

The Waiheke Project:

Overview of tourism, wine and development on
Waiheke Island

Appendix to Report

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Tourism and Wine on Waiheke Island:

Waiheke Project Report Appendix

1. The Waiheke Project

The research on Waiheke Island was conducted by researchers at the University of Auckland as an internal study funded by the Vice-Chancellor's Strategic Development Fund. It was designed to develop a rich understanding of the sustainability of the wine and tourism industries on Waiheke Island, and to identify key strategic issues of interest to the University. It has done much more than this: it has revealed Waiheke as a microcosm of some of the critical dynamics at play in Auckland and NZ more generally relating to tangible and perceptual aspects of industry development, community change, economic impacts and environmental modification; and the interplay of these factors, particularly as they relate to two important industries in NZ: tourism and wine.

This Appendix provides extra material and further detail to support the Waiheke Project Report and should not be read as a standalone document.

2. Tourism and wine in NZ: the context

2.1 Tourism context

Tourism is one of NZ's biggest export earners. For seven years it was the largest earner, until 2009 when it dropped behind dairy as a result of the global economic downturn. At the same time, overall spending in the tourism sector increased because of more New Zealanders holidaying at home. Domestic spending increased 2.6% to \$12.4 billion (Statistics NZ, 2009).

NZ's tourism industry is an important national asset, which the Government is actively seeking to protect and promote. While international tourism decreased 0.9 percent (\$87 million) from the previous year to \$9.3 billion and contributed 16.4 percent to New Zealand's total exports of goods and services, domestic tourism expenditure increased as fewer NZ tourists ventured abroad, rising 2.6% to \$12.4 billion (Statistics New Zealand 2009). The significance of tourism to NZ's economy has been recognised by successive governments. Incumbent Prime Minister John Key is also Minister of Tourism.

The briefing to the incoming Minister of Tourism in 2008 stated that tourism is central to New Zealand's economy. "Two and a half million visitors come to New Zealand each year to experience world-class products and services. They travel to the furthest regions of the country and many also pursue business and immigration opportunities while they are here. Tourism generated \$8.8 billion in foreign exchange earnings in the year to March 2007. Add domestic tourism to the mix, and total expenditure increases to \$20.1 billion" (Ministry of Tourism 2008). It is also an important source of employment. One in every 10 New Zealanders works in the tourism industry (Ministry of Tourism 2007).

The Statistics NZ Tourism Satellite Account 2009¹ noted that tourism plays a significant role in the New Zealand economy in terms of the production of goods and services and the creation of employment opportunities. Tourism expenditure includes spending by international and resident household tourists as well as business and government travellers. International tourism expenditure includes spending by foreign students studying in New Zealand for less than 12 months. Key results for the year ended March 2009 are:

- Total tourism expenditure was \$21.7 billion, increasing 1.1 percent from the previous year.
- International tourism decreased 0.9 percent (\$87 million) from the previous year to \$9.3 billion and contributed 16.4 percent to New Zealand's total exports of goods and services.
- Domestic tourism expenditure was \$12.4 billion, an increase of 2.6 percent from the previous year.
- Tourism generated a direct contribution to GDP of \$6.4 billion, or 3.8 percent of GDP. This represents a decrease from 4.1 percent in the previous year.
- The indirect value added of industries supporting tourism generated an additional \$8.7 billion to tourism.
- The tourism industry directly employed 94,600 full-time equivalent employees (or 4.9 percent of total employment in New Zealand), an increase of 0.4 percent from the previous year.
- Tourists generated \$1.6 billion in goods and services tax (GST) revenue.

The Tourism Yield Research Programme undertaken by Lincoln University for the Ministry of Tourism highlighted the importance of the sector to NZ. Key findings of the programme were:

- Tourism is a net financial contributor to central government, primarily due to GST revenue that central government receives from international tourism.
- Tourism is largely cost neutral for local government. In addition to direct financial outcomes, the research identified considerable flow-on economic benefits to the wider regional communities.
- Tourism provides a mix of social and environmental benefits and costs. Evidence exists that tourism generates a range of benefits and costs for communities, but communities continue to offer strong overall support for tourism.

¹ <http://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/analytical-reports/tourism-satellite-account-2009/summary-results.aspx>

- There is no single ideal traveller type for NZ – each has merits against a variety of indicators (e.g. residual income, public sector costs, carbon emissions and regional dispersion). This highlights the importance of attracting a mix of travellers to enable New Zealand to meet its social, cultural, environmental and economic goals (Yield Research Programme 2007).

While growth slowed slightly over the past year, the tourism sector is continuing to grow: the Ministry of Tourism has forecast that international visitor arrivals will increase by 18.6% over the seven-year period from 2009-2015. This represents a total increase over the forecast period of 455,000 arrivals and an average increase of 2.5% per annum (Ministry of Tourism 2009). Across this period, domestic trips by New Zealand resident are forecast to increase from 51.1 million in 2008 to 53.7 million in 2015, up by 2.6 million or 5.1%, averaging 0.7% per annum (Ministry of Tourism 2009).

Table 1: New Zealand tourism forecasts 2007–2013

Component	2013 official forecast	Extended to 2015
International visitor arrivals	3.2 million arrivals or 4.0% annual growth	3.4 million arrivals
International visitor expenditure	\$10.5 billion or 7.4% annual growth	\$12 billion
Domestic overnight trips	18.3 million trips or 0.6% annual growth	18.6 million trips
Domestic expenditure (day and overnight trips)	\$9.1 billion or 2.8% annual growth	\$9.6 billion

Source: (Ministry of Tourism 2009)

Tourism is seen to have multiple indirect benefits for NZ, serving to help to diversify the economy, contributing to New Zealand’s image and presence in offshore markets, underpinning NZ’s aviation linkages to key markets, adding economic vitality to regions through both international and domestic expenditure, generating economic benefits from protected assets such as the conservation estate and generating GST revenue from foreign exchange spending (Ministry of Tourism 2008). As the NZ Tourism Strategy 2015 puts it:

- *Tourism adds value to other export sectors by promoting the 100% Pure New Zealand brand internationally. It also adds value to industries within New Zealand that benefit from adding tourism experiences to their product offering, such as farm stays, factory tours, and winery restaurants.*
- *Tourism helps drive regional economic growth and supports the revitalisation of towns and communities. This helps build regional pride and creates employment opportunities.*

- *Tourism provides Maori with important opportunities to nurture, celebrate, and present their culture to the world. Maori culture, in turn, adds a unique dimension to tourism in New Zealand.*
- *Tourism improves the value of national parks and other protected natural areas. It also benefits from them. The \$8.8 million the Government spends each year on Fiordland National Park has helped generate 1600 jobs, \$196 million in spending in the regional economy, value-added income of \$78 million, and household income of \$55 million. Concessionaires benefit from and add value to conservation lands.*
- *Tourism has helped drive local government investment in infrastructure and leisure facilities, such as museums, art galleries, and convention centres. It has also encouraged urban renewal. This investment helps meet the needs of residents and visitors alike (Ministry of Tourism 2007).*

For such reasons, the Ministry of Tourism is a key portfolio. Its central role is to implement the NZ Tourism Strategy 2015, which envisages that in 2015, tourism is valued as the leading contributor to a sustainable New Zealand economy.

However, there are substantial challenges identified to achieving this goal. These include growing concerns internationally about the impact of travel on climate change and specifically the perceived carbon cost of travelling to NZ, and the environmental impact of tourism within NZ². In response, the Strategy emphasises *sustainability*. “Tourism relies more than any other sector on our continuing sustainability as a nation. This is because New Zealand itself is the product we are selling” (Ministry of Tourism 2007).

“The Strategy [NZ Tourism Strategy 2015] is underpinned by two key values, *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) and *manaakitanga* (hospitality). These values provide the foundation for a sustainable approach to the development of our tourism industry” (Ministry of Tourism 2007).

Questions of sustainability are thus inextricably linked to the way in which tourism is being understood and managed by the NZ Government. Sustainability is a notoriously complex and contested concept. Influenced by the Brundtland Report definition, the Tourism Strategy presents it in terms of sustainable development which ‘...meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’. “The principles of *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) and *manaakitanga* (hospitality) and are the basis for a uniquely New Zealand approach to sustainability. By delivering on these principles, the tourism sector will provide hospitality to its visitors while protecting and managing our culture and environment” (Ministry of Tourism 2007).

² Other challenges identified are exchange rate fluctuations, and restricted aviation capacity; and locally, the availability of appropriately qualified and skilled staff, and domestic air capacity and transport links (Ministry of Tourism, 2007).

The Strategy develops a broad proposition of sustainability, incorporating economic and social considerations as well as financial and economic factors:

- *our customers will enjoy their time in New Zealand, and will want to travel here for the unique and sustainable tourism experiences we offer*
- *tourism businesses will be financially profitable, able to reinvest in their businesses, and attract and retain the skilled workers they need*
- *the natural environment will be protected and enhanced, and the environmental footprint of the tourism sector will continue to shrink*
- *we work with communities for mutual benefit.*

“True sustainability reaches across all areas of life – environmental, economic, social, and cultural. These areas are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. For the tourism sector to prosper, we need to deliver on all of them” (Ministry of Tourism 2007).

The NZ Tourism Strategy draws explicit links between NZ’s tourism aspirations and the growing international demand for sustainable products and services. “We already have a reputation for being ‘clean and green’. This has been reinforced by Tourism New Zealand’s 100% Pure New Zealand campaign. Managing our reputation and delivering true sustainability will create opportunities that will benefit all New Zealand businesses, including those in tourism” (Ministry of Tourism 2007).

NZ’s tourism industry is thus recognised as a vital asset of the country, and one which successive governments actively seek to protect and promote. This concern is also manifest at the regional level.

[1]n terms of international tourism, the success of Auckland will significantly depend on the perceived environmental friendliness of New Zealand as a destination relative to other destinations. How the tourism industry innovates in light of this constraint will contribute to its success or decline (Auckland Regional Council 2009: 24).

Research conducted by the ARC in 2009 emphasised the importance of tourism to Auckland’s economy. Using 2006 figures, it found:

- 27% of total national tourism expenditure was spent in Auckland, amounting to \$3.8 billion
- Tourism directly generated \$2 billion of GDP, equivalent to 4% of GDP
- Auckland Airport received 70% of all NZ’s international visitors, and the sea port was the most popular of the NZ ports attracting 70 cruise ships
- 7.4% of the workforce in Auckland is directly employed in tourism

Visitor arrivals to Auckland also increased considerably over 10 years, rising 66% from 1998 to 2008 (Auckland Regional Council 2009). This growth is projected to continue:

- Total visits by travellers to Auckland Region Tourism Organisation are forecast to rise from 12.50m in 2008 to 13.66m in 2015 - an increase of 9.3% (1.16m) or 1.3% p.a.
- International visits are expected to increase from 2.49m in 2008 to 2.95m in 2015, representing growth of 461,000 or 18.5%. The share of total visits generated by international visitors is expected to increase from 19.9% to 21.6%.
- Domestic visits are expected to increase from 10.00m in 2008 to 10.71m in 2015, representing growth of 702,100 or 7.0%. The share of total visits generated by domestic visitors is expected to decrease from 80.1% to 78.4% (Ministry of Tourism 2009)

Anticipated growth in the Auckland Region Tourism Organisation area is far greater than in any other NZ region, estimated at 12.1% from 2008-2015 (Table 2). The nearest is Fiordland at 9.9% (Ministry of Tourism 2009).

Table 2: Growth of tourism in Auckland Region

Domestic				International				Total			
2008	2015	Growth	%	2008	2015	Growth	%	2008	2015	Growth	%
6,807	7,084	277	4.1%	17,449	20,106	2,657	15.2%	24,257	27,191	2,934	12.1%

Source: (Ministry of Tourism 2009)

The Tourism Strategy 2015 is consistent with other current strategies including the programme being implemented to develop Auckland as an internationally competitive city, with high-quality, attractive infrastructure, facilities, and streetscapes. Starting in 2001 with the formation of Competitive Auckland, public and private stakeholders across the region have worked to develop initiatives aimed at improving Auckland's economic prospects including the establishment of a regional economic development agency, AucklandPlus and the Metro Action Plan. Tourism has been a key industry of interest and particularly the promotion of Auckland as a destination for tourists as well as investment. This was manifest in the 2007 visitor plan, *Bringing the World To Auckland* (AucklandPlus, 2007).

The plan focuses on what the Auckland region needs to do to establish itself as a legitimate world class visitor destination. It is therefore concerned primarily with the supply-side of the visitor market, meaning the growth and development of Auckland's visitor proposition (Vuletich 2008: 6). The research concluded that Auckland's visitor economy is a premium investment opportunity for Auckland, and that it represents a low risk investment because making Auckland a more compelling destination will also make Auckland a better place to live, work and play. Investing in the visitor economy is therefore argued to effectively subsidise Auckland's transformation into a world class city-region (Vuletich, 2008: 1).

