Making film-landscapes and exploring the geographical resonances of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider

Erena Le Heron

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Department of Geography The University of Sheffield May 2008

Abstract

This thesis explores film resonances and film-landscape interactions. Film resonances refer to the multiple and varied ways people respond to films. Film-landscape describes the interaction between film and people's experience of landscape, containing a notion that landscape is always-in-the-making. Film resonances and film-landscape interactions are explored in the contemporary New Zealand context, focusing on The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. The thesis explores film resonances at several levels: analysing film-tours in terms of film-landscape interactions; exploring how the same films have different resonances and reactions in different places; interrogating the relationship between popular, government and business responses to films; and examining the relationship between film and national identity narratives. Together, The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider can be used as a prism through which to highlight particular elements of the New Zealand contemporary moment. A multiple method approach is used, including in-depth interviews, focus groups, conversational interviews, participant observation and analysis of newspaper articles and internet movie databases. This thesis adds to and extends current literature by considering The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider with a more-than-film approach. It draws on a mixture of theories, arguing that considered separately, current literature does not fully address the potential of film-landscape and film resonances. Through a more-than-film approach, the thesis engages with film resonances and film-landscape interactions in ways that acknowledge the work film does outside of production or viewing. The thesis will also be of interest to all those concerned with the power of film and how it has the potential to influence our landscapes, our imaginations and our identities.

Table of contents

List of figures and tables

Acknowledgements

1 Introduction

Films have the power to affect our imaginations. This is commonly acknowledged and each year filmmakers make money from our enjoyment. What is less commonly recognised is that films affect us in myriad ways, and not just as we are watching them. Film resonances, or the responses to and ways we think about film, are a significant part of film experience, but I do not concentrate on content or the act of viewing. Instead, in this thesis I attempt to capture some of the resonances that films generate, and explore the ways this finds expression in film-landscape interactions. Using the examples of Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings trilogy, I examine some of the multiple resonances of filming in different areas, explore the ways in which new understandings of landscape are made in relation to film, and discuss how the films were constructed as 'New Zealand' films.

By examining what is happening at film locations and analysing the relationship between filmic discourse and identity, I prioritise the investigation of resonances that films generate. To state this explicitly, in such an analysis, the film itself and techniques of production are accorded less importance than the sustained memory of one's reaction to a film and the activities that are occurring around the site after production and film showings have ceased. This is important because considering the duration of effect a film could have and the resonances that the emotional and visual stories produce in audiences, significantly adds to our understanding of the power of film. By considering the wider work that film does, which I conceptualise as more-than-film, we can better understand dimensions of the contemporary moment. It is important to note that films are still part of more-than-film[1]. Like Lorimer's (2005) re-phrasing of non-representational to more-than-representational, I am not suggesting that this approach ignores film or production, distribution or content analysis. Rather I am

---

[1] More-than, rather than post or after.

1

suggesting that we build on these approaches and be attentive to the wider possibilities of film interactions, and the resonances a film may generate at many levels. Taking films seriously involves acknowledging that film resonances have enormous potential and can be explored in a variety of ways. Film resonances and film-landscape interactions are an important aspect of how we construct our identities and shape landscapes.

The intention of this thesis is to contribute to social/cultural geographies through the exploration of film from a different perspective -- more-than-film. I want to trace what happens once films are made and shown, to open up space to investigate the wider work of film. I do not undertake a textual or visual analysis of the films, as most geography and film research has done. Rather I look at the ways films *resonate*. They resonate within landscapes (film-landscape interactions), places (through how films 'play out' on the ground) and popular discourses (in relation to identity narratives). This means simultaneously considering film-landscape interactions, elements of film tourism and discourses about film. Thinking more-than-film is an open approach that prioritises film resonances and film-landscape interactions in ways that the literatures of film studies, audience studies, tourism studies and landscape studies only capture in part.

This chapter presents the research questions, then the choice of films for exploration. I argue that using two films as counterpoints greatly adds to analytical insights. I then introduce the key conceptual frameworks the thesis relies on: film-landscape, resonance and more-than-film. Finally, I briefly outline the thesis structure.

1.1 Research questions

Films can powerfully affect the imagination, and the ways people perceive places (geographical imaginations). But film also has power beyond reimagining places, it has power to make people react. Film is a wonderful resource through which to explore people's relationships with landscape and their responses to more general societal discourses. Films are neither made nor viewed in isolation. They come from a context, and are seen and interpreted in contexts. There are many contexts (and multiple versions of these). This thesis explores The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider within New Zealand, asking what we can learn about New Zealand from the ways in which people responded to the films, their activities and their discourse.

I focus this exploration in part through personal preference and experience. My theoretical interests began with an engagement and fascination with landscape theory, and I believed that more could be done with landscape theory in relation to film. Instead of considering landscape in film as a representation to be decoded, or examining the relationship between production landscape and filmic landscapes, I wanted to explore the ways landscape in film was being related to 'on the ground' and after viewing. My focus on film tours therefore explicitly engages with landscape -- it is an exploration of the interaction between film and landscape (or film-landscape).

Exploration of film can also take many other forms. I focus on New Zealand because of my personal place-where-I-stand (from the Maori phrase turangawaewae) which gives me a deep and abiding interest in New Zealand society and a concern for its issues. Therefore the analysis of the power of film resonances is directed towards this interest. What can we learn about New Zealand from film resonances? How are specific places affected by films and the subsequent tourism that films generate? How did New Zealand and New Zealanders respond to the films in popular discourse?

As I have hinted above, I wish to explore the nature of more-than-film through the following research questions:
   • What work does film-landscape do?
   • What are the social and cultural resonances of films?
I do so because there is a gap within the literature (film, landscape, audience and tourism) with regards to the approaches they offer to film. All offer elements, but do not engage with the potential of film resonances and film-landscape interactions for understanding contemporary moments. I focus on three particular expressions of film resonances and film-landscape work. Firstly, I explore film-landscape interactions through film tours and the continual remaking of landscapes encountered (chapter 4). Secondly, I outline the ways places responded to filming and subsequent tourism (chapter 5), and thirdly, I examine the ways New Zealand responded to the films (in popular, government and business discourses) and reaffirmed or reconceptualised national identities (chapter 6). Chapter 4 explicitly addresses 'the work of film-landscape' and chapters 5 and 6 address 'the resonances of film'. The research questions address the wider work of film, beyond its viewing, and into its associated happenings. For both questions I am interested not just in those who have seen the film, but also those who have not. Exploring the experiences of both viewers and non viewers is

critical to uncovering a fuller extent of film-landscape work and its general resonances.

1.2 Choice of films

The research questions focusing my exploration of film meant I had to identify films that provided scope to examine conceptually the work that film does. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were ideal in several respects. The Lord of the Rings was an unprecedented film[2] in international terms, and a phenomenon in New Zealand. It has has been the subject a major international study of audiences and spawned a plethora of related publications (e.g. Mathijs 2006, Mathijs and Pomerance 2006, Lam and Oryshchuk 2007 and Cubitt et al. forthcoming). Any exploration of film resonances or film-landscape interactions would have to work hard to exclude this trilogy. Whale Rider was filmed/released in the same time period and was the only other New Zealand film at the time that had international acclaim. In contrast, Whale Rider has not excited the same level of international research interest. I present the films in turn and then discuss how an investigation into film resonances benefits from considering the films together.

1.2.1 The Lord of the Rings

The trilogy comprises three films, The Fellowship of the Ring (2001), The Two Towers (2002), and The Return of the King (2003), which had a worldwide impact. Together they won many Oscars, made record breaking profits, and gathered a huge fan base. The Lord of the Rings trilogy was filmed by (New Zealander) Peter Jackson, previously known for his 'splatter' films, and more recently Heavenly Creatures and The Frighteners. It is based on books of the same names by JRR Tolkien published in three volumes in 1954-55. Fran Walsh, Philippa Boyens and Peter Jackson wrote the screenplays. The Fellowship of the Ring won 4 Oscars, received 77 other awards and 83 nominations, The Two Towers won 2 Oscars, received 63 other awards and 75 nominations, The Return of the King won 11 Oscars, received 105 other awards and 77 nominations (www.IMDB.com). The trilogy cost $735 million[3] to make (New Zealand Herald 12/12/01) and was a box-office success.

---

[2] I refer to The Lord of the Rings trilogy as *a* film, as I discuss it as a single story.
[3] All values mentioned are New Zealand Dollars.
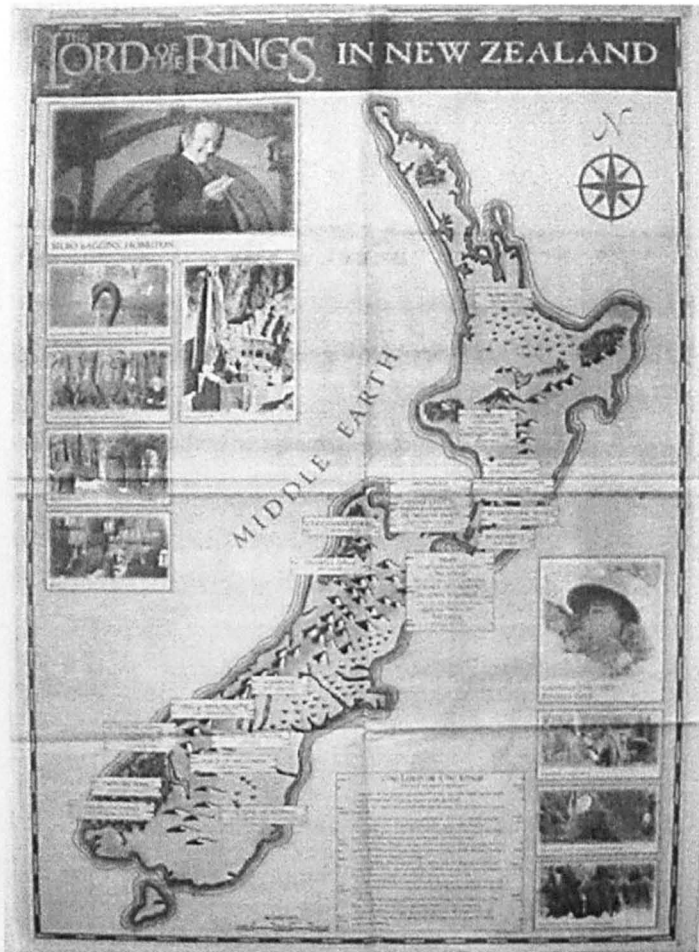
Figure 1.1: The Lord of the Rings in New Zealand (New Zealand Herald Weekend Edition 08-09/11/01).

In New Zealand the films were even more significant. The Lord of the Rings impacted on New Zealand social life and infrastructure and influenced imaginaries about New Zealand (for New Zealanders and others). Two newspaper extracts illustrate the impact The Lord of the Rings had in New Zealand. Figure 1.1 shows part of a special edition pullout The Lord of the Rings feature published by the New Zealand Herald in November 2001, just before the release of the first film. In it, New Zealand is reimagined and re-visualised as Middle-earth, with The Lord of the Rings locations placed in a New Zealand drawn to highlight similarities with Middle-earth (e.g. Hobbiton at Matamata, Edoras at Mt Sunday, Lothlorien at Glenorchy). This special feature shows the popular interest in all things Middle-earth.
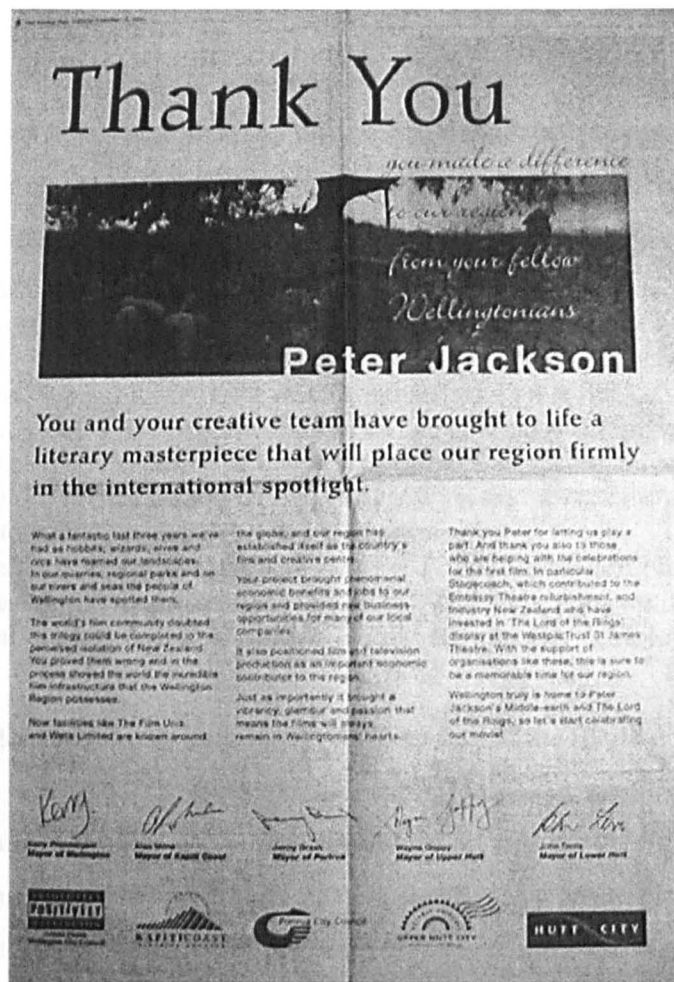
Figure 1.2: Thank You Peter Jackson (The Evening Post 15/12/01).

Figure 1.2 is a full-page open letter to Peter Jackson from the mayors of the five city councils responsible for the Wellington area, on behalf of "your fellow Wellingtonians". The letter describes the economic, filmic and positioning work of the trilogy in glowing terms,

> "What a fantastic last three years we've had as hobbits, wizards, elves and orcs have roamed our landscapes. In our quarries, regional parks and on our rivers and seas the people of Wellington have spotted them. The world's film community doubted this trilogy could be completed in the perceived isolation of New Zealand. You proved them wrong and in the process showed the world the incredible film infrastructure that the Wellington region possesses. ... Your project brought phenomenal economic benefits ... Just as importantly it brought a vibrancy, glamour and passion that means the films will always remain in Wellingtonians' hearts. ... Wellington truly is home to Peter Jackson's Middle-earth in The Lord of the Rings, so let's start celebrating our movie!".

This expressive letter is full of rhetoric – something I discuss at length in chapter 6's exploration of New Zealand identity narratives and their relationship with New Zealand's response to The Lord of the Rings.

The three films in The Lord of the Rings trilogy were filmed more or less simultaneously (from 1998), but were released sequentially over three years (2001-2003). This makes it a unique case and ideally suited to investigate cumulative effects that a single film would not have the exposure or duration to generate. As Peter Jackson said, "it is great that the film has got such an after life" (New Zealand Herald 14/03/05).

> "The extraordinary escape of The Lord of the Rings ... Every once in a while a book escapes. Somehow, a story -- the unique creation of an inventive mind -- breaks out and goes off running, footloose and fancy free, with never so much as a by-your-leave or a backward glance at 'the onlie begetter' who gave life. ... This phenomenon -- for it is rare enough to be so categorised -- occurs with works that, through some lightning-strike of originality or quirk of vision, have laid siege to the public imagination and, as a result, inspired a diversity of creative artists who interpret or translate its narrative into other, non-literary, media. ... Rarely has any book escaped in so spectacular a fashion as JRR Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings. ... Without question, Peter Jackson's The Lord of the Rings trilogy will stand for all time as a landmark achievement in motion picture making." (Sibley 2006, xvi-xvii).

The director Peter Jackson brought New Line Cinema and the film's production to New Zealand (which was seen as a triumph); many New Zealanders were involved in both cast and crew; and New Zealand was acknowledged on screen. Tourism New Zealand, Air New Zealand and government actively used the film as a positioning tool. The New Zealand public too, is generally attached to the film – and most know someone connected to the filmmaking. It was more than a trilogy in New Zealand, The Lord of the Rings became (at least at the time) an event to gather around and celebrate. It is an ideal film through which to explore my questions on the work film-landscape can do and the many resonances the films created.

Landscape has a significant role and screen time in the film. Particularly in The Lord of the Rings, the landscape helps 'make' the film – the fact that it was made in New Zealand was seen as part of its success. The Lord of the Rings is a mythological journey set against a backdrop of starkly contrasting images of good and evil. The film is characterised by a preoccupation with geography and landscape, both the book and the film start with a map of Middle-earth. In the film landscape is somewhere to be journeyed through rather than lived in, it is pushed to the background and becomes scenery, even as it is used to represent 'good or evil'. Overall, the film gives the impression of a largely unpeopled landscape, which New Zealand's Lord of the Rings related rhetoric does nothing to dispel.

1.2.2 *Whale Rider*

The film Whale Rider is differently New Zealand. With a New Zealand director, cast and crew and based on a New Zealand novel, it offers a chance to explore the film-landscape interactions and film resonances from a smaller, more locally flavoured production.

Released in 2002, Whale Rider was filmed by (New Zealander) Niki Caro. It was her second feature film (after Memory and Desire). Witi Ihimaera wrote the novel of the same name published in 1987, Niki Caro the screenplay. Whale Rider was nominated for an Oscar, received 28 other awards and 27 nominations (www.IMDB.com).

Like The Lord of the Rings, Whale Rider is a novel adaptation, although it is filmed on a relatively small budget of $10 million (though expensive for New Zealand (Cubitt 2005)). It was a box-office success overseas and in New Zealand, becoming the second most successful film in New Zealand behind Once Were Warriors, not including The Lord of the Rings (The Gisborne Herald 02/12-08/12/04). Unlike The Lord of the Rings, the story, setting and filming are unmistakably New Zealand.

The film was well-received worldwide, winning many international audience awards and is well known in New Zealand and abroad. Importantly Whale Rider, like The Lord of the Rings, is a recent film (2002), a significant factor as the reactions, responses and happenings in response to the film will fade and change over time. Their release in the same period also adds to what it is possible to say about the films and what can be explored using the films..

Whale Rider offers a sense of place to the viewer. It is about a peopled and historied place, with a sense of ancestry and identity. It is a coming of age tale, involving issues of women's rights, old and new, generational conflicts and how to be Maori in a Pakeha[4] world. The Toronto film Festival notes to filmgoers described the film as follows:

> "Whale Rider is based on the Whangara people -- 'or iwi' -- who believe their presence there dates back 1000 years or more to the ancestor, Paikