a big pile of cash and go to Rio or wherever (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

There is a perception that wineries are closed because for years they were. And you cannot break people's perception overnight. And as much as everybody now understands that for the last five years there's a thriving wine industry in The Finger Lakes, there was 100 years ago, it just wasn't tourist-friendly, it wasn't marketed that way...so things take time, and perception still lingers that the wineries are closed (Representative, Finger Lakes Regional Organisation).

Respondents described it as a “chicken-and-egg” dilemma, which regional associations are currently addressing.

In addition to the misperception that all wineries are closed during the winter, respondents reported that people have a fear of winter travelling conditions in the region. Finger Lakes respondents felt that at times it is this *perception* of the region that keeps tourists away in the winter and is an obstacle to establishing year-round tourism:

People who don't live close enough, you know, people from New York City. I laugh, when they say – the “Arctic cold!” and you know, we do get a few blasts per year, but...that's a concept again – more of a downstate thing that they think the roads are impassable and all that kind of stuff. I mean, we're equipped to handle it here, not only ourselves, but the highway department. Unless it's an absolute blizzard that only happens once every four years, you can go out and drive anytime you want to drive (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Respondents are of the opinion also that seasonality has discouraged new investors and businesses from establishing in the region, particularly in more peripheral sub-regions that experience severe seasonality:

People are not motivated to open B&B's or whatever because it's so seasonal...so they're going to be solid for like 3,4 months and then the rest of the year they're starving (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Depending on an individual's place identity, this may be seen as negative or positive: Some of the lifestyle-seeking respondents view this as a positive impact of seasonality because it helps preserve the region from being overdeveloped, which fits in with their personal, lifestyle goals and motivations for living in the region:

I think the development [of the region] is always going to be stable. I don't see this region really becoming overbuilt, because it's cold seven months out of the year here. It's going to be like the Thousand Islands. It's going to have a big peak tourist season that's going to be crammed into four or five months. The rest of the time, it's cold. That's going to save it. That's going to preserve the uniqueness of the region (Lifestyle-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

Subsistence-seeking winery owners, on the other hand, are of the opinion that the region needs to attract more supporting businesses and services that will facilitate visitation throughout the year. These owners explained that this will help build the reputation of the Finger Lakes as a year-round wine touring destination, and will increase visitor numbers.

I'd like to see some hotels and restaurants, that would help – but it's tough to do when January comes along and you're struggling... I think there's only so much money to make, unless they figure out a way to get people here in the middle of January. It's tough to do when you have a season that's so compressed (Subsistence-seeking winery owner, Finger Lakes).

10.3 Model of Owner Goal-orientations in Relation to Seasonality Management

Based on the various perspectives and experiences of winery entrepreneurs in the case study regions, Figure 10.1 was developed to enhance understanding of winery owners' perceptions of seasonality, and strategies employed to deal with seasonality. While respondents in both case study regions identified similar impacts of seasonality their individual responses and perceptions of these "challenges" depend on the motivations and goals of the owner, how the business is structured, as well as contextual forces, such as the location of the winery within the region.

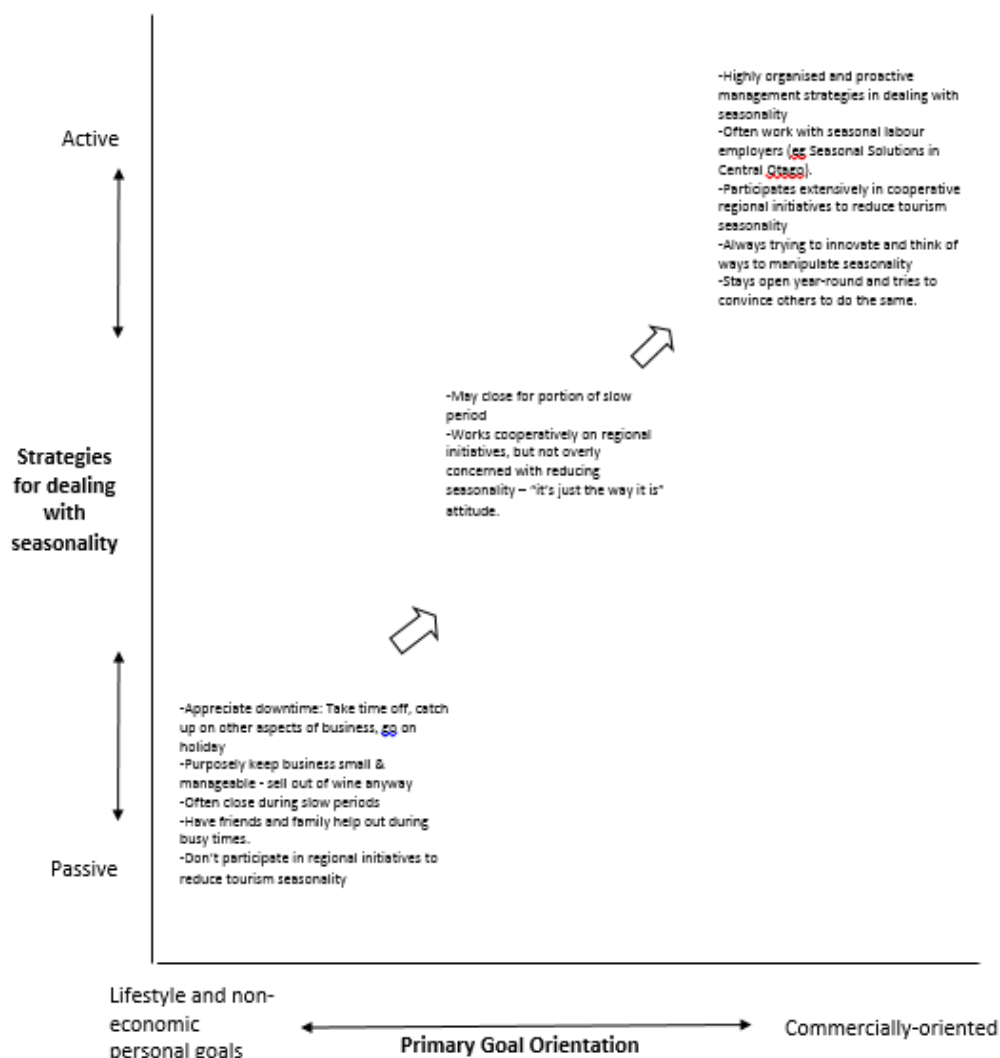


Figure 10.1: Model of Owner Goal-orientations in Relation to Seasonality Management

Every entrepreneur is characterised by an individual trade-off between life-quality and workload (Peters et al., 2009). For those entrepreneurs who are “family-first” versus “business-first” (Getz & Carlsen, 2000), they will choose an optimisation of leisure time and prioritise emotional factors associated with their families over economic and growth motives. Participating winery owners varied in their perceptions of seasonality in wine tourism. On one hand are those who are focused on growing tourism and promoting tourism in the region. On the other, are those winery owners who are more focused on family, lifestyle-oriented goals or alternative goals such as producing a high-quality, globally distributed wine, and who do not view tourism as a priority. In contrast to much existing literature on seasonality in the tourism industry (Getz & Nilsson, 2004; Goulding & Hay, 2001) these winery owners do not necessarily think that seasonality is a problem that needs “fixing” and appreciate the downtime associated with seasonality. This raises the question of how tourism destinations can plan for seasonality in tourism when there are conflicting stakeholder interests. This may be especially prevalent in areas such as the case study regions, which attract people for their perceived lifestyle and amenity-value. In terms of the winery entrepreneurial types, status- and lifestyle-seeking winery owners are positioned on the lower, left portion of the model, while subsistence-seeking winery owners are positioned on the upper, right portion of the model.

10.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined seasonality as a problem domain in which to view the different ownership outcomes. The existing literature on seasonality generally assumes that it is a demand-driven phenomenon and concentrates on the macro dimension of the region as a whole (Getz & Nilsson, 2004; Goulding & Hay, 2001; Goulding et al. 2004; Goulding, 2008). The limitation is that there is an implicit assumption that places and individuals in them share a common experience and perception of seasonality. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, individuals have diverse experiences and perceptions of place; and entrepreneurs have a wide range of business motivations and practices, including how they experience and perceive seasonality.

Seasonality has been found to be a significant area for goal conflict in terms of business objectives; demand fluctuations may be one of the many problems for people struggling to make a living, while seasonal closing can be a necessary component of living a particular lifestyle. In this way, seasonality serves as an informative and interesting domain by which to explore winery owner experiences, perspectives and motivations, particularly given that many of the individual experiences and perceptions of seasonality do not fit with the overarching discourse of seasonality as promoted by regional organisations (e.g., Tourism Central Otago, FLWCTMA).

While seasonality (and seasonal extension efforts) may seem like a natural domain in which collaborative efforts occur, the various and often conflicting stakeholder interests limit the effectiveness of collaborative initiatives. From this research it is clear that not all stakeholders subscribe to the opinion that seasonality needs managing, fixing or mitigating. If individual stakeholders within a region hold conflicting views as to how seasonality should be “handled” then it poses serious challenges to any collaborative efforts to mitigate seasonality impacts; if the lifestyle or personal goals of some owners are at odds with the profit maximisation goals of other owners, then developing a cohesive strategy can be a problem. This may reflect broader issues faced by the wine and tourism industries in other rural areas. Both the wine and tourism industries rely on cooperation for regional marketing and building a critical mass, particularly when the businesses are small-scale and located in peripheral areas. As these regions attract a diversity of business owners, including lifestyle-oriented business owners, whose idiosyncratic behaviour may pose challenges at the destination level (see also Chapter Two).

This chapter has examined the seasonal tensions that participating cool-climate wineries face in dealing with the seasonality of tourism and the seasonality of wine production. Seasonality is an integral aspect of winery operations in rural, cool-climate regions, both from the wine-production and tourism/hospitality side of operations. Issues of seasonality are dependent on various human agency factors (e.g. individual business goals, owner motivations) and contextual factors, such as climate, migrant labour laws, regional tourism patterns, supporting infrastructure and services, geographic location within the region. Seasonality influences the perception of potential residents, investors and entrepreneurs

regarding the opportunities possible in a place. The perception of the opportunities possible in a place impacts the ability of a region to attract new businesses and residents, and ultimately shapes the overall makeup of the region.

Chapter 11: Conclusions

11.1 Introduction

At the outset of this thesis, significant gaps were identified in the academic literature, which raised questions in relation to how the entrepreneurial concept might be applied in a rural wine and tourism context, and the motivations, goals and behaviour of winery entrepreneurs. The findings of this research have revealed a rich diversity of entrepreneurial types and behaviours, shaped by differing motivations and reasons to be in a particular place. These motivations and perceptions of place influence behaviours practices at the winery, in terms of operations, tourism strategies and collective regional initiatives in place-marketing. Similarly, a thorough analysis of the literature from many disciplines has revealed that place identity cannot be defined solely by the physical attributes of a place but also by the meanings attached to it by the individuals who live there, manifesting in the decisions and actions they take in shaping this place.

While this research primarily focused at the level of the individual motivations and perceptions of winery entrepreneurs involved in tourism, these entrepreneurs do not operate in a vacuum, and the social, political, economic and environmental context in which winery entrepreneurship develops, and winery entrepreneurs operate, is crucial to shaping their motivations, practices and the conditions in which these businesses operate. This chapter highlights the broader significance of this study, the scope for future research and outlines the theoretical model that has been developed to conceptualise findings and address research aims and objectives: The Model of Winery Entrepreneurial Process and Place Identity Development (WEPPID).

11.2 Meeting Research Objectives

The primary objective of this research has been to analyse how winery entrepreneurs' lifestyle decisions, business motivations, perceptions of place, and contextual factors influence business practices and regional initiatives in the wine and tourism industries. The WEPPID model developed out of this research conceptualises the entrepreneurial process

by embedding entrepreneurs (with their unique perceptions of place identity and personal/business motivations) in their context. While an entrepreneur's individual characteristics, motivations, views and agendas are critical to the establishment and operation of a business, they do not exist outside the structural conditions that support and give rise to their entrepreneurial activities. This mutually dependent relationship between agency and context is key to understanding the process of winery entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurial typology and WEPPID model that has been developed can be a very effective tool for both practitioners and academic researchers, and contributes to understanding entrepreneurship in a rural wine and tourism context.

Taken step by step, the model visually illustrates key arguments based on the research objectives. Step One of the model outlines the interaction of place/context and agency, which shapes the entrepreneurial process, and leads to particular entrepreneurial types. Step Two illustrates how these entrepreneurial types influence the decisions and actions of entrepreneurs, including perceptions of, and responses to tourism, seasonality and marketing. Step Three illustrates how the collective actions of entrepreneurs in these domain areas influence the development of the region by feeding back into the context/agency nexus. This process is clarified through examining how research objectives were met.

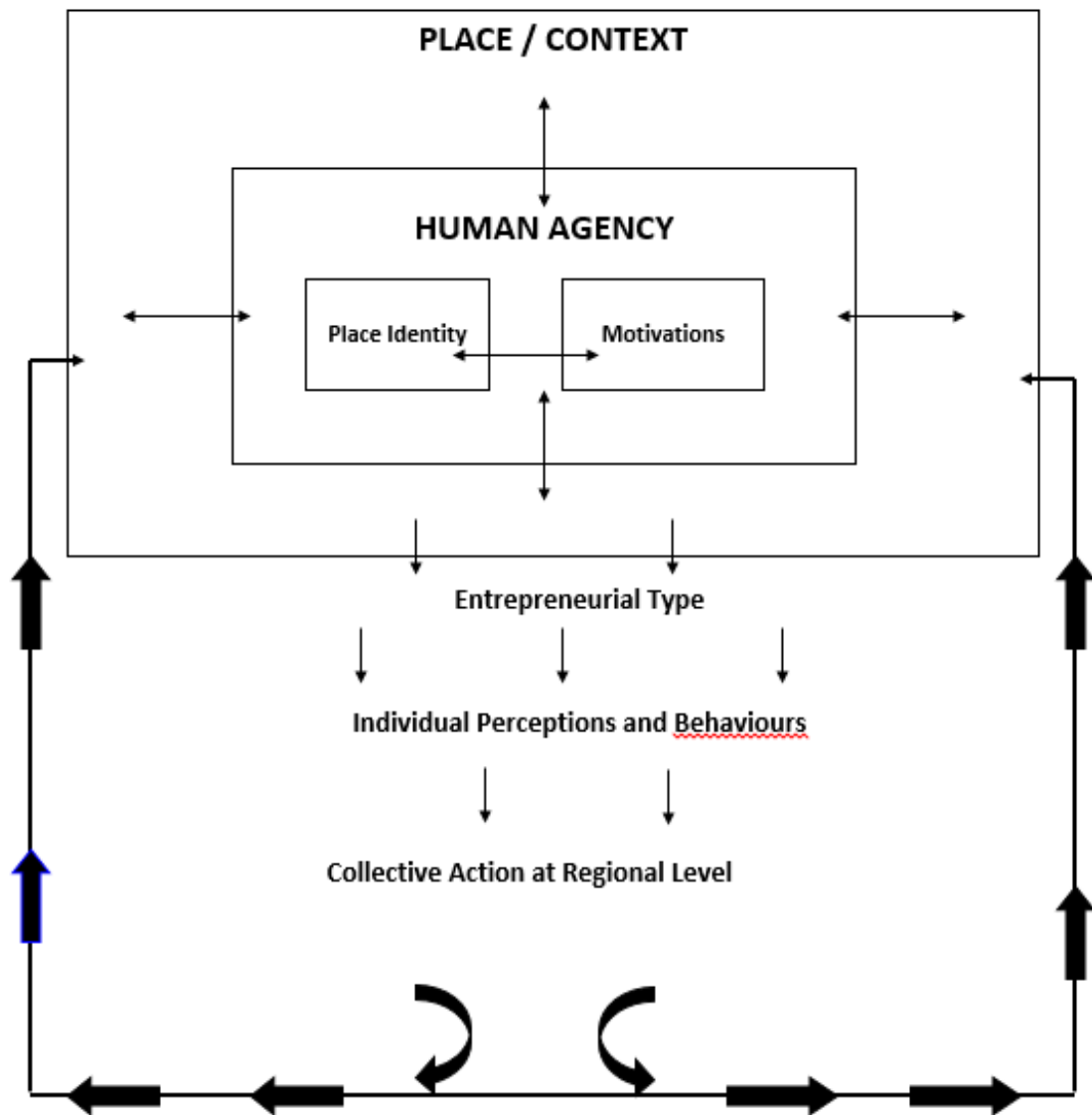


Figure 11.1: Winery Entrepreneurial Process and Place Identity Development (WEPPID)

Objective One: Identify the characteristics, motivations and goals of winery entrepreneurs involved in tourism, in two cool-climate wine regions.

It is broadly recognised that individual characteristics and personality traits serve to shape and influence both the decision to start a small business and the motivations behind the decision (Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998). As often stated, a person cannot win a game that they do not play (Shane et al., 2003). In the context of entrepreneurship, this statement suggests that success depends on people’s willingness to establish a business. Furthermore, decisions that are made along the way in the process of business ownership – to positively

evaluate opportunities or to pursue resources or growth strategies – depend on the willingness of people to play the game.

The entrepreneurial process occurs because people act to pursue opportunities. People will differ in their willingness and abilities to act on these. Human motivations influence these decisions, and the variance across people in these motivations will influence how individuals behave and make decisions (Shane et al., 2003). This research has established that there are many motivations and entrepreneurial guises that exist beyond the historical depiction of the “hero entrepreneur” who is painted as an extra-ordinary individual who works independently to conquer the environment, and survive in a Darwinian world (Ogbor, 2000).

Respondents in both regions claimed that owning a small winery is not a lucrative endeavour, due to high production costs, low margins and the inherent riskiness of the industry. This was acknowledged by all entrepreneurial types, who highlighted their unique position in the market and their inability to compete with low-cost wines sold by large producers. Further, the business of winemaking faces a variety of challenges that stand in the way of making a profit; many not unique to this industry. These include environmental hazards, bad harvests, export problems, pest infestations, economic depressions, problematic political regulations and changing patterns of consumer preferences.

Despite these challenges, participants still knowingly decided to establish or purchase a winery business. Clearly there are motivations and definitions of success beyond growth and profit-maximisation. In the context of these rural wine regions, the entrepreneurial process is not only an economic activity, but is also driven by the motivations of individuals seeking to fulfil their own personal goals. While the specific characteristics, motivations and goals are unique to each individual, and individuals may possess combinations of these motivations, in general the winery participants in this research coalesce around three types of winery entrepreneurs: lifestyle-oriented, status-seeking and subsistence-seeking (see Chapter Eight) and the entrepreneurial focus of the winery participant has been shown to clearly influence business practices.

Objective Two: Explore the ways in which the characteristics, motivations, and goals of winery entrepreneurs influence lifestyle decisions and business practices, specifically related to wine and wine tourism.

By categorising winery entrepreneurs into three distinct types, this research has been able to identify the ways that characteristics, motivations and goals influence lifestyle decisions and business practices, as the winery entrepreneurs of each type tend to behave in similar ways in the face of regional initiatives such as tourism development, seasonality management and regional marketing. Given that wine and tourism are both products that are significantly differentiated on the basis of regional identity, the way that one business acts, can impact all other businesses. This research reveals that the mix of entrepreneurial types in Central Otago and the Finger Lakes has significantly influenced the shape of the wine industry, and wine tourism in these regions (see below). Table 11.1 presented below outlines the perceptions, decisions and behaviours of entrepreneurs in regards to these three domain areas, based on winery entrepreneurial type.

Table 11.1: Perspectives and Behaviours based on Winery Entrepreneurial Type

	Seasonality	Tourism	Marketing Emphasis
A. Status-seeking	Passive: Seasonality not a concern. Increasing tourism is not important and wine production is inherently seasonal. These operations often sell out of their wine anyway.	Not a strategic business goal. Tourism is used as a promotional tool to showcase wines. Focused on trades people, brand-loyal customers and those that specifically “seek them out”.	Focused on high-quality, niche marketing of regions wines. Opposed to “cheesy” tourism or mass-marketed, bulk-style wine. Most efficient marketing for them is through developing relationships with high-end restaurants, hotels and importers.
B. Subsistence-seeking	Active: Actively trying to mitigate seasonality impacts and develop strategies to combat.	The more [beneficial] tourism, the better. Bigger margins from cellar door sales. However, certain types of tourism are harmful and do not benefit the wineries or region; they actively try to combat such trends.	Actively market and promote both wine and tourism. Profit is primary concern, therefore anything to promote more sales is beneficial. Seasonal extension marketing efforts important.
C. Lifestyle-seeking	Passive: Appreciate downtime. Enjoys natural fluctuations of rural, seasonal, living. Often close during slow periods, take time off, catch up on other aspects of business.	Can get in way of lifestyle goals. Sometimes seen as an annoyance or distraction. Enjoy opportunity to meet customers that are genuinely interested in their wines and the region. Generally prefer to host visitors on their terms, and on their schedule.	Spending quality face-to-face time with visitors and industry stakeholders is seen as the most effective marketing; they are able to share the stories of their winery, and develop loyal relationships.

Objective Three: To analyse the influence of environmental, economic, social, cultural and political forces on the decisions and actions of individual winery entrepreneurs involved in tourism, and on the development of the region.

As noted throughout this thesis, all human action is performed within the context of a pre-existing social structure, and is therefore at least partly predetermined based on the varying contextual circumstances and limitations in which it occurs. Still, a region is continuously being influenced by the decisions and actions of individual agents within the place. The early pioneering wine producers in the Finger Lakes and Central Otago are largely to credit for driving the development of the wine and wine tourism industry. The decisions and actions of individual entrepreneurs continue to shape and impact the industry to this day. However, the development of the wine industry (and consequently, wine tourism) in these regions has been made possible by contextual forces that have stimulated and shaped its development.

While the case study regions have followed similar trends and faced comparable issues in the past two to three decades, the differences in their capacity for change clearly highlight the limits inherent in a place. The nature of a place may encourage and facilitate entrepreneurial endeavours, or may hinder entrepreneurial activity. The geographic location of a region, its climate, political, economic and social structures may be conducive to the development of a thriving wine and tourism industry, or may limit its potential development.

The WEPPID model provides a framework by which to understand how and why these regions have developed so differently: Figures 11.2 and 11.3 illustrate the contextual elements that were influencing and driving the wine industry during the early years of its development, and the individuals that responded to these opportunities. As revealed by this research, it is clearly a combination of both context and human agency, and the ongoing interaction between these two that allows for a complete understanding of winery entrepreneurship.

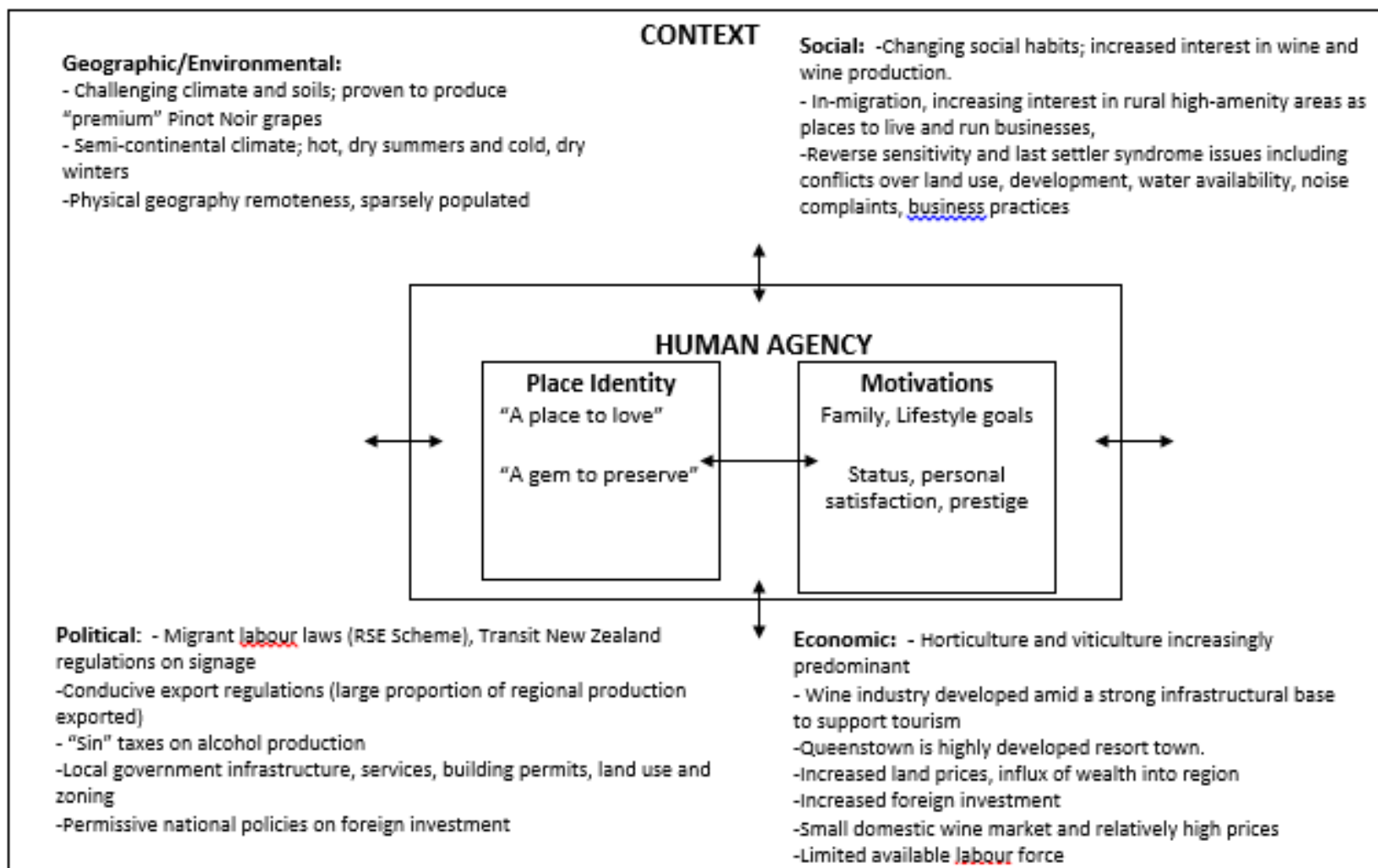


Figure 11.2: Central Otago Winery Entrepreneurs Embedded in Context

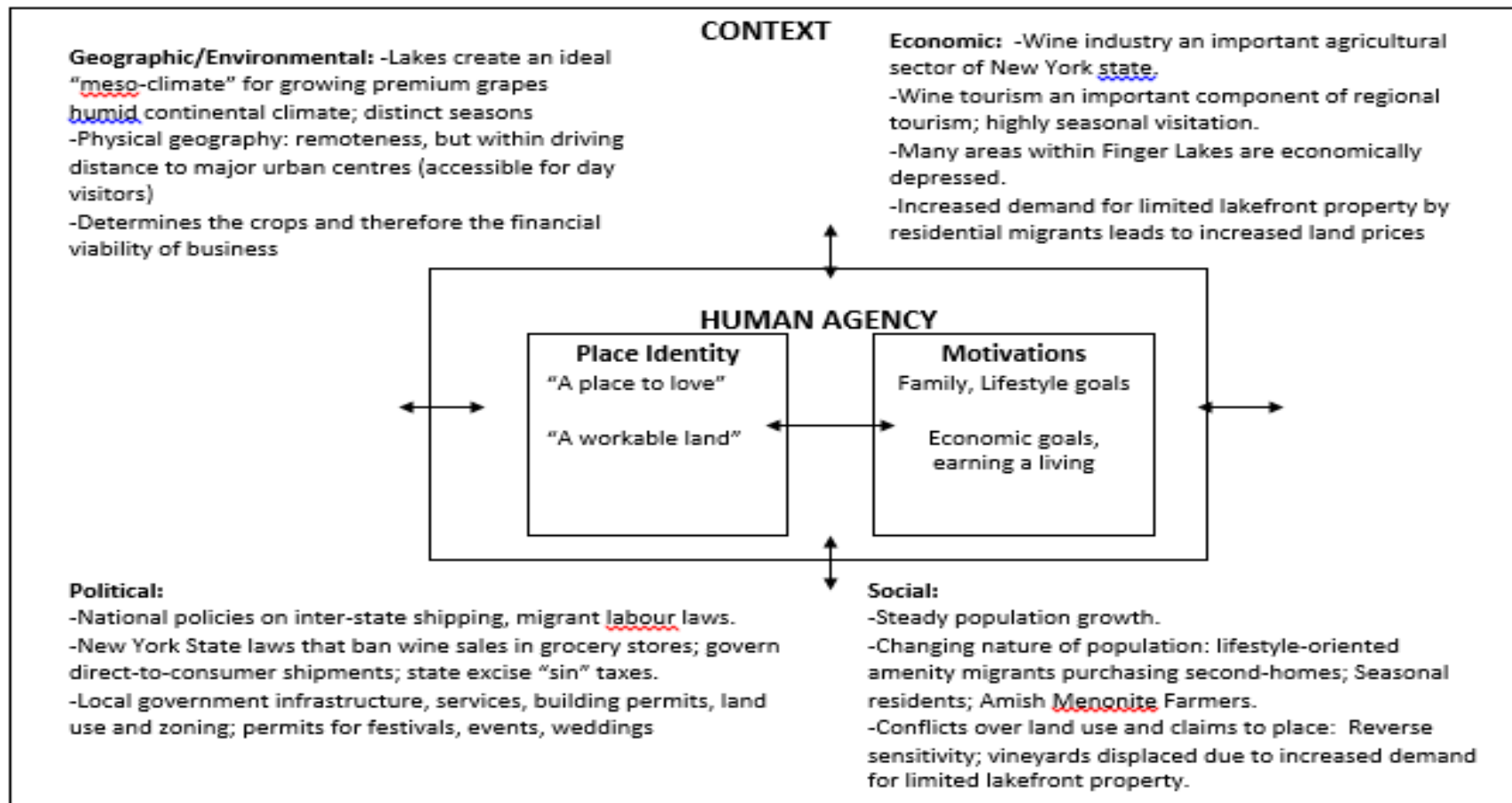


Figure 11.3: Finger Lakes Winery Entrepreneurs Embedded in Context

Contextual factors have influenced winery entrepreneurs' perspectives of, and behaviours toward tourism, marketing and seasonality. As outlined in Chapter Nine, Finger Lakes wineries had difficulty competing against prices of imported wines, and faced challenging export and inter-state wine shipping laws. As a result, direct sales at the cellar door were the most profitable way for Finger Lakes wineries to sell their wines, and other contextual factors made this possible. The region is within driving distance of many heavily populated cities, providing a large potential visitor and consumer market. The Farm Wineries Act (1976), made it possible, and profitable, for small wineries to sell wine directly to visitors, and is credited with "kick-starting" the emphasis on cellar door sales. In Central Otago on the other hand, wineries are not a primary attraction in the regional tourism portfolio and the local population is not large enough to foster a high proportion of cellar door sales across the region. Export and licensing laws also make exporting a viable option for wineries.

Objective Four: To identify the influence of perceptions of place and regional identity on lifestyle decisions and business practices related to wine and wine tourism.

While this research takes as its starting point the notion that place and context are influential, notions of place do not exist apart from larger cultural notions. Individuals and groups construct narratives and ascribe value to places in different ways, and at different times. This research has revealed that both case study regions employ similar idyllic rural meta-narratives that draw on images of rural, rugged and determined individuals as symbolic representations of the region. These meta-narratives are propagated through regional identity projects, image creation, marketing, promotions (see Chapters Five and Nine), and collective discourse. Individuals draw from this meta-narrative in defining where they are, who they are, and what does, and does not, fit with this identity. This includes what types of industries, communities and infrastructure fit the identity of the region, and in turn what types of new businesses and developments should be encouraged, and how the regional image should be promoted.

While stakeholders may draw on a similar place meta-narrative in defining the region, this research has shown that there are still different interpretations and constructions of the

same region at the same point in time. Individuals' construction of place (their place identity) is shaped by their relationship to place, past experiences, lifestyle and business motivations. Chapter Eight outlined the unique constructions of place for each entrepreneurial type. The place identity for status-seeking owners is "a gem to preserve"; these owners have an interest in preserving the region and its image, as they are focused on preserving and fostering a prestigious image for their wines. They are also focused on safeguarding and preserving their nostalgic, romantic and pristine rural idyll because the region serves as an escape to visit, or to eventually retire at. The place identity for subsistence-seekers is a "workable land". For these entrepreneurs, this is a traditional, rural area whose land should be cultivated to produce the greatest economic yield possible. These individuals see themselves as an important component of the rural identity of the region, making a direct, tangible contribution to this rural place. The place identity for lifestyle-seeking owners is "a place to love": These entrepreneurs emphasise their love and attachment to the region, its aesthetically-pleasing environment, recreational opportunities, the people, and the opportunity to earn an income from the land to support their chosen lifestyle.

An individual's place identity is closely intertwined with their own identity; individuals see the identity of the region as an important component of their own identities, and vice versa. The distinct place identities held by individuals may be largely unquestioned, but are the foundation for respondents personal and business characteristics and motivations. An individual's perception of the advantages and opportunities available in a place will influence their motivations in establishing a business, and will further influence their decisions and actions once the business has been established.

A winery entrepreneur's place identity will influence how they think the region should be marketed and promoted, and individuals will contribute to, and participate in regional marketing initiatives that reflect their place identity and advance their interests. Alternatively, they are opposed to business practices and marketing efforts that do *not* reflect their perceived regional identity, or are seen to threaten the collective regional name and reputation that they rely on.

Objective Five: To explore how the lifestyle decisions and business practices of individual winery entrepreneurs involved in tourism collectively shape the development of the wine and wine tourism industry in their respective regions.

While the case study regions share many similarities, they have followed different development trajectories. Both the Finger Lakes' and Central Otago's environmental, social, cultural and economic context have evolved along with its changing population and industries, illustrating how individuals' constructions of place, and physical impacts on a place can influence the image and identity of a place. The construction of these places is not made just by individuals in their daily decisions and practices, but also by political decisions, which have economic and social implications, providing opportunities for individuals to start and run businesses.

Entrepreneurial endeavours in turn influence place by contributing to the local economy, society and environment. New residents and entrepreneurs will in turn influence the economic and social makeup of a place, and have physical impacts through land use and business practices (e.g. planting vineyards, building homes). This is explicitly acknowledged by regional government, as illustrated by the following statement:

The meticulous orderliness of the vineyards makes...a most attractive landscape. The vineyards are a useful example of the way human intervention through operation of the market can achieve largely beneficial environment outcomes (Queenstown Lakes District Council. n.d.).

Dominant ideas about a place's history can direct its future actions. Place meaning can influence policy and therefore, the landscape itself. This creates a feedback loop through which meanings affect physical realities, which can influence future meanings (Alkon & Traugot, 2008). The WEPPID model illustrates how the interaction between a place and the individuals in that place lead to particular outcomes. Entrepreneurs' collective efforts, actions and representations of a place, such as boundary marking, claims about the appropriateness of, and priorities for land use, promoting and place naming, and lobbying for legislation and regional development, will play a role in shaping the region. The

collective actions of stakeholders will shape the development of the region by way of reinforcing a certain image of place. This image signals to potential residents, investors and entrepreneurs what types of experiences are possible in a place, which will influence who comes to the region, to do what.

11.3 Broader Implications and Scope for Future Research

This research brings into question our traditional view of the entrepreneur, and contributes greatly to our understanding of entrepreneurship practices in small-scale wine, food and tourism ventures entrepreneurial concept by analysing the diverse factors that drive the entrepreneur, and influence their behaviours.

As noted at the outset of this thesis, there is an important and provocative dialogue debating the future of the wine industry taking into account global-, national- and local-level forces. Along with trends of globalisation, the importance of *place* may be more relevant than ever, whereby people develop associations between globalisation, homogenisation, and perceived losses of tradition, roots, familiar landscapes, and values (Feagan, 2007; Ilbery & Kneafsey, 1998; Pike 2009). Wine represents that special taste of a place under the concept of *terroir* – but also, like many other things, has become increasingly “global”, produced and consumed in a growing number of countries. Along with broader changes associated with globalisation, there are fears that the uniqueness of wine may be lost (Veseth, 2011). These fears come from those who seek to protect an idea of wine that is more natural, more connected to the earth, more deeply embedded in culture. While a simplified explanation may depict this as a matter of Old World versus New World visions of wine, it is not this simple as this research illustrates: participating New World winery entrepreneurs were very clearly, vehemently opposed to the idea of wine being produced in their regions that did not reflect the uniqueness of place, and the producers that cultivate it. Many entrepreneurial strategies are created by entrepreneurs whose aims are no longer to take advantage of an opportunity, but instead is an avoidance of threats: winery entrepreneurship is a particularly insightful forum to explore this different concept.

While there may always be globalising forces that influence the future of the wine industry, there will also always be those who fight back to protect and preserve “their place” and

their personal dreams of owning a winery and producing wine. All three winery entrepreneurial types - despite differing personal, economic and lifestyle goals - expressed concerns that forces out of their control will dilute or destroy their future interests in the region, and their dreams of producing wine in these regions. Their strategies for opposing these threats and securing their interests however, are different: Subsistence-seeking winery entrepreneurs in the Finger Lakes are focused on maintaining the financial viability of their business to ensure their future interests in the region and to ensure their livelihood. These owners are proud of the hard work they have put into their businesses and are opposed to any influences that may threaten the future survival of their business (such as Finger Lakes wine producers that purchase grapes from outside of the region, for example). Lifestyle-seeking winery entrepreneurs in both Central Otago and The Finger Lakes are focused on protecting the future of their desired lifestyle, which revolves around the unique environmental, social and cultural aspects of these regions. Lifestyle-seekers want to protect their idyllic notions of wine production and rural living from any negative influences or threats, such as over-development of the region, or large, corporate-style wineries producing wine in the region. Status-seeking winery entrepreneurs are focused on protecting and fostering a prestigious image for their wines, and also preserving the natural beauty and attractiveness of the region, largely because it is a paradise to which they escape from the “real world”. These owners oppose any forces that may dilute the unique, high-end image of the region and its wines.

This research has questioned many assumptions regarding owning and running a winery in rural, cool-climate, New World wine regions. The reality behind winery ownership does not always match the images portrayed, nor the explicit goals of regional wine and tourism organisations. The nuances and complexities of these two regions, and the differences between them, have given rise to an interesting and provocative body of data, which offers a great deal of potential for future studies based on the current findings.

Research questions were developed to fill the gaps in the literature regarding the decisions and actions of winery entrepreneurs. The most notable contribution of this research is the findings that underscore the fundamental role of “place” to the entrepreneurial process. An entrepreneur’s attachment to place, particularly in a rural [wine and tourism] context, is

very important in motivating an individual to establish a business in the first instance, and also plays a significant role in shaping their decisions and actions. Despite the paramount importance of place to the entrepreneurial process, this idea has gone previously unexplored in the literature. This discovery was only possible through the analysis of qualitative, in-depth interviews with winery owners. While respondents emphasised different things, and expressed their perceptions and experiences in different ways, all participating winery owners expressed an intense attachment to place. Respondents also expressed a sense of responsibility in helping preserve an idyll notion of “their” rural place.

The analysis provided in this thesis, and the WEPPID model that has been developed, is a very effective framework for both practitioners and researchers; it has highlighted the important point that stakeholders in wine and tourism regions will have various conflicting goals and agendas. Industry practitioners, such as destination managers, marketers, and consultants may use this research to help understand the challenges inherent in collective regional initiatives. This is particularly important for wine and tourism operators, who rely heavily on a place-name to market and sell their products and services. Acknowledging and understanding the diversity of stakeholder perceptions, experiences, interests and agendas is also crucial for researchers in establishing the types of questions that need to be asked at the outset of a study. The WEPPID model may also be adapted and applied to different places, industries, conditions and contexts. While the model may need to be modified to fit the unique situation at hand, it is a useful tool for researchers in helping contextualise and frame the design of future studies.

Further research using a triangulation of methods may improve our understanding of winery entrepreneurship; new case study regions could be researched and compared with The Finger Lakes and Central Otago. An expansion of the current research to include case study regions that seemingly face parallel challenges (e.g., seasonality, tourism, residential encroachment) would be particularly insightful, to explore how these regions differ and why. This may have important managerial implications for both private and public institutions that have a vested interest in how these issues play out; it also has the potential to identify potential pitfalls, weaknesses, threats and opportunities for small wineries.

Future studies could analyse individual “steps” or components of the WEPPID model. For example, particular contextual influences, such as specific legislation or the impact of residential encroachment, could be isolated and explored in-depth as to their impact on the wine and tourism industries in these regions, or across new regions. While this research has focused specifically on issues related to wine tourism, seasonality and place-marketing, similar analyses could focus on different business practices and outcomes of the entrepreneurial process. For example, how specifically do collaborative regional organisations deal with conflicting agendas and goals regarding region-wide initiatives? How are diverse agendas and goals ultimately reconciled?

Given the focus of this research on the entrepreneurial process, a particularly useful extension of this study would be to explore how business practices and identities change over time through a time series analysis. By revisiting these regions, it would be possible to explore how the entrepreneurial process leads to different entrepreneurial outcomes, given changes in contextual circumstances. The types of winery entrepreneur’s may change as well, along with contextual circumstances. A particularly interesting topic for further research would be to explore whether broader, overarching differences exist between New World and Old World wine regions in terms of winery entrepreneurship, and the changes occurring in rural wine regions. This would offer insights into how winery entrepreneurship continues to change along with larger, global trends in the wine industry.

11.4 Concluding Remarks

The introduction to this thesis posed questions related to the future of wine: Whose ideas, tastes and interests will prevail? Who will call the shots in the battle for the future of wine’s “soul”? While this research does not offer a crystal ball into the future, we *can* confidently say that winery entrepreneurship represents many things to many people, in a multitude of contexts. Entrepreneurs have been said to embody a sort of permanent modernity where the quest for progress is perhaps more important than the search for profit (Torrès 2004). This idea of “progress” however, needs re-thinking in light of a broadened conceptualisation of “entrepreneurship”, which takes into account the significant diversity in entrepreneurial motivations and goals.

The case study regions have attracted a diversity of winery entrepreneurs with variations in personal, lifestyle, family and financial interests and agendas: this often leads to challenges in developing cohesive regional strategies, such as seasonality management, regional tourism development and marketing initiatives. The lifestyle or personal goals of some owners may be at odds with the profit maximisation goals of other owners, and stakeholders are unlikely to collaborate and share resources if they do not share common goals and agendas. This is a particularly relevant issue for winery and tourism operators, who rely on a collective regional name and reputation to sell their products. The way that one business acts has the potential to impact all others; this is why participating winery entrepreneurs strongly asserted oppositions to certain individuals, behaviours, actions and elements they feel threaten the region, its image, and reputation.

A qualitative investigation has provided an in-depth and extensive understanding of the complex interactions between wine production, tourism, rurality, entrepreneurship and business practices, from the perspectives of winery owners. By studying two different regions, this research has been able to highlight the influence of place-specific elements (political, economic, social, cultural and environmental elements) on winery entrepreneurship. Similarities and differences have been highlighted and analysed, and common themes have been considered in relation to the process of winery entrepreneurship. This research clarifies generally-held assumptions regarding entrepreneurship, rurality, the role of economic versus non-economic motivations, the importance of tourism to small-scale wineries, the impact of seasonality and responses to seasonality, wine and tourism marketing efforts. This study has highlighted important issues and phenomena relevant to wine and tourism regions more broadly, and to the study of winery entrepreneurship, providing a wealth of research opportunity for future studies.

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Appendix I: Research Information Sheet

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled 'Challenges and opportunities facing cool-climate wineries.' This research is part of a doctoral degree being completed at Lincoln University in Christchurch, New Zealand. This research project focuses on issues in wine production and wine tourism including seasonality and organisational issues. From this research we hope to highlight the management implications for wineries in cool-climate regions when dealing with tourism and issues of seasonality.

If you are willing to volunteer your time, participation in this project will involve an interview with the researcher at a location and time convenient for both the interviewer and interviewee. The interview is unlikely to exceed 60 minutes and will be tape recorded. You may choose not to answer certain questions if you do not wish to answer them. You may also withdraw from the project at any time up until the end of December 2007 when data analysis will begin and your data will not be able to be separated from the data provided by other participants.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation. No individual interviewed for this research will be identified nor will the wineries and additional businesses/organisation that they represent. The subjects will be identified with a code (eg Winery A, Winery B) or will be identified using pseudonyms.

To ensure strict confidentiality all data including any notes, tape recordings and transcripts from the interviews will be kept under lock and key in the researcher's office and will only be accessible to the researcher and supervisors. My supervisors are Joanna Fountain and David Cohen, both lecturers at Lincoln University.

The project is being carried out by:

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The project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee

Appendix II: Consent Form – Interview Subjects

Name of Project: 'Challenges and opportunities facing cool-climate wineries.'

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand that this interview will be tape recorded and that I may withdraw from the project before December 2007 including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix III: Wineries – Interview Schedule

I. BACKGROUND

How long have you been in this region? In what capacity?

Why did you become involved in the wine industry?

Why have you decided to live in this region?

What is your involvement in this winery business?

a--How long have you been involved in this business?

b--What are your primary responsibilities?

Can you tell me about your business?

a--Number of employees?

b--Tonnage of grapes? Cases of wine?

c--Distribution channels?

d--Markets?

What are the busiest/most demanding times of the year for producing wine?

-for hosting visitors to the cellar door?

How does labour and staffing affect your operation?

Would you like to see your operation grow or develop any further? Why or why not? Have your goals changed over time? If so, why

II. WINE TOURISM INVOLVEMENT

What type of facilities do you have to cater to visitors?

(Restaurant, function room, tasting room, café, toilets, etc...)

What other ways (if any) are you involved with wine tourism? (Tourism networks, events, festivals, guide books...)

Do sales at the cellar door constitute a significant proportion of total sales? What proportion?

What is your overall view of the value of wine tourism to your business?

Do you try and find other outlets for sales so that you're not so reliant on the cellar door.?

Would you like to see yourself selling a larger or smaller percentage at the cellar door?

How do you feel that your location affects how you deal with tourism?

What is the relationship between the wine and tourism industries in this region?

How successful do you feel this region is as a wine tourism destination?

Would you like to see this region as a wine tourism destination grow or develop any further?

Do you think that certain areas or locations within the region are more successful at attracting visitors?

III. REGION

Would you consider this region 'rural'? What does 'rural' mean to you?

What can you tell me about this region's overall development since you have lived/worked here?

Is Infrastructure adequate? What do you think needs work in terms of services, infrastructure around here? - Why hasn't this been done?

Do you think that the infrastructure and services here are adequate to support tourism year round?

Do you think there is a strong presence of entrepreneurial activity in this region? What types of businesses?

Do you see yourself staying here for a long time? What would make you shift out?

How do you feel about the current level of development of the wine industry in this region?

How would you describe the current level of development of the tourism industry here?

-What are the primary challenges it faces?

-What are the attributes unique to this region that make it particularly competitive?

IV. NETWORKS and CLUSTERS/ COOPERATION

How well do you think your business is served by:

- The municipality?
- Tourism organisations?

How closely and in what capacity do you work with other wineries in this region?

What other types of businesses or organisations do you work with?

-How does this benefit you and/or your business?

Overall, how closely do wine and tourism businesses in this region cooperate and work together?

What type of competition exists?

Do you think there is a unified view of the wineries in the FL region? Would you say that wineries in this region share a similar view of how wine tourism should be in the future?

Are there particular challenges wine and tourism businesses face when trying to collaborate within this region?

- What has worked well?
- What needs improvement – What's missing?

V. SEASONALITY

What role does seasonality play in the operation of your winery?

With your involvement in tourism?

What are the biggest challenges seasonality poses?

Did you realize how seasonal this business was when you entered into it?

Are you able to predict somewhat accurately the fluctuations in tourist numbers?

How do you manage staffing issues to cope with fluctuations in activity in the vineyard, winery, cellar door, etc?

How do you deal with high and low peaks of visitors to your operation?

Do you have strategies to attract visitors during low periods?

Do the seasons affect your operation in other ways? (e.g./ limited transportation and other services).

Do you see a lack of infrastructure and services exacerbates the problem of low visitation during winter?

Overall what do you see as the major current issues for wine tourism in The Finger Lakes? What would you like seen done?

This is the end of the interview with

Appendix IV: Interview schedule for Associations/Organisations

1. Can you tell me about your organisation?
2. Can you tell me about your involvement with the wine industry in this region?
3. Can you tell me about your role in relation to tourism in this region?
4. What is your involvement in wine tourism?
5. What other types of businesses or organisations do you work with?
6. Overall, how closely do you think wineries cooperate and work together in this region?
7. What type of competition exists?
8. Overall, how important would you say tourism is to the wineries in this region?
9. Overall, how important would you say the wine industry is to the tourism industry in this region?
10. How would you describe the success of this region as a wine tourism destination?
 - What has worked well?
 - What needs improvement – What’s missing?
11. Overall, how closely do wine and tourism businesses in this region cooperate and work together?
12. What role does seasonality play for the tourism industry in the region?
13. How do you think seasonality affects wine tourism in this region?
14. What future do you see for wine tourism in the region?