A key focus of *Bringing the World to Auckland* is determining how Auckland can establish itself as a independent destination in its own right within New Zealand, but until the visitor proposition is much more compelling international visitor activity in

Auckland will continue to depend on the strength and popularity of the New Zealand brand (Vuletich 2008), which in turn relies on perceptions of sustainability.

Concerns in the NZ Tourism Strategy about the sustainability of the tourism industry are shared by tourism organisations in the Auckland region. The ARC Tourism snapshot notes that according to key industry stakeholders, the main risk for New Zealand, and for Auckland, seems to be the perception that a lot of carbon is generated in getting to New Zealand. “Therefore, in terms of international tourism, the success of Auckland will significantly depend on the perceived environmental friendliness of New Zealand as a destination relative to other destinations. How the tourism industry innovates in light of this constraint will contribute to its success or decline” (Auckland Regional Council 2009: 24).

Thus tourism is of core importance to NZ as a whole, and to Auckland, both directly and indirectly. Tourism is likely to continue to grow, although there are some major challenges principally relating to sustainability – both in managing international perceptions and minimising negative aspects (environmental, social and economic) associated with growth. Improving Auckland’s tourism proposition is an important way of improving Auckland’s economy. *Bringing the World to Auckland* suggested that key features are that the CBD is the least positive aspect of Auckland’s tourism proposition, that the hinterland opportunities are good but that access is difficult, and that history is an important part. These can be addressed through revitalising the CBD, improving connections to the hinterland, and telling better stories.

What better story could there be than Waiheke: the beautiful island, quantum removed from downtown yet only 35 minutes away, offering the possibility of doing everything from swimming to fine dining? Well-connected and easily accessible from downtown Auckland, Waiheke is thus a critical element in Auckland’s tourism offering. Appealing to domestic and international tourists, it offers a composite package of enticements. Over half a million domestic and international tourists a year already visit the island. It is easily accessible for cruise ship passengers, from the Britomart transport hub, the airport buses, and the city hotels. Waiheke consequently features prominently in Tourism Auckland advertising, combining beaches and natural beauty with sophisticated cultural offerings.

Our Waiheke research offers a rich understanding of tourism on Waiheke, which emerges as a microcosm of broader forces at play in Auckland and beyond. Our work on Waiheke has shown the importance of tourism, the need to consider questions of sustainability, and the interplay between tourism and other spheres of activity: principally the wine industry, the host community and local governance.

The Waiheke project provides an insight into the indirect ways in which tourism fits into NZ’s economy. It provides a direct flow of money into the local economy, but also helps to develop it in other ways: tourists are drawn by the image of Waiheke/NZ as pristine, remote, clean, friendly, and ‘100% Pure’. This image is harnessed by other industries including wine: NZ Winegrowers ‘Pure Discovery’. It is also leveraged by local enterprises, for example Destiny Bay vineyards presents

‘Waiheke: virtually its own country’, building on the established reputation and reinforcing it. In such ways tourism and other industries complement each other.

The Waiheke research provides a lens into a critical aspect of Auckland’s economy, linking to work already done and projects still unfolding at the national and regional level, and within the University of Auckland. It connects with broader questions around the economic, social and environmental facets of development, and is shot through with insights into the importance of questions of sustainability – perceptual and actual.

- NZ Tourism Strategy 2015
- ETA – transformation of Auckland
- Regional focus – Metro Project, Bringing the World to Auckland and Supercity focus
- University – Thematic Research Initiative focusing on ‘Sustainable Auckland’

2.2 Wine context

The wine industry has become a key exemplar of diversification and export success for NZ. In 2009 exports exceeded \$1 billion for the first time. The growth of the industry and success of NZ wines abroad – particularly Marlborough Sauvignon Blanc – has served as an important component of the Brand NZ marketing campaign. As Tourism New Zealand’s website (www.newzealand.com) puts it:

New Zealand is a premier new-world wine country, producing award-winning wines that reflect the clean air and sunshine. Top quality wines are exported to cellars worldwide (Tourism NZ, 2010).

Tourism NZ emphasises the phenomenal growth in export income from NZ wine production over the past 20 years, at nearly 24 percent each year, and notes that the New Zealand wine industry contributes more than NZ\$1.5 billion a year to the national economy while the industry supports more than 16,500 full-time jobs. In addition to the international success of the wine industry, a key theme in Tourism NZ emphasis is the ‘boutique’ nature of much of NZ’s wine production. The vast majority of vineyards in NZ are small, with only five in the NZ Winegrowers’ Category 3 production range³.

NZ’s reputation for growing wine has been fostered by the international branding strategy (100% Pure) and echoed in the NZ Winegrowers Association strategy (Pure Discovery). It has become a beacon for NZ’s economic development and diversification. It also fits neatly with NZ’s tourism strategy and proposition. Parallel with the increase in the number of vineyards and the growth of the industry, wine has increasingly become a prominent component of NZ’s tourism proposition. ‘Wine regions’ have been identified the length of the country, contributing to the tourism opportunities in each place. Leading wine regions include Auckland, Gisborne,

³ Category one wineries produce less than 200,000 litres; category two produce 20,000 - 2 million litres and category three produces in excess of 2 million litres (NZWG, 2009).

Wairarapa (Martinborough) and Hawke's Bay in the North Island, and Marlborough, Central Otago, Canterbury in the South Island⁴.

For the wine industry, tourism serves two functions: as a direct sales opportunity through cellar doors or vineyard restaurants, and indirectly through the associations that people make when visiting a place. Research suggests that wine is a potent souvenir that can be enjoyed at a later time. In NZ, the 'boutique' image helps – the 'authentic' connection between tourists and the owners or winemaker or even just the cellar staff serve an important function.

3. The Waiheke Project

3.1 Background to the project

The University of Auckland has several important connections with Waiheke Island, prompting the decision to undertake a strategic overview of issues relating to the island.

3.2 Objectives of the project

The project had three key objectives.

- i. To develop a comprehensive understanding of tourism and wine tourism on Waiheke
- ii. To develop an understanding of the wine industry on Waiheke
- iii. To develop relationships between the University and different stakeholders connected with Waiheke (public officials, wine industry representatives, and tourist organisations).

3.3 Methodology

The project began in December 2008 under the guidance of Dr Lucy Baragwanath and Dr Nick Lewis, and ran for 18 months through four phases, described below.

Phase 1: Waiheke Wine Project Reference Group

A reference group was convened in December 2008 to advise on the development of the project and to comment on the research findings. We were fortunate to attract an extremely experienced and skilled group:

David Irving (Chair)	Chair of Cable Bay Vineyards on Waiheke, was the co-founder and former chair of the IceHouse business growth centre supported by the University of Auckland Business School, and has a distinguished corporate pedigree including as CEO of Heinz Wattie.
Chris Canning	Past President of Waiheke Winegrowers' Association and owner of The Hay Paddock vineyard on Waiheke.
Mike Spratt	President of Waiheke Winegrowers' Association and owner of Destiny Bay Vineyards on Waiheke.
Philip Gregan	CEO of New Zealand Winegrowers' Association.

⁴ http://www.newzealand.com/travel/media/features/food-&-wine/food&wine_new-zealand-wine-industryinfo_feature.cfm

Louise Marra	Director of GUEDO (Government Urban Economic Development Office) in Auckland and works for the Ministry of Economic Development, and lives on Waiheke.
Megan Tyler	Planning Manager Hauraki Gulf Islands for Auckland City Council.
Alastair Smaill	Group Manager Environmental Planning at Auckland Regional Council.
Geoff Whitcher	Business Development Manager at the University of Auckland Business School.
Glenn McGregor	Director of the School of Environment at the University of Auckland.
Randy Weaver	University Winemaker and Director of the Wine Science Programme at the University of Auckland. Trained in California, Randy has had extensive involvement in the NZ wine industry since the 1970s.
Nick Lewis	Senior Lecturer in Economic Geography at the University of Auckland.
Lucy Baragwanath	Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Auckland managing the Waiheke Wine Project.

The reference group provided invaluable advice and feedback in the development of the project and on the reports produced.

Phase 2: Waiheke Island Visitor Survey

The second phase involved a comprehensive survey of visitors to Waiheke Island. The need for the survey research emerged during the scoping of the broader study examining the development of wine tourism and the wine industry more generally on Waiheke, within the context of the development of the Auckland region. This required basic data to be collected to provide a baseline on which to develop more sophisticated analysis of the processes at work. The specific research questions were:

Who is visiting Waiheke?

What are the specific interests of these visitors?

How do they find their experience on Waiheke?

What is the significance of the wine component to Waiheke tourism?

Are there areas for improvement?

Survey questionnaires were developed and administered during the peak domestic tourist season in late January and early February 2009. 1141 groups were surveyed on the return trip from Waiheke to Auckland on the passenger and vehicle ferries, capturing the activities of approximately 3600 people. This provided a useful snapshot of the demographic profile of visitors during this period, activities they undertook on the island, and their experience of Waiheke. As the first tourism survey conducted since 2003, it provided baseline information on visitors to Waiheke invaluable for many stakeholders. The Waiheke Island Visitor Survey Report

Executive Summary is found at the end of this report (Baragwanath and Lewis 2009a).

Phase 3: In-depth interviews with stakeholders involved in Waiheke

The third phase of the project involved in-depth interviews with principals of wine enterprises and other key informants to find out about wine and wine tourism on Waiheke. We contacted every wine producer on Waiheke requesting an interview, and interviewed representatives from 12 wine enterprises. Three others sent information by letter or email, and we were unable to contact the remainder.

Parallel to our focus on wine tourism, we conducted interviews and more informal conversations with Waiheke political leaders, prominent community members, and officials within local, regional and national agencies connected with economic development in different capacities (Table 3).

Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours. Wine enterprise representatives were provided with a template with a range of questions about their operations.

Table 3: Interviewees

<i>Position</i>	<i>Organisation</i>
Owner	The Hay Paddock
Consultant	Vine to Wine
Shareholder	Cable Bay Vineyards
Owner	Destiny Bay
Manager	Goldwater Estate
Chair	Cable Bay
Shareholder	Cable Bay
Owner	Connells Bay Sculpture Park
General manager	Cable Bay Vineyards
Winemaker and shareholder	Cable Bay Vineyards
Manager	Stonyridge
Owner	Kennedy Point Vineyard
Winemaker	Awaroa
Owner	Te Whau
Owner	Jurassic Ridge
Owner	Obsidian
Former winemaker and shareholder	Obsidian
Owner	Mudbrick Vineyard
Owner	Topknot Hill Vineyard/Wild on Waiheke
	Bragato, grower, etc
<i>Officials</i>	
Planning Manager, Hauraki Gulf Islands	Auckland City Council

Account Manager	Auckland City Council
Environmental Planner, Waiheke	Auckland Regional Council
Environmental Planning Manager	Auckland Regional Council
Research and Monitoring Manager	Auckland Regional Council
Auckland City Councillor for Waiheke	Auckland City Council
Social policy analyst	Auckland Regional Council
Transport planner	ARTA
Regional CEO	NIWA
Former head of environmental policy	ARC
Wine chemist, former Waiheke resident	ESR
<i>Others</i>	
Wine commentator	
Waiheke residents	1 resident since 1945 1 resident for 30 years 1 resident for 10 years 2 resident for 5 years
Winemaker	University of Auckland
CEO	Fullers
Marketing Manager	SeaLink
CEO	Tourism Auckland
Owner	Ananda Tours
Owner	Vino Vino restaurant, Waiheke
CEO	NZ Winegrowers Association
President and Past President	Waiheke Winegrowers Association

We also engaged in participant observation on Waiheke to develop a sense of the tourism and wine context on Waiheke. We attended a range of events including the Waiheke Wine Festival, Jassy Dean Garden Safari, Headland sculpture exhibition and Onetangi beach races to get a sense of what the island has to offer tourists. As part of the process we undertook substantial background research to bring together any pertinent information and help build a better understanding of Waiheke's development.

Phase 4: Presentation of findings

We collated and analysed our findings and presented them in a range of different media to a variety of audiences.

Academic papers

We have four academic papers in preparation presenting different aspects of the Waiheke study (Baragwanath, Howland, and Lewis 2010; Baragwanath and Lewis 2010c, 2010a, 2010b).

Waiheke Island Visitor Survey Report (Baragwanath and Lewis 2009a)

The survey findings were presented in a 60-page Report and Executive Summary which were made available to any interested parties, including interviewees on Waiheke and reference group representatives. We presented the findings to the ferry companies Fullers and SeaLink in recognition of their assistance in allowing us access to the ferries to complete the survey questionnaires.

Conference presentations

Our findings were presented in papers delivered at three conferences targeted principally at the wine industry:

- Romeo Bragato Conference, Napier, June 2009 (Baragwanath, Lewis, and Priestley 2009)
- Agri-Foods XVI Conference, Auckland, November 2009 (Baragwanath and Lewis 2009b)
- Academy of Wine Business Research Conference, Auckland, February 2010 (presentation)

An Industry Afternoon was organised as part of the Academy of Wine Business Research conference to which members of the wine industry were invited. This incorporated a panel discussion including academic delegates and representatives from the local industry and wine industry business organisation. As part of the two Auckland conferences, we took the delegates on field trips to Waiheke to visit some of the vineyards and presented an overview of our research and findings.

Industry presentations

Findings were presented to the New Zealand Winegrowers' Association and the Waiheke Winegrowers' Association and to the two major ferry companies Fullers and SeaLink.

Media presentations

Aspects of our research were presented on the ASB Business News in August 2009 and in the NZ Herald in March 2010 (Baragwanath and Lewis 2010d).

Evaluation of research

Successes

The project enabled resources to be collated from a wide range of sources in order to develop a broad understanding of strategic issues relating to the development of

the tourism and wine industries on Waiheke. It had a high level of support and engagement from many of the stakeholders and key individuals involved in different capacities. Our researchers found that the University of Auckland is generally seen as having a solid, neutral and reputable research reputation, meaning that people in different parts of the research process were happy to be involved (ranging from survey respondents through to interviewees). Through this process we have been able to identify a range of issues of strategic importance to the University, but also to people in different organisations involved in the process. Importantly, relationships and networks have been established between the University and other organisations on Waiheke to the mutual benefit of all, with the potential for further development.

Limitations

The survey research that we carried out presents a snapshot of Waiheke tourism at the peak domestic season and therefore cannot be generalised. It would be beneficial to have follow-up studies at different times of the year, and for the survey to be replicated on a regular basis to track changes and patterns of visitation.

4. Waiheke

Waiheke Island lies in the Hauraki Gulf, 17 kilometres from central Auckland. Rocky headlands, coves and golden beaches, regenerating native forest, and undulating hills create a striking landscape. Waiheke contains the only possum-free vestiges of Auckland coastal forest, although it was largely deforested by 1860. Its coastline is extremely diverse with rocky headlands and coves and golden sand ocean beaches to the north, while the southern and eastern sides are more tidal with mudflats providing good pickings for shellfish and wading birds. Transverse faultlines run through the island and the topography is undulating to downright hilly. Waiheke's climate is widely claimed to be slightly warmer than Auckland with slightly lower rainfall than most New Zealand winegrowing areas, although this is debated⁵ (Cooper, 2002, Kelly, 2007).

Waiheke is administered by Auckland Regional Council and Auckland City Council at present, and will be incorporated into the new unitary Auckland Council after local body elections in October 2008.

4.1 History

Waiheke has a history of contested development and ongoing change. Maori settlement evolved through four discrete periods demarcated by violent takeover bids as different groupings moved through, taking advantage of its assets (shellfish, fish). This culminated in the occupation by Ngati Paoa at the time of European arrival, whose rohe extended to the Firth of Thames and Coromandel (Monin 1992; Picard 2005; Picard and Picard 1993). The next wave of development and change was unleashed with the arrival of Europeans. In the early 1800s Waiheke was covered in kauri forest. Prized as spars and masts for sailing ships, the kauri were felled wholesale and towed to the mainland for processing, resulted in the island's complete deforestation by 1860. Exposed to the elements, the steep hillsides of Waiheke were then subject to serious erosion. Small settlements developed around the Waiheke coastline. Cattle and sheep farming succeeded timber, always fairly marginal as a result of the extreme erosion that resulted from the felling of the forest cover on the steep terrain.

Waiheke's population was restricted throughout much of the 20th century by the dearth of economic opportunities on the island and the lack of easy access to the mainland. Following World War Two Waiheke was opened up substantially for development. Building restrictions operated everywhere except on Waiheke, which had virtually no local government or bylaws. In addition to farmers and fishers, the island attracted people wanting cheap land near Auckland – small numbers made

⁵ Waiheke's temperate maritime climate is presented by wine commentators as closely akin to that of Bordeaux, accounting for the emphasis on grape style (Kelly, 2009): Merlot followed by Cabernet is the most-planted variety, although there is increasing interest in Syrah, Chardonnay and others (Kelly, 2009). Cooper (2002) contends that statistical data do not support the claim that Waiheke is hotter and drier than the mainland during the growing season, and the island's sites vary considerably in terms of proximity to the coast and aspect, and considers that several varieties of grape can be grown there.

the lengthy commute on the early service which began in 1946 (Picard and Picard 1993). However, commuting was not an easy option – one long-time resident spoke of his father’s 1 ¾ hour trip each way to Auckland every day. In 1945 the population was 835, increasing to around 2000 by the mid-1950s as a result of Auckland’s acute housing shortage and the demand for land for holiday purposes (Picard, 2005: 43).

4.2 Characteristics

Key characteristics of Waiheke:

- proximity to Auckland
- reputation as summertime visitor destination
- vast changes over 20 years:
 - community turnover
 - economic base
 - landscape modification
 - population increase

4.3 Proximity to Auckland

Waiheke is dependent on the ferry service, and the arrival of the fast ferries in 1987 brought about substantial changes. At first the service was restricted and not particularly reliable, but it shortened the journey to 35 minutes. By the early 1990s, it had improved and was becoming increasingly comprehensive. In 2010, passenger ferries are operated by Fullers and make the 35 minute trip from downtown Auckland to Matiatia Bay on Waiheke hourly from dawn to midnight⁶. Vehicle and passenger ferries are operated by SeaLink and take 45 minutes to run from Half Moon Bay to Kennedy Point on Waiheke hourly, with a more restricted service from downtown Auckland⁷. Waiheke Shipping also provides a freight and vehicle service between Half Moon Bay on the mainland and Waiheke.

4.4 Changes over 20 years

Ferries are seldom delayed or cancelled, making the service a viable connection with the CBD which compares favourably with the time and distance confronted by commuters across greater Auckland. Waiheke has become an increasingly viable residential option and effectively a maritime suburb of Auckland. Its population went from 3,500 in the late 1970s and 4,500 in 1986 to almost 6,000 by 1990, and 8,000 by 2005 (Picard, 2005), around where it remains. While the number has remained constant, the population turnover has been extremely high: 47% of residents in the 2006 Census lived elsewhere five years previously. This confirms that island living doesn’t suit everybody, but in practical terms Waiheke’s isolation has progressively diminished. It is now easier to commute, and about 1500 residents do so, most to work in the professional belt close to the ferry terminal in downtown Auckland.

The rise in property values has affected who is able to purchase property on Waiheke, contributing to the changing socioeconomic profile of the island. Waiheke historically attracted a diverse population of residents. During the second half of the

⁶ <http://www.fullers.co.nz/tickets-fares/timetables/waiheke-island.php>

⁷ <http://www.subritzky.co.nz/waiheke-island/timetable.html>

twentieth century, Waiheke became renowned for the diversity of its population, many seeking to escape the 'mainstream' and drawn to Waiheke's rural seclusion and its peaceful – even spiritual – qualities. It has an entrenched association with 'alternative' lifestyles, 'counter-cultural' developments and political activism. Long renowned for its appeal to 'greenies', 'hippies', and those seeking non-traditional living arrangements (sole parents, beneficiaries, and creative types of all descriptions), Waiheke has strong associations with 'counter-cultural' tendencies. These range across the spectrum from its 'island time' reputation of relaxed tranquillity far removed from the hustle of Auckland city, through to strident positioning around issues from nuclear-free and GE-free through to controversy over development and, importantly, the actions of Auckland City Council. It has however become increasingly unaffordable for low-income residents to afford soaring rates and rents and rising ferry costs. The socioeconomic changes are reflected in the landscape, with the proliferation of large, imposing houses on subdivided farms, particularly apparent around the western end of the island at Matiatia Bay and Church Bay. Many of these houses are sited on ridge lines and command fabulous views – as well as being highly visible and a tangible beacon of the changes afoot.

The demographic changes have a profound cultural dimension: a repeated theme emerging in interviews with long-standing Waiheke residents is the change in attitude that has occurred alongside rising land prices. Waiheke is no longer a refuge from the mainstream but a bustling maritime suburb of Auckland. Several island-based interviewees noted that many of the people once drawn to Waiheke for its remoteness have relocated to more remote areas – some to Great Barrier, an island 100 kilometres north of Auckland which marks the northern boundary of the Hauraki Gulf, and some to further removed places on the mainland.

The changes are also reflected in Waiheke's economy, particularly in the increasing development of the tourism and wine industries. Waiheke has long been popular as a destination for Aucklanders on holiday. Tourism began in the 1840s, and from the 1890s between 2000 and 4000 people took the steamer to remote Cowes Bay at the eastern end of the island for the New Year Regatta (Monin 1992). For boaties, Waiheke's sheltered anchorages and golden beaches provide an ideal destination for trips away from the 'city of sails'. The island's increasing accessibility has made it available to increasing numbers of visitors drawn to its combination of attractions: natural beauty, beaches, rural landscape and forests; the diverse population, relaxed pace of life, peace and tranquillity; and its cosmopolitan offerings of art, food and wine.

4.5 Council interaction on Waiheke

The feisty political activism of the Waiheke community, past and present, is clearly evident in its interaction with regulatory authorities. As part of the local government amalgamation of 1989 Waiheke was brought into the ambit of Auckland City Council, losing its county council but gaining its own community board. Sandra Lee, the last Chair of the Waiheke County Council, became the island's first Councillor. Amalgamation was fiercely resisted by the local community, much as the Devonport community sought to retain independence from the rest of the North Shore. At

present, the City Councillor for Waiheke is Denise Roche, a left-leaning councillor in a right-leaning council, and high levels of political activism continue. Two current issues are:

1. The structure of local governance in Auckland is being overhauled, with the government supporting the creation of a new 'super city' which will incorporate the eight existing territorial authorities. An 18 month Royal Commission on Auckland's Governance received 1500 submissions, of which 800 came from Waiheke (pers. comm., Auckland City Councillor for Waiheke). The process has been subjected to close scrutiny by island residents, with a raft of further submissions being lodged as the government progresses with the Auckland Governance bill.

2. The Gulf islands were the first under the RMA to have an operational district plan which became operational in 1996. It was therefore the first to have its plan reviewed, and the Auckland City Council's *Proposed District Plan – Hauraki Gulf Islands* has just emerged from two years of preparation, consultation and hearings. There was intense interest from islanders: 7000 submissions were received from Waiheke (from its population of 8000) (pers. comm., Planning Manager Hauraki Gulf Islands, Auckland City Council). Submissions spanned a spectrum of issues, and residents aligned in different ways. Several different organisations were set up around the District Plan review: the Gulf District Plan Association (GDPA), the Waiheke Island Community Planning Group (WICPG), and the Waiheke Island Sustainable Development Group (WISDG). While many submissions came from the same people and groups, this demonstrates that "People [on Waiheke] are very interested and quite well-informed – they are interested in their governance and in politics" (Interview, Planning Manager Hauraki Gulf Islands, Auckland City Council).

From the Council perspective, the hearings on the District Plan went well. "We made a few friends, hopefully no new enemies, and we built some understanding. It represents democracy in action: it's a good process, even if it is costly and time consuming" (Interview, Planning Manager Hauraki Gulf Islands, Auckland City Council). However, the hearings panel were subjected to highly emotional presentations, and were called "fascist, Hitler's squad and other unhelpful comments" (ibid).

The opposition attracted by the District Plan and Auckland Governance processes is reflected in ongoing negativity attaching to everyday Council activity on Waiheke.

I have to say that Council is generally not well-loved. This harks back to the Waiheke County Council which was given to ACC in the reshuffle [of local government in 1989]... It is inevitable that the council is in the centre of the tussle (interview, Planning Manager Hauraki Gulf Islands, Auckland City Council).

Evidence of the Council's unpopularity is widespread, and was one of the foremost reasons provided by interviewees as an obstruction to running a business on the island. Particular bones of contention were the length of time taken to receive resource consent and inadequate return on rates expenditure.

“Council... is a pain in the arse. You have to learn to make sure that you do things properly – meaning their way – or it’s a nightmare” (interview, Waiheke restaurateur).

“We needed to get resource consent for the winery, and it was a nightmare – it took 14 months to get a resource consent” (interview, Waiheke wine-maker and restaurateur).

“The Council is so obstructive on Waiheke. The difference [with Matakana] is that [the local entrepreneur] has just been able to get on and do it” (interview, Waiheke resident and tourism business owner).

“You need tenacity to build on Waiheke: we wanted to move the building envelope [arbitrarily set by the Council] five metres to protect an ancient pohutukawa, and it cost \$68,000 and a trip to the Environment Court” (interview, local resident).

“Auckland City Council doesn’t ‘get it’ – Waiheke needs to retain its point of difference” (interview, local resident).

Yet the City Council is in an invidious position. As the Council’s Planning Manager for the Gulf Islands noted, “in some ways, they [the Waiheke residents] are treated differently, for example the District Plan has an Islands section. But in other ways... there’s a balance... And you’re damned if you do and damned if you don’t”. Certainly, it is the expectation of residents that they will be treated differently. As the Planning Manager put it, “Waihitians don’t see themselves in the context of Auckland City, which is the Council focus and requires a whole of council approach. They see themselves as special”.

Three examples of political dissent and community activism on Waiheke are described below.

a. Campaign for Fair Ferry Fares

Most access to Waiheke is controlled by two commercial ferry operators. The majority of passenger traffic is carried by Fullers, the passenger ferry company operating ferries between Auckland’s downtown and Waiheke’s Matiatia Bay. This provides the opportunity for people to express dissatisfaction at various parts of its service.

Fullers’ ferry operations are entirely commercial. Its ferries run hourly from downtown between around 5.30 am to 11.45 pm, and from Waiheke between 6 am to 12.30 am. The standard return fare in 2009 is \$32 for adults, although there are a range of concessions available. In an interview the CEO of Fullers noted that:

The ultimate challenge as sole operator is to beat the myth of monopoly. You’re only a monopoly if you behave like one, so we try to avoid monopolistic behaviour (CEO of Fullers, June 2009).

Fullers is roundly criticised by some island residents, particularly when fares are increased. In response, various Waiheke residents mobilise in different ways: for example, the website 'Fullerswatch.org.nz', the Facebook group 'We hate Fullers and their poxy price rises', and the C4FFF (Campaign for Fair Ferry Fares) campaign. C4FFF has publicly promoted its opposition to Fullers' fares through a string of actions. In 2008, they organised a protest at Matiatia against the fare increase on monthly passes, assembling food packages worth \$44 (the amount of the increase) to show ferry-users how much would be coming out of their food budget. The C4FFF press release noted:

Over the past six years, Waiheke commuters have faced dramatic price hikes of 52%. The latest increase of 12.7% has boosted the monthly commuters' pass from \$300 to \$344 and, for some Waiheke families, the household budget can't stretch any further (<http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/AK0809/S00333.htm>).

In June 2009 the group presented the Auckland Central MP Nikki Kaye (also a Waiheke resident) with a petition calling for accountability on the Matiatia to Auckland route such that fares could not be raised without consultation with the governing transport authority and for regulation or fair competition on the route (source: Fullerswatch⁸).

The unpopularity of Fullers among some island residents was a repeated theme in our interviews. One interviewee described widespread resentment of residents "held to ransom by the ferry operator". Dissatisfaction with the ferry service also registered in the visitor survey we conducted during the peak tourist season: a significant proportion of negative comments reflected the ferry service, including the cost of the fare, the crowd control at the quays, and the cleanliness of the boats.

However, interviews with business operators on or connected with Waiheke were more forgiving, noting that "Fullers provides an excellent service (tourism operator)", and that "Fullers does a good job of getting people on the island, but not so well once they're on it" (restaurant operator). Several expressed bewilderment at the vehemence of anti-Fullers sentiment.

I'm amazed how people hate Fullers. I can't understand it – the service is very good, and the residents are living in one of the best places on earth – why do they complain? (interview, Marketing Manager, SeaLink).

The CEO of Fullers emphasised that in their entirely commercial operation, there is a trade-off between the price of tickets and the comprehensiveness of the service. Fullers seeks to capitalise on the different needs of different ferry-users: daily commuters who might value a comprehensive service including early morning boats, residents primarily based on the island who might prefer lower fares and a reduced service (but might cavil at the reduced freight service) and whose fares in effect subsidise the off-peak services, visitors who might prefer lower fares and daytime-

⁸ <http://fullerswatch.blogspot.com/2009/06/nikky-kaye-mp-to-present-c4fff.html>

only boats and so forth. The CEO was fatalistic about the 'bad press' that the company attracts, viewing it as inevitable given the multiple, competing interests.

Different sentiments expressed around the ferry service demonstrate the way in which different imaginaries of Waiheke come into conflict, which centres around who uses the ferries and when, and what parts of it get subsidised by other parts. This allows us to perceive that the ferry is an inevitable and absolutely central part of life on Waiheke, with multiple meanings attached to it. Debates around pricing of fares cut to the core of what the island is about. These range from islanders' 'right' to a reasonably-priced ferry service to islanders' need for a comprehensive service to the ferry operator's commercial imperative. In practice these multiple meanings represent a series of contradictions which are unstable and messy.

The ferry operator seeks to take advantage of the multiple meanings by offering a range of fare structures (including a discounted fare for estranged parents accompanying a child to a partner on or off the island! (pers. comm., CEO Fullers). And in Waiheke context, the operator must also be sensitive to and prepared for opposition. This example cuts through any sense that there is a singular Waiheke community or that interests are stable.

b. Love Matiatia

In 2000, Auckland City Council and the then Mayor of Auckland, John Banks, endorsed a proposed \$35 million commercial and residential development at Matiatia Bay on a property bought for \$3.5 million by Waitemata Infrastructure Ltd (WIL). Matiatia is the gateway to Waiheke and the first place that a visitor sees. The scheme was seen as an overt and highly symbolic move to commercialise the island. Many of the details of the scheme seemed to confirm this impression, and for many island residents suggested a garish development that disturbed both the exiting commercial centre and the rural idyll of Waiheke.

In opposition, residents formed the 'Community and People of Waiheke' (CAPOW) which attracted 1500 members to oppose the scheme. A fundraising concert, *Love Matiatia*, raised around \$40,000 to pay for legal representation, and the case went to the High Court. The campaign stretched across a mayoral election in which the incumbent was defeated. The new Mayor introduced a new proposal for Auckland City council to buy the property from the developers for \$12.5 million (<http://waihekepedia.com/Matiatia>; CAPOW website (www.capow.org.nz)). The land is to remain in Council ownership, with some leased for development to be guided through a process open to public scrutiny.

The issue galvanised a range of opposition from multiple quarters. While the CAPOW action was a local response by people in the community unhappy at the notion of inappropriate development, their actions were supported by the group of wealthy adjacent property-owners in Church Bay who contributed financially and used their connections with the council and the developers to influence the proceedings. As one of this group commented:

Love Matiatia was unlikely – the old guard is too splintered to be effective. But in conjunction with this group, they took it to Dick Hubbard [the new Mayor] who ended up buying it for the Council. Banks [who has replaced Hubbard and is now Mayor again] won't even consider touching it. It's too hard (interview, local resident).

The campaign brought together a highly politicised community, and money. Very different groups ('greeny lefties', 'hippies', 'new rich', 'recent arrivals', Oneroa business people) with apparently little in common aligned around a particular imaginary of Waiheke as a treasure to be safeguarded. As the CAPOW press release put it:

the many communities and people of Waiheke came together and spoke with one voice in opposition to a well-funded, strategically-orchestrated development plan...CaPoW played a unique role. It is like a family that squabbles internally, but comes together as one when an outside threat looms. As a "one voice" forum, it set a protocol of inclusiveness and respect, so people would work together on what they shared in common - in that case Love Matiatia - rather than feed their disagreements and conflicts (<http://homepages.paradise.net.nz/arohanet/lovematiatia/index.html>).

With the successful result from the Matiatia campaign, members of CAPOW changed the group's status to make it a 'vigilant' society "in which it seeks to renew its membership not to take on any particular new issue, but to be placed in legal readiness to instantly respond if an issue arises where the community needs to come together and speak with one voice" (<http://waihekepedia.com/CAPOW>). It has reconstituted itself as a community-driven institution with the capacity to incorporate a range of different community groups that has the flexibility to oppose future undesirable proposals – a loose coalition of interests in readiness to mobilise around any external threat to an unstated imaginary of the island.

c. Waste on Waiheke

Political dissent and action on Waiheke found a new target in 2009 in the collection and management of public, residential and commercial waste on Waiheke. The incumbent contractor, Clean Stream Ltd, had held the contract for seven years. Clean Stream was a partnership between two community groups (the Waste Resource Trust on Waiheke and the Kaitia-based Community Business and Environment Centre). It operated the transfer station and waste collection system as a community-owned charity. It established a waste minimisation strategy consistent with the City Council's 'zero waste' target, introducing a range of initiatives to reduce, re-use and recycle waste on the island.

Clean Stream reached twice the national target for recycling and diverting waste from landfill (which has to be trucked off the island), at 40% (Barnett 2009) and employed around 20 people on Waiheke. Clean Stream also instigated joint-venture work with the University of Auckland, resulting in several innovations to make productive use from rubbish. Two thirds of recycling was brought in by locals, rather than from kerbside collections, illustrating the community support for and

engagement with the process (ibid). The operation expressed and worked to foster the sense of Waiheke as both a green and an active community. It was a source of pride for the group of islanders who hold tight to those ideals seen as a distinctive Waiheke point of difference for those others on the island who value its distinctiveness.

The City Council Draft Waste Management Plan – Hauraki Gulf Islands section – recorded that since the first Waste Management plan in 2001 was introduced the amount of rubbish disposed of to landfill through the Waiheke Island Transfer Station dropped by almost one fifth and the amount of material collected for recycling increased from 156 tonnes to 1,238 between 2001 and 2005 (Auckland City Council 2006).

In 2009 the rubbish contract went to tender as part of Auckland City Council's new public management protocols, and the Council awarded the new 10-year contract to an Australian firm, TransPacific Industries, which undercut the Clean Stream tender by \$3.7 million. TPI proposed to issue wheelie-bins for rubbish and recycling to households and truck all the waste to the mainland for sorting and disposal.

A report comparing the social, economic and environmental sustainability of the two tenders was commissioned by the Hauraki Gulf Enhancement Society. The report found that the sustainability risks from the TPI proposal were substantially greater than the Clean Stream proposal, in economic, social and economic terms. It concluded that the Clean Stream proposal complied more fully with the Council's Waste Management Plan.

E.1.2 TPI Tender Key Sustainability Risks

- ☐☐ Potential lack of resident acceptance of wheelie bins
- ☐☐ Potential for increased waste generation through increased disposal capacity associated with wheelie bins
- ☐☐ Reduced ability for user charges through introduction of wheelie bins
- ☐☐ Potentially more than 3 times higher fossil fuel use on collection rounds
- ☐☐ Potentially up to 4 times greater greenhouse gas emissions on collection rounds
- ☐☐ Reduced local employment
- ☐☐ Potentially over 5 times greater fossil fuel use and green house gas emissions from transport of kerbside recyclable materials to the mainland
- ☐☐ Reduced potential for on-island economic development from processing of kerbside collected materials and garden waste
- ☐☐ Community consultation required on new transfer station design
- ☐☐ An estimated 28 tonnes per annum of additional GHG emissions from transport of garden waste off island for processing

E.1.3 CSWL Tender Key Sustainability Risks

- ☐☐ Potential for dog strike associated with refuse bags
- ☐☐ Potential for local air emissions from composting facility
- ☐☐ Potential for local land and water emissions from composting facility

E.1.4 Compliance with the Auckland City Waste Management Plan – Isthmus and Hauraki Gulf Islands sections: Key Issues

Based on our analysis of the available information, there are three areas where the CSWL proposal

appears to comply more fully with the Waste Management Plan. These are:

☐☐ Encouraging waste reduction and efficient resource use

☐☐ The Guiding Principle to manage waste on island where possible

☐☐ Incentives

Source: (Wilson 2009)

In their press statement, Clean Stream expressed their disappointment in terms of the loss of the contract to an off-island operator, and the “lost opportunity for Auckland City Council to listen and work alongside the community of Waiheke” (cited in Gulf News, 18 June 2009). CSL were clearly mobilising the rhetoric of community, self-determination, and island distinctiveness.

The decision was highly unpopular on Waiheke. A petition against the decision drew 1550 signatures in two weeks to oppose the wheelie bins (pers. comm., Auckland City Councillor for Waiheke and former Waiheke waste educator), demonstrating again the ability of different groups on the island to mobilise to obstruct change. Direct action was organised by ‘OneWaiheke’, a multi-focused protest group described on its website as:

a portal for citizen participation for the islanders of Waiheke, New Zealand. Our goal is to keep you informed of the current issues affecting the island and enable collaboration and engagement for all islanders (<http://www.onewaiheke.co.nz>).

TPI’s first day of operations was hampered by up to 70 residents picketing the transfer station throughout the day. The protest attracted attention from the national media and was reported in terms of Waiheke’s distinctive greenness and alterity. OneWaiheke’s celebrated “the diversity of age groups, and groups present”, and claimed that the email messages and toots of support from passing motorists showed a broad island support for the protest (<http://www.onewaiheke.co.nz/news/ww-news-7-july/>).

The action set the tone for all our future direct actions. It was fun, non violent and showed that the community is united. This is not the end – it is the beginning (www.onewaiheke.co.nz).

The OneWaiheke coalition established a ‘Fighting Fund’ to pay for legal advice on how the matter might proceed. The protesters took advantage of a visit to Waiheke by the Auckland Governance Select Committee, where island residents had an opportunity to comment on the proposal to merge all the Auckland councils into a unitary ‘SuperCity’. As the OneWaiheke website puts it,

The committee came to the island to hear a full day of personal presentation and the waste issue came up again and again not just as a complaint about the malevolence and ineptitude of ACC but also as an illustration of the danger of an even larger and more detached super city. The waste issue

really hammered home the need for a large amount of local autonomy for Waiheke. So we are now watching out for the revised Bill with interest (<http://www.onewaiheke.co.nz/news/waiheke-vs-auckland-city-council-legal-update/>).

In this way island residents banded together to oppose change, although this time unsuccessfully. One of our island resident interviewees noted that “Auckland City Council doesn’t ‘get it’ – Waiheke needs to retain its point of difference” (interview, Waiheke resident). The example illustrates again that people who live on Waiheke are demonstrably vocal, feisty and politically active. Any suggestion of change is closely scrutinised and potentially the target of protest and opposition.

4.6 Waiheke tourism

Waiheke’s increasing accessibility has made it available to increasing numbers of visitors drawn to its combination of attractions: natural beauty, beaches, rural landscape and forests; the diverse population, relaxed pace of life, peace and tranquillity; and its cosmopolitan offerings of art, food and wine.

Key characteristics of Waiheke tourism that emerged from our surveys and interviews are:

- Proximity and access – Waiheke is close to Auckland and easily accessible for domestic and international tourists
- Composite package – Waiheke has important natural attractions including beautiful scenery, beaches and walking tracks; it provides a relaxed and peaceful escape from the city; it has a vibrant and diverse community including artists, hippies and artisan producers of a range of goods; and finally it has a cosmopolitan sophistication through its wine, food and art
- It appeals to multiple audiences
- It is extremely popular – our survey showed that 85% of visitors plan to return while 97% of visitors would recommend Waiheke to friends and family
- Seasonality
- It faces multiple existing and future challenges arising from tourism, rapid changes and projected growth

Information for visitors on Waiheke is provided by several organisations:

- Tourism Auckland – Waiheke features prominently in Tourism Auckland publications as one of Auckland’s ‘hinterland jewels’. Tourism Auckland provides “the OFFICIAL website for Waiheke Island, NZ” (<http://waiheke.aucklandnz.com/>), with details of activities on the island, ferry timetables, accommodation options, maps and images of Waiheke. Tourism Auckland also operates the Waiheke ‘I-site’ information kiosk in Oneroa
- Ferry companies Fullers and SeaLink provide information on Waiheke at kiosks on the mainland and on Waiheke, and on their websites
- Auckland City Council provides maps of the island’s walking tracks
- Auckland Regional Council has maps of the Whakanewha regional park

- The Waiheke Winegrowers Association provide extensive information on their website (www.waihekewine.co.nz) and in their wine trail brochure
- Internet search engines provide essential information on Waiheke, providing access to travel advisory services
- Some of the tourism enterprises on Waiheke use other tourism networks such as the Clef d'Or – the concierge society – which provides a conduit linking large hotels (such as the Hilton and Stamford Plaza) with tourism operations such as restaurants

Despite this array of information, tourism on Waiheke has several constraints, and a recurring theme among tourism operators on the island is frustration at certain aspects of the Waiheke tourism infrastructure.

- Bus transport: Public buses meet each ferry but are scheduled to depart very soon afterwards. An information desk, brochures, maps, toilets and a café are provided at the ferry terminal at Matiatia, encouraging visitors to stop to learn more about the options, and as a consequence miss the bus. Visitors then face a 2 km uphill walk to Oneroa village, or a taxi ride. Operators suggest that more information on options at Matiatia should be provided on the ferry.
- Inconsistency of operation: many of the Waiheke tourism businesses, cafés and vineyards close for the winter, between Easter and Labour Weekend in October, reducing the options available for winter visits. In addition, the opening hours of the various operations vary widely, and it is extremely difficult for the information maps to keep up. Operators suggest the need for a daily bulletin board at the wharf providing details of what is available on the particular day.
- Customer service: tourism and hospitality businesses on Waiheke confront difficulties in securing good staff to ensure a high standard of service. Several of the restaurants recruit international migrants particularly from South America and Germany to remedy the shortfall.
- Seasonality: while Waiheke is a popular destination on a summer day, it is less appealing in inclement weather. Aucklanders rely on the weather map and will cancel their trip according to the forecast the night before.
 - *The challenge for this location is the seasonality. The boat trip is scary, the site is windy, the rain takes the view. A working vineyard and sculpture are outdoor activities. However, it is lovely on a nice winter's day (Interview, manager, Cable Bay).*
- The ferry crossing: the ferry journey to Waiheke contributes to its unique proposition, but can work for and against the island. Indeed, while only 35 minutes, the ferry trip can be extremely rough and unpleasant, restricting the enjoyment of travellers, and also curbs the prospects for tourism operators. A conference organiser said that they had lost a major booking when it transpired that the keynote speaker got seasick and refused to come to a conference on an island.

Several interviewees noted that tourism on Waiheke is not consistently or collaboratively promoted or managed. This perhaps reflects the different images

that people have of the island and what they are trying to achieve by promoting it (see below).

A clear limitation is that you can't rely on people to band together (interview, Waiheke wine enterprise owner)

Clearly people are prepared to work together on certain things. Like this fuss over the rubbish scenario on the island – the island united against Auckland City because of the unpopular decision and 'big brother' appearance. In the past the community has vented its spleen on the ferry operator. They could work together as a group of island producers of wine – the good has to outweigh the differences, and it is useful to work together (interview, regulatory authority official).

However, a longstanding Waiheke resident and tour operator emphasised that several of the operators work collaboratively:

There is quite a lot of cooperation on the island – for example, with Fullers: they work together, and pass each other business. We know each other's products (interview, owner, Ananda Tours).

The Waiheke Winegrowers' Association has collaborated to produce the wine trail map and website collateral. However, this cooperation does not extend to other forms of information-sharing and marketing. Sub-groupings are apparent:

- Two of the island's growers (Destiny Bay and The Hay Paddock) announced in 2010 the formation of a new group: The Specialist Winegrowers of New Zealand, seeking to take advantage of collective marketing to secure premium prices off-shore
- In 2009 some of the operators got together to form 'Team Waiheke'.
 - *Everyone has been represented singly up to this point and now they're working together to overcome the perception that it's too hard to get to Waiheke. The idea is that people can contact any of the 'team' (interview, tour operator, Waiheke).*

4.7 Wine on Waiheke

The narratives that Waiheke wine enterprises shared with us provide a variety of reasons for the success of Waiheke wine. As a wine region, it certainly helps to have a distinct physical boundary. In addition, many of the growers, and certainly the WWA, emphasise Waiheke's unique 'terroir'. Waiheke's latitude, geology, soil and climate provide the foundation for marketing material for wine-growers seeking to emphasise Waiheke's unique wine-growing conditions.

Sunshine, sea breezes and rolling hills ... define one of the world's most exclusive wine growing regions, producing wines with intense varietal flavour and the freshness and purity that comes from a pristine environment. There is nowhere in the world like Waiheke Island. Discover its beauty by discovering its wines... (Island of Wine website: <http://www.waihekewine.co.nz>).

The first commercial vineyard was planted in 1978 by Kim and Jeanette Goldwater, followed in 1982 by Stephen White at Stonyridge. By the mid-80s, Goldwater and Stonyridge were producing reputable wines on Waiheke to international acclaim, focusing on Bordeaux-style blends.

Wine producing operations proliferated on Waiheke during the 1990s and early 2000s. There are around 29 wine producers on the island (the exact number changes as some emerge and some leave the industry), of varying scales and aspirations. Wine has become an established feature of the Waiheke economy, and a highly prominent feature of the landscape. Wine has also come to represent an important component of Waiheke's appeal to tourists: the visitor survey research revealed that almost one third of visitors surveyed (around 3500 people) had visited at least one vineyard on the island (Baragwanath and Lewis, 2009).

Most Waiheke wine enterprises are very small: all but one has fewer than 15 productive hectares, and the average planted area is five hectares (WWA, 2006)⁹. All produce fewer than 30,000 cases of wine annually, and most fewer than 1,000.

4.8 Wine tourism on Waiheke

What is the allure? It's a special place. A destination. A beautiful island, great wine, a well-known winery destination. There's the critical mass, many vineyards, and the quality is good (interview, wine enterprise operator).

Our research showed the clear links between wine and tourism on Waiheke. Most of the wine enterprises sell wine from the cellar door. Meeting the owner or the winemaker is an important part of the experience.

What makes it different is the personality. This makes you buy wine – buying the experience - buying a bit of the winemaker. And bringing home wine is a very important part of the experience – like a photo (interview, tourism operator, Waiheke).

The majority of Waiheke wineries are small firms, and extremely diverse in their structure and aspirations. Three 'ideal types' of enterprise as they relate to wine tourism are emerging from the qualitative research. The first is the tiny owner-operated enterprise which aims to support a particular livelihood and a passion for making fine wine. Both the aesthetic and winemaking features of Waiheke are central, with tourism in the form of cellar door traffic through traditional, more rustic conceptions of tasting experiences important in generating wine sales. The second type is made up of larger enterprises that focus on hospitality in the form of restaurants or cafes as well as cellar doors. The third category includes the highly capitalised export-focused enterprises for which tourism is currently less important (and indeed may be undesirable if it devalues the prestige of the 'Waiheke brand').

⁹ Some wine producers source different varieties through a range of mechanisms such as leasing vineyards or buying contract grapes both on and off the island to contribute to their wines.

In practice, actual enterprises may combine these facets or may simply be exceptions to this categorisation. For example, the reputation of the legendary Stonyridge was established by its owner and founder, Stephen White, in the first instance through its wine receiving international accolade; then through the development of its extremely popular café and cellar door; and further through the innovation of major events such as summertime dance parties which attract thousands of visitors. In order to meet the demands of tourists in terms of both price and volume, Stonyridge has introduced a second label 'Fallen Angel by Stonyridge' made under direction of its winemaker but sourced from (and made in) other regions.

By contrast both Cable Bay and Te Whau offer sophisticated dining experiences in architecturally designed restaurants targeting elite consumers of food, wine and art, but found the experience that they provide on the reputation of their wines. Cable Bay differs from Te Whau, however, in also being a more commercial producer making wines for sale in domestic and export from grapes sourced in other regions. Passage Rock, at the rural, eastern end of Waiheke, also relies on its restaurant for revenue and sales of its wines, but offers a different, more rustic aesthetic, as well as producing award-winning wines.

For several of the high-profile wineries, wine tourism (including restaurant activity) is an essential component of their business, and can comprise in excess of 50% of revenue. For half of the enterprises, cellar door operations are integral to business, but these vary considerably in opening hours and times of the year at which they operate. Some wineries report that up to 20% of their wine sales are generated through the cellar door. However, operating a cellar door is costly in terms of facilities and staffing. This needs to be balanced against the importance of the interaction with winery staff (particularly the winemaker) at the cellar door as an integral part of the authentic experience for tourists as well as sustaining the meanings and value of Waiheke wine more generally.

People enjoy coming here, and people like to meet the people doing the work. The individual touch is quite a different thing. If the operation is very commercial a shop approach works, but making good wine lets you get through that barrier. But at the early stage, the personal touch is important (interview, owner-operator, Waiheke wine enterprise).

For all enterprises, wine is of central importance certainly in terms of identity if not always in terms of direct contribution to revenue. Significantly, whatever their different levels of dependence on tourism, each is passionate about its wines and presents primarily as a wine enterprise. Authenticity as a winery (conceived in the high end terms of wine culture, its smaller more rustic/peasant traditions, or some Waiheke variant of New World recombinations of these traditions – see Lewis 2008) is an important part of proprietor's motivations and enterprise rationale, as well as an integral component of the wine tourism strategy.

The Waiheke Wine Festival combines wine tourism with a special event. Held during the survey period over the Waitangi weekend in early February, it attracted 2,500

attendees in 2009. Historically, organisers have struggled to juggle the logistics of transport to different sites and the different popularity of different sites, accommodate both the different interests of wine companies in different mixes of the product (wine tasting, music, 'cultured' day out, or a boozy party) and the different expectations of festival goers, and balance the different effects of different festival experiences on Waiheke wine. Currently, the Festival is held at a single site – Isola Estate – in the middle of the island, to which festival-goers are transported by bus from the ferry. It involves wine tasting, drinking, food, music and a day out in the sun. Targeted surveys were administered during that weekend to try to capture the tourism qualities of the event. Although less successful than hoped in capturing information about the Festival due to data collection problems (the timing of the surveys and a low response rate on the ferry home), they did confirm some of the problems experienced by the 2009 event. These include concerns from festival-goers about the marketing of the event, the facilities, and the value for money of the day out: the combined cost of ferry (\$32 return) and festival tickets (\$65), given the product.

4.9 The commercial viability of wine and wine tourism on Waiheke

Most winegrowers we interviewed suggest that they must derive some form of economic return from their property, given the high operating and ownership costs. The extent to which they are likely to remain on the island, in their enterprise, relates to how realistic their ideas were when they arrived. For example, one producer planted vines as a retirement project, but this has rapidly grown creating enormous amounts of work through unexpectedly high levels of production making it "too big to be a hobby and too small to be a business".

It is perhaps for these reasons that vineyards on Waiheke frequently change hands: while it is not easy to track the precise changes, three vineyards were sold during 2009 and Te Motu is on the market in December 2009. The island location contributes to the high turnover of the population: one of our interviewees commented that couples are attracted to Waiheke, but often one or the other decides to leave within a short period. Additional contributing factors include as life cycle stage, such as schooling or health requirements.

Some wine producers arrive on Waiheke having worked in the wine industry in other places. They have a good idea about what to expect, but the island's specific conditions present challenges. For those who have tried to augment their income through hospitality ventures, the seasonality of Waiheke's appeal is a particular problem. The vast majority of tourists visit between November and Easter, and the frenzied activity of summer alternates with extremely low numbers of visitors in winter. Enterprises must carry the costs, which can be considerable. Some choose to remain open all year to maintain their reputations (for example to ensure that they retain good chefs), but this is a substantial expense across the deserted winter months. Others close, but then face difficulties in recruiting staff once summer arrives.

Other operators emphasise their intention to make ‘serious wine’ that can command an adequate premium to make it financially worthwhile. They are attempting to capitalise on Waiheke’s unique conditions, terroir, reputation and boundedness as a wine region.

While it is not necessarily more difficult to grow wine on Waiheke than it is elsewhere, it is certainly hard to make money from wine. Some people are attracted to Waiheke for unashamedly ‘lifestyle’ reasons. They like the idea of being on Waiheke making wine and the priority is to strike the balance of living and working in a beautiful place in an interesting and even ‘glamorous’ industry. As one of our wine industry interviewees put it:

Owning land on Waiheke raises you up the social scale, and owning a vineyard makes you attractive to people. It gives you identity. When you travel, being able to say ‘I own a vineyard on Waiheke’ means people want to know you. The wine industry itself is *glamorous* to people (interview, winemaker not based on Waiheke).

Each type of operation capitalises to some extent on Waiheke’s reputation as a tourism destination. The smallest producers are often owner-operators or family-run enterprises, drawn to Waiheke for a combination of ‘lifestyle’ factors. They tend to do much of the work themselves, and may band with other small producers at strategic moments in the production process. For example, some truck their wine to the mainland in tankers for bottling, while others operate small bottling lines on-site. In this bracket, many sell their wine directly through a cellar door, or through loyalty clubs (often comprising friends and family).

The second category involves hospitality enterprises centred on wine. Often set in a vineyard and ostensibly ‘wine businesses’, most produce wine but also supplement the earnings of the wine-related part of the business with a restaurant and cellar door, and sometimes accommodation. Waiheke’s restaurants cross the spectrum from fine dining through to simple platters, in a range of settings. While having a restaurant ensures direct wine sales on the premises, representing the most efficient return, restaurants carry their own risks and there is no guarantee that two risky businesses – wine and hospitality – will necessarily lead to success. For those who have tried to augment their income through hospitality ventures, the seasonality of Waiheke’s appeal is a particular problem. The vast majority of tourists visit between November and Easter, and the frenzied activity of summer alternates with extremely low numbers of visitors in winter. Enterprises must carry the costs, which can be considerable. Some choose to remain open all year to maintain their reputations (for example to ensure that they retain good chefs), but this is a substantial expense across the deserted winter months. Others close, but then face difficulties in recruiting staff once summer arrives.

The third category includes serious wine producers, mostly with export aspirations, who are seeking to make the most of Waiheke as a distinctive, unique wine region and produce top quality wine that can command a premium price. Most of these

operators do not have a cellar door, but some operate loyalty clubs and use distributors in Auckland and beyond to sell their wine.

In the final category, there is a single large grower on the island: Man o' War Estate has 120 acres of grapevines planted on the 4500 acre station. It does not operate a cellar door but markets its wine through mainland distributors.

Wine operations on Waiheke seek to market their produce in a variety of ways. Many sell directly to the public through cellar doors. While this has the advantage of directly contributing to cashflow, for smaller operations it also risks diverting essential manpower from other parts of the enterprise (such as viticulture)(Hall, 2004:168). Other enterprises sell through outlets on Waiheke and in Auckland, and some have secured distributors internationally, although exporting such low volumes creates its own difficulties. Still others have sought to augment their wine operations through a variety of tourism and hospitality ventures such as cafes, restaurants and guest houses. Therefore most of Waiheke's wine producers depend on tourism to some extent, whether directly through foot traffic or indirectly through the growing reputation of Waiheke wine – just as tourism on Waiheke has come to depend on the attraction of wine.

Our typology offers an analytical starting point but does not map neatly onto the practices and experiences of individual enterprises. It is not possible to generalise about the success or otherwise of any single category. The experiences of each reflect a complex of factors, including people's intentions and aspirations, the time at which they arrived on the island, what their previous involvement in the wine industry was, and the extent to which their ambitions correlate with the reality of their enterprise.

While geophysical and climatic features are critical elements of wine-making, there is a further, more esoteric dimension that also contributes to the appeal of Waiheke wines, drawing on a particular set of perceptions and reputations. We explore this through the notion of 'imaginaries'.

4.10 Imaginaries

a) Clean and green

The winegrowers we interviewed were inclined to depict a positive imaginary around wine-growing on Waiheke, but interviewees from community groups and the public sector were more circumspect. This suggests a further contradictory imaginary relating to Waiheke's natural environment. This tends to be preservationist, mourning on one hand the modification of the 'old Waiheke' pastoral landscape, and on the other the threat of development per se on Waiheke's remnant bush stands (particularly as Waiheke is free from possums which decimate northern coastal forest). In this imaginary, Waiheke's existing landscape is valued for environmental as well as aesthetic reasons: the landscape modification and 'managed landscape' that grape-growing entails encounters a deep-rooted imaginary of Waiheke as a pastoral setting with pockets of native bush.

Wine and other things have transformed Waiheke. In 1991 the land was wild, but 15 years on there has been huge change, from hippy to glamorous. The original people feel betrayed and marginalised – they can't keep up. Some parts of the island are the same – there are still many hippies. But if you look at the association of wine with the land – the café culture and so forth – many people hate it. They identify the island with something totally different. They see wine as a managed landscape... damaging it, not keeping it green (interview, winegrower and Waiheke resident).

Consistent with the 'clean and green' imaginary of Waiheke, a group of residents has developed a case for Waiheke to become a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve.

The Hauraki Gulf is an area of outstanding natural beauty, with a special ecology and many sites of historical significance. It supports a wide range of recreational pursuits and sporting events. The Gulf Islands' communities are independent-minded, creative, caring and supportive. They have a history of developing innovative and sustainable solutions (Beardon, cited in http://www.onewaiheke.co.nz/supercity_submission/waiheke-as-a-unesco-reserve/).

A UNESCO Biosphere Reserve includes environmentally protected areas alongside zones for sustainable economic development. It aims to develop an economy based on local community action, entrepreneurship and sound science. Though there are none in New Zealand, there are currently 533 in 107 countries around the world, including 16 in Australia. As the group noted, "A 'Hauraki Gulf Reserve' would enable us to share and learn within a global network of similar environments, leading to an increase in low-impact scientific and eco-tourism" (Beardon, 2009)¹⁰.

b) Woodstock reunion

In a further, related, imaginary, Waiheke emerges as a peaceful, laid-back and relaxed sanctuary, worlds away from the hustle of the city. The gentle pace of 'island time' over the 20th century attracted a diversity of people, consolidating the image of Waiheke as a haven for 'alternative' types: artists, musicians, 'greenies', and others seeking inspiration from nature and often a cheaper, more natural way of life not possible in Auckland. This 'Woodstock Reunion' feeling¹¹ of Waiheke (similar to that of Takaka in Golden Bay) is evident in the multiplicity of diverse small enterprises on the island – art studios, alpacas, lavender, organic fruit and vegetables, wine – and in institutions such as the Ostend market on Saturday mornings, and the Oneroa cinema (the seats are sofas and armchairs donated by locals upgrading their furniture).

Waiheke is in transition – but it needs to retain the Woodstock reunion feel. I helped coin the phrase: Waiheke – we're 'far enough behind to be ahead' (interview, Waiheke resident).

Some of the wine and tourism enterprises emphasise this image of Waiheke in their business. Awaroa, for example, combines an organic vineyard with lavender

¹⁰ http://www.onewaiheke.co.nz/supercity_submission/waiheke-as-a-unesco-reserve/

¹¹ I am grateful to John Hawkesby for this metaphor.

produce. Their promotional material emphasises the natural, slow and time-honoured style of wine-making:

We aim for a ripe, concentrated style of red wine. This means low crop levels, plenty of sunshine on the grapes and leaving the grapes on the vine as long as we can. The grapes are harvested and then gently crushed by foot. The fermenting wine is plunged by hand 6-8 times a day, then a gentle press into mostly new oak barrels for the next 12 months or so before bottling (<http://www.waihekewine.co.nz/TheVineyards/VineyardLinks/AwaroaVineyard.aspx>).

c) Isle of Capri

A further imaginary stems from the layer of cosmopolitan sophistication overlaying Waiheke's physical advantages and its interesting and diverse population. The increased flow of visitors and demographic shift on the island has resulted in increasingly 'middle class' sensibilities: professional people have brought increasingly sophisticated tastes to the island, supporting the proliferation of small businesses on the island to meet this demand.

Some locals have been confused about the changes – that now there are people prepared to pay for better cut of meat, who are also wine-drinkers. The old guard need to realise that change is inevitable, but it can be better or worse – the new arrivals aren't all bad. We beautify the landscape, spend money, go to restaurants (interview, Waiheke resident).

The image of Waiheke as NZ's 'Isle of Capri'¹² – historically an island of strategic importance, more recently dedicated to 'otium and the art of hospitality'¹³ and a refuge for peaceful reflection, artists and writers – has gained traction in recent years with the increasing sophistication of the island's cultural attributes. The wine industry is an important component of this image.

Nestled in a shimmering valley of olive trees, colourful vines, and the aromas of the south of France, our Veranda Café is one of the most romantic and exotic venues in New Zealand for café dining, private functions, and weddings (www.stonyridge.com).

Of course, this imaginary also has a flip side. Some of the social or cultural effects of the growing wine industry are seen as unwelcome. These include the association with economic development itself, the rising land prices that it entails, the demographic change on the island and the nouveaux riche newcomers that have arrived, leading to a noticeable change in culture that is not always welcome. As Lloyd-Jenkins puts it,

The increased importance of grapes to rural economies saw a change in attitude and aesthetic take place. Vineyard complexes brought the *attitude of the city* to those areas (Lloyd-Jenkins, 2005: 282 (At Home, a century of NZ design), cited in Wakefield, 2005: 24).

¹² I am grateful to Linda Goodin for this image

¹³ (<http://www.capri.com/en/storia>)

d) Martha's Vineyard of the South Pacific

Several wine enterprises have sought to capitalise on the image of Waiheke as an exclusive destination for 'high net worth' travellers: the Martha's Vineyard of the South Pacific.

The proposal to build a five-star hotel at Isola Estate in the Onetangi Valley, endorsed by the Langham hotel group, is one manifestation of this imaginary.

The luxury hotel operator [Langham Hotels International] will manage the five-star boutique Vineyard Resort + Spa on behalf of Isola Estate on Waiheke Island, an exclusive enclave 30 minutes off the coast of Auckland, New Zealand, which will open in 2010.

The resort will nestle amongst the 26 award-winning vineyards of Waiheke Island including its own, forming the basis of a paradise for travellers and meeting planners seeking a gastronomic and wine lover's experience...

Langham Place will help to open up new global luxury travel markets when it opens with its exciting blend of inspiring hospitality. Waiheke Island will capture imaginations with an incredible aerial arrival experience that will be matched only by its vineyards and facilities... "Langham Place Vineyard Resort + Spa, Waiheke Island will be the Martha's Vineyard of the South Pacific. The resort will create a new dynamism to the economy of Waiheke Island – building a five star boutique, wine-based hospitality business"

(<http://waiheke.langhamplacehotels.co.nz/media.html>)¹⁴

Discussion above draws attention to several of the tensions associated with the diversity of images that Waiheke represents (both within the wine world and across Waiheke's different communities more widely), and the ways that these are playing out in wine-tourism initiatives. One line of distinction runs between the cachet of Waiheke as a distinctive, indeed unique, high-value brand proposition for wine exporters seeking leverage in a fiercely competitive international marketplace; and the tourism proposition which contains multiple, sometimes contradictory images. These include the ingrained 'beach and sun' summertime reputation, the 'island time' Bohemian image of Waiheke, and the cosmopolitan attractions of art, food and wine. The diversity is reflected in the physical environment of Waiheke: golden beaches and rocky headlands, farmland, small-town New Zealand, Mediterranean-style vineyards and olive groves. It is also reflected in the diversity of the Waiheke population.

The implication does not have to be that there are irreconcilable contradictions (although land prices and rates make some tensions inevitable). Rather it might be that Waiheke's multiple personae are better recognised, along with the way they appeal differently to different people. Although this can cause problems for niche producers such as the high-value exporters who want to emphasise exclusivity and seek to minimise the impression of 'hippy counter-culture', Waiheke's cultural

¹⁴ The Langham proposal has stalled in early 2010, victim of the global economic downturn, and the property is currently for sale. However, it continues to represent an articulation of this vision of Waiheke's future.

diversity is written into its terroir and almost always picked up by wine writers. A positive response might be to recognise that different consumers (tourists in general, wine tourists and wine-buyers) have different demands and expectations, and different enterprises see different opportunities to create and realise value in these expectations. Enterprises need to consider both their own brands the implication of their own initiatives for the collective 'Waiheke brand' to avoid killing the golden goose. This requires a collective response and broad recognition of the need to encompass diversity.

We therefore see the operation of a suite of geographical imaginaries that emerge in different combinations for different purposes. These develop in relation to each other: certain of the images complement each other – but some conflict. For example, Waiheke's high-end prestigious 'rich and famous' reputation may be romanticised by the counter-culture overtones, but also compromised by 'low-rent' tourism operators and the tawdry trappings of mass tourism. By the same token, Waiheke's 'Woodstock Reunion' imaginary is affirmed by the inclusivity of the Capri imaginary but threatened by the Martha's Vineyard performance: helicopters, rising property values: and is compromised as alternative counter-culture becomes increasingly unaffordable. Understanding the tensions between the images provides the context for Waiheke.

The different images of Waiheke help to provide a sense of the way in which Waiheke appeals in different ways to a variety of different groups. Together, these images create a sense of expectation around the experience that Waiheke will offer.

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Waiheke Visitor Survey Report Executive Summary¹⁵

Lucy Baragwanath and Nick Lewis with Brigette Priestley
August 2009

“Waiheke is 93 sq km of island bliss only a 35-minute ferry ride from the CBD... On Waiheke’s city side, emerald waters lap at rocky bays, while its ocean flank has some of the region’s best sandy beaches. While beaches are the big drawcard, wine is a close second. There are 26 boutique wineries to visit, many with swanky restaurants and breathtaking city views. On top of that, the Waiheke Arts Trail encompasses 26 galleries and craft stores” (Lonely Planet website: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/new-zealand/auckland-region/waiheke-island>).

Waiheke Island in the Hauraki Gulf is one of Auckland’s premiere tourist attractions. It is a highly popular summertime destination, especially for families and small groups of friends. Tourists flock to the island each summer, expanding the resident population from 8,000 to over 30,000. Passenger ferry operator, Fullers, estimates that there are somewhere between 400,000 and 700,000 visitors to Waiheke every year.

Yet relatively little is known about the people who make the trip, what they do during their visit to the Island, or the contribution of tourism on Waiheke to either the Waiheke economy or the wider Auckland regional economy.

This report is based on a survey of visitors to Waiheke undertaken in January and February 2009 by researchers at the University of Auckland as part of a wider study of wine, tourism and sustainable development on Waiheke Island. It is the first survey of visitors to Waiheke conducted for five years.

A survey questionnaire was developed and administered on the Fullers passenger ferries operating between downtown Auckland and Matiatia Bay on Waiheke; and the SeaLink vehicle and passenger ferries operating between Half Moon Bay in eastern Auckland and Kennedy Point on Waiheke. 1141 travel parties responded, capturing the activities and experiences of approximately 3600 people, and the reasons they visited the island.

The survey results help to quantify some of the characteristics of Waiheke visitors, their patterns of behaviour, and the diverse issues relating to tourism development on the island. Waiheke attracts visitors to its beaches, its scenery and walking tracks, and its many cultural attractions, such as its locally produced wines and art. In close proximity to downtown Auckland, it is a popular day excursion and a holiday and weekend destination for Aucklanders, some of whom own baches on the island.

Visitor Profile

Four out of five parties surveyed were visitors to Waiheke. Among the visitors, 80% were New Zealand residents, and 91% were from the Auckland region. That is to say that 58% of all parties were Aucklanders visiting Waiheke.

¹⁵ For full report see Baragwanath, Lewis and Priestley (2009), *Waiheke Visitor Survey Report*, University of Auckland
(http://www.geog.auckland.ac.nz/about_us/our_people/baragwanath_lucy/documents/WaihekeIslandVisitorSurveyReport.pdf)

Among international visitors, over 90% came predominantly from traditional western tourism markets: UK (40%), Australia (20%), 12% each from Continental Europe and the US, and smaller numbers from Canada, Asia and Latin America.

Waiheke is a destination for couples, families and small groups of friends. Nearly 90% of respondents were in groups of five or fewer, with 40% of total respondents travelling in groups of two (mainly with their spouse or partner).

Visitors were distributed evenly in terms of age except for the over-65 category, which comprises a wider age band but also includes those eligible for the SuperGold card scheme, under which card-holders can travel free off-peak on Auckland public transport including Waiheke ferries. Nearly one in five parties on Fullers and 13% of those on Sealink travelled free by virtue of their SuperGold card.

Travel patterns

The proximity of Waiheke to Auckland (35 minutes by ferry from downtown) makes it an ideal destination for a day excursion. Two thirds of visiting parties were day trippers (75% of those travelling on Fullers ferries and 46% of Sealink parties, many of whom travelled with their vehicles and chose to spread the cost of ferrying their car over more than a single day).

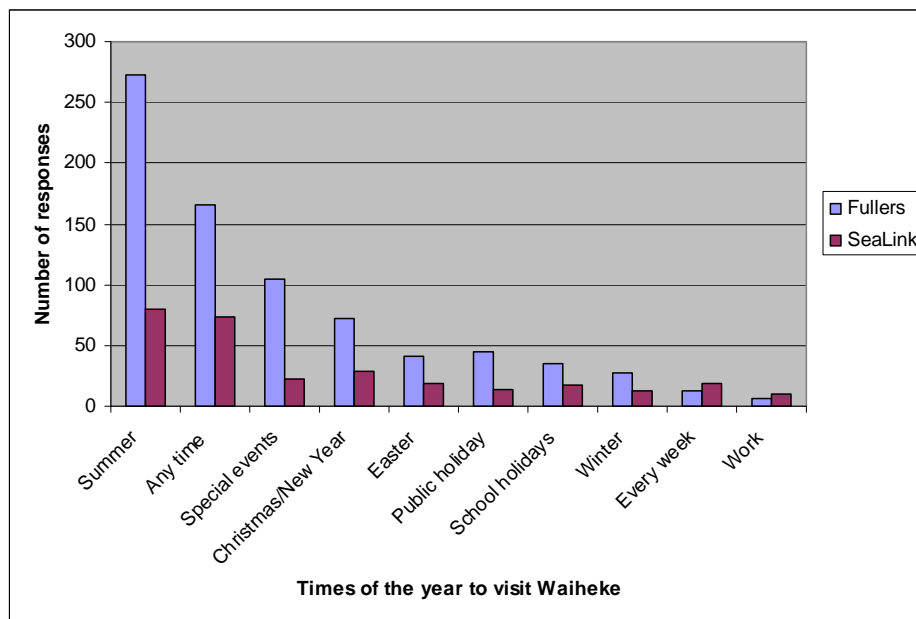
Of parties who stayed overnight, one third stayed one night; half stayed two to three nights; and 10% stayed more than seven nights. Only a third of those who stayed used paid accommodation: 40% stayed with friends and relatives, and quarter in their own holiday home.

Waiheke appears to enjoy a high level of loyalty from its visitors: three quarters of respondents had visited Waiheke before, and 92% of Aucklanders surveyed had previously visited.

A summertime destination: Waiheke's seasonal appeal

Waiheke has a firmly entrenched reputation as an appealing summer destination. Ferry operators report that the vast majority of visitors visit the island in summertime; and this is confirmed by survey respondents, most of whom are repeat visitors (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Particular times of the year repeat visitors come to Waiheke



Visitors clearly see Waiheke as a summertime destination. Importantly, 20% of the respondents indicated that their visit to Waiheke was prompted by a special event; and events are promoted predominantly in the summer. Nonetheless, a significant number of visitors see Waiheke as a year-round destination, with many seeing it as a day trip option during public or school holidays across the year.

The seasonality in the Waiheke visitor pattern creates difficulties. Demand for the ferries oscillates from summer holiday weekends where excess demand at peak times means that passengers face delays, to winter sailings with few passengers. Capacity constraints have multiple consequences, with summertime visitors experiencing queues for ferries (including having to wait for the next ferry at the busiest times), crowded buses, a shortage of taxis, difficulty in securing a reservation at restaurants or on tour parties, pressure on toilet facilities and a range of other effects.

Tourism operators (particularly ferry and bus operators) must juggle the pressures of sustaining quality at periods of peak seasonal demand, as well as sustaining services through the off-season. Restaurateurs and transport operators alike must meet demands from residents and sustain quality delivery in off-peak periods.

Enterprises on Waiheke relying on visitors must weather the winter months with dramatically reduced customer bases. Addressing issues relating to seasonality is a priority, and there are pressures for innovative initiatives to expand the tourist value proposition to all-season activities. The ferry companies both actively promote winter visits to Waiheke through a range of mechanisms.

The survey demonstrated that weather is a critical variable, even in summer. Visitor numbers were down on sailings in wet weather over the survey period. Moreover, survey responses clearly indicate that the weather affected people’s enjoyment of their visit.

A substantial majority of visitors plan their visit in advance. Almost 60% of parties on Fullers and nearly three quarters of those on SeaLink made their decision to visit Waiheke more

than a week in advance, whilst another third of those on Fullers and virtually all others on SeaLink made the decision in the week leading up to travel. Only 10% of Fullers travellers and 3% of SeaLink made the decision on the day.

There is of course no way to calculate how many planned to visit but changed their minds or cancelled as a result of poor weather, and we cannot be sure of just how fixed the plans were of those who chose to travel. However, it appears that a trip to Waiheke is a planned trip, which may give ferry, bus and taxi companies some new opportunities for dealing with peak demand.

Reasons to visit Waiheke

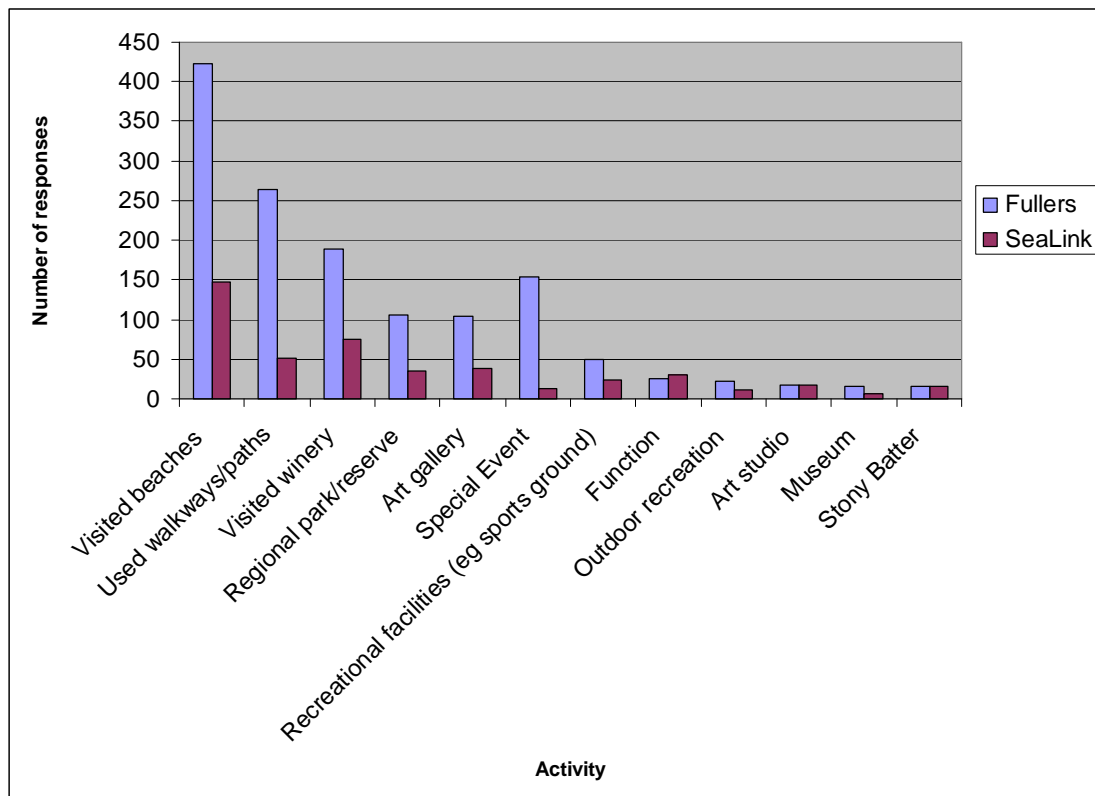
Two thirds of parties surveyed indicated that their main reason for visiting Waiheke was for one of a set of reasons that could be described as 'a holiday day out': attending a special event, wineries, restaurant/cafés, beaches, walking, 'holidaying' in general. 16% went specifically to visit friends and relatives, and 6% through a recommendation; and 12% for work purposes.

The range of activities that visitors actually undertook on the island shows that Waiheke is a combination destination that encompasses diverse attractions that can be combined into a day out on the island. Visiting beaches and walking the paths of Waiheke were by far the most popular activities undertaken by visitors. For those with baches on Waiheke, the beaches and walkways register especially prominently in the decision to visit. Other visitors combine several activities in their day out.

Special events such as the Headland sculpture exhibition walkway and cultural attractions such as wineries and art galleries are a major drawcard. They help to enhance the appeal of Waiheke, providing a competitive edge in a region (and Auckland tourism market) blessed by many appealing natural attractions, especially given the cost of a Waiheke excursion compared to other options. The survey was conducted over the three week duration of the Headland exhibition. The Headland event (previously Sculpture on the Gulf) attracted over 25,000 day trippers and was highly commended. Weddings, parties and anniversaries also contribute to the attraction of Waiheke.

For the more than 15% of parties travelling on SuperGold cards, cost is not a barrier. An active day out capped by free special events is highly attractive. The scheme has been a key factor in attracting a group of travellers who might not have otherwise chosen to visit Waiheke.

Figure 2: Activities undertaken on this trip



Irrespective of the primary reasons visitors give for visiting Waiheke, more than half visit beaches and natural attractions (Figure 2). By the same token, the cultural attractions and special events are significant attractors, prompting people to visit at particular times. The record of what visitors actually did on the island as opposed to their stated prior reason for visiting the island, confirms that Waiheke is a combination day-out destination.

Wine tourism

Wine tourism is a key tourist attraction on Waiheke, although not often the only reason visitors choose to visit Waiheke. Thus although only 6% of visitors cited 'visiting a vineyard' as their main reason for going to Waiheke, 25% of all parties visited a winery and a further 7% would have liked to visit a winery but ran out of time.

The findings suggest that the wineries lure people to Waiheke and add lustre to the day out. They provide a focal point for the visit. They give Waiheke an edge in Auckland's day out summer tourism market, as well as attracting a much smaller specialist market of dedicated wine tourists.

Many of the leading restaurants on Waiheke are wineries and many visiting parties combined their winery visit with a meal. These visitors are still wine tourists attracted at least in part by the allure of the vineyard, winery, and wine tasting. Of those parties who visited wineries, two thirds visited just one winery. This means that one third or 7.5% of the total number of visitors visited more than one winery, qualifying them distinctively as wine tourists.

The Waiheke Wine Festival combines wine tourism with a special event. Held during the survey period over the Waitangi weekend in early February, it attracted 2,500 attendees.

Targeted surveys were administered during that weekend to try to capture the tourism qualities of the event.

The surveys were less successful than hoped in capturing information about the Festival due to problems of timing and a low response rate on the ferry home. However, they did record concerns from festival-goers about the marketing of the event, the facilities, and the value for money of the day-out: the combined cost of ferry and festival tickets, given the product.

Expenditure on Waiheke

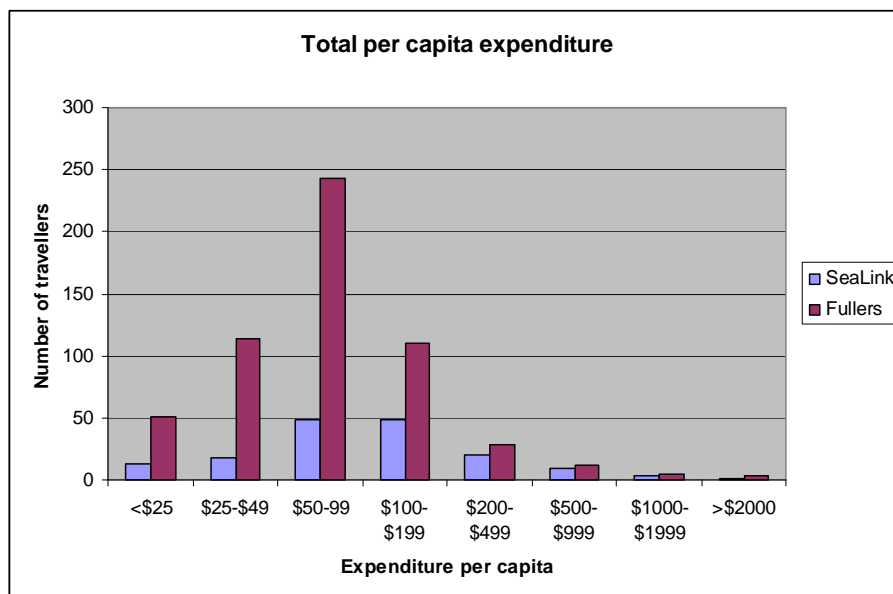
Expenditure figures collected from surveys of this sort need to be treated with caution, but they do provide an indication of spending patterns. Incorporating ferry tickets, transport, food, accommodation and other expenses on the island (excluding transport to and from the ferry on the mainland), the 1141 parties spent roughly \$250,000.

Among parties of fewer than ten members¹⁶, the mean expenditure was \$314 per party, with 62% of parties spending less than \$200 on their visit. However the mean figure disguises a significant variation in party spending. One fifth of parties spent less than \$50, whilst one fifth spent in excess of \$500 (half of which spent more than \$1000).

Expenditure reflects size of the party and length of stay. Of Fullers parties, the mean expenditure was \$115 compared with \$182 for those on SeaLink. The median is more revealing: \$50 for Fullers and \$100 for SeaLink.

The mean per capita expenditure for the dominant type of travel party - day-trippers in parties of less than 10 – was \$88 per capita (Figure 3). Although Waiheke is sometimes seen as a relatively expensive day out for family groups, the high proportion of day-tripping and the dominance of non-commercial accommodation for those who stay overnight mean that travel parties to Waiheke spend less than in other tourist destinations.

Figure 3: Total per capita expenditure



¹⁶ Groups of ten or more are excluded due to the increased inaccuracy of expenditure data as party size increases.

The SuperGold initiative is contentious on Waiheke. The urban myth suggests that the SuperGold cardholder is a frail, penny-pinching traveller who struggles off the wharf with her thermos and sandwiches, goes for a short walk or boards a bus to Onetangi and returns to Auckland. Our results suggest that SuperGold holders were as active as other visitors, and whilst there is some truth in the lower than average levels of spending, many SuperGold parties spent considerable sums on the island. We found that half SuperGold parties spent less than \$50 per capita, but that 6 parties as a whole spent more than \$1000, and more than 60 parties spent over \$100. The heavy subsidisation of the scheme means that it may become a target for national spending reviews, but in its present form at least it is an important market niche for Waiheke and one that might be developed further by creative initiatives.

Rating the Waiheke experience

Visitors were overwhelmingly positive about their experience of Waiheke. Their responses highlighted the sources of Waiheke's popularity as well as identifying several areas ripe for improvement.

678 respondents chose to comment about services and infrastructure on the island. In all, 315 distinct negative comments were received (some respondents commented on more than one factor), with over half of these comments made by Waiheke residents who took the opportunity offered in the survey to voice their views on services and infrastructure.

More than half of the comments made in total related to transport (such as the cost of ferry tickets, pressure on facilities on hot summer days - from getting on the ferry to facilities on the wharf and the capacity and timetabling of buses).

All visitors must travel to Waiheke by ferry and then find further transport to their destinations (unless they are walking). Many are unaware of the geography of Waiheke attractions or even of what they plan to do once on Waiheke, and the extent to which they will need to rely on a public transport system that is stretched by issues of seasonality, uneven daily flows, and the challenge of meeting often conflicting public good and commercial objectives.

The ferries and the wharf are the point at which many people's concerns for the quality of their day out or the development of their island concentrate. The absence of low-cost food identified by many as a frustration, for example, turns attention to the cost of the ferry ticket, whilst wet weather also led visitors to be more critical of services and infrastructure. Cold, rainy days made respondents more likely to express concerns at various aspects of their visit to Waiheke and emphasised again the absence of wet-weather activities and Waiheke's fine-weather dependence.

Yet in overall terms, most visitors were happy with their Waiheke excursion. In particular, the natural beauty of the island and its beaches, the friendliness of locals, and the high quality of the dining experience were notable features in the comments elicited. As two respondents put it,

"It's hard to improve paradise"

"It was superb in every way"

Reinforcing the point, 85% stated that they would visit again, and 97% would recommend Waiheke as a destination to their friends and family.

Implications

Five key issues stand out from the survey research.

- Waiheke is an immensely popular destination among visitors
- Waiheke is predominantly a summertime destination
- Waiheke tourism relies heavily on repeat business from Auckland residents
- The appeal of Waiheke relates to a combination of natural and cultural attractions
- There are a number of significant over-capacity constraints in summer

The immense popularity of Waiheke among domestic travellers, its proximity to Auckland, and the high numbers of repeat visitors suggest that the pressures on the island's infrastructure from peak summer demand are likely to increase. The capacity issues already signalled in the negative comments of visitors are a significant concern, which must be addressed to sustain the reputation on which Waiheke tourism depends. Moreover, resolving these problems is essential if tourism on Waiheke is to develop sustainably (environmentally, socially and culturally).

At the same time, in talking to tourism operators, there are significant issues of under-utilisation of capacity in the off-season, which the survey results do not reveal. Addressing infrastructure requirements will require significant collaboration between stakeholders.

Universal problems of seasonality in tourism are exacerbated by transport issues specific to Waiheke. These occur both in terms of travel to the island and transport once on the island. Access to the island is by ferry, which is Waiheke's point of difference and an attraction in its own right, especially on a sunny day. However, because Waiheke is not on the way to anywhere people must travel there specifically, which means that there is no through traffic to target in the off-season. This can reinforce Waiheke's weather dependence, whilst the ferry ride can lose its appeal in bad weather.

Addressing the challenges of seasonality is a priority for all tourism operators. There are pressures for innovative initiatives to expand the tourist value proposition to all-season activities. The ferry companies, for example, now both actively promote winter visits to Waiheke through a range of mechanisms. Promotional efforts may seek to increase off-season tourism, perhaps working with tourism agencies and accommodation providers to produce a winter package that addresses the issue of wet weather activities (even positioning wine as a leader in that regard).

However, simply increasing the number of visitors is problematic. Not all stakeholders are keen to see tourism increased or its season extended. There is some opposition within the community to extended tourism, particularly in summer months where capacity issues impact on the daily lives of residents.

The survey reveals that visits to Waiheke tend to be planned. Whilst reassuring that visitors to Waiheke do plan their trips, this emphasises the significance of lines of communication between Waiheke's tourism enterprises and their markets. It also emphasises the opportunity to influence potential visitors, especially through web-based promotional material that reinforces Waiheke's reputation and communicates specific offers to tempt new and repeat business alike.

The survey demonstrates the central importance of wine to Waiheke's appeal. Each of the findings above is significant for wine tourism: seasonality, the type of visitor attracted to

Waiheke, their activity and expenditure patterns, how Waiheke is perceived by visitors, and issues of transportation, weather dependence, and seasonality.

For many summer visitors Waiheke is indeed the 'Island of Wine'. However, if Waiheke is to honour its advertised reputation and develop further as a wine tourism destination, then it needs to sustain a reliable and quality wine tourism presence year-round – for both existing levels of traffic and potentially new visitor flows. Monitoring the extent and impacts on this brand of capacity constraints at peak season and failures to deliver in the off-season is a priority, as is responding in creative ways and being seen to do so.

Further debate over tourism on Waiheke needs to be informed by further information. In particular, further survey work conducted in different tourism seasons is required, as is ongoing monitoring to capture what is a changing tourism landscape. Further strategic work is required to overcome some of the challenges relating to seasonality and to encourage the development of sustainable tourism of Waiheke that meets the different interests of the different groups involved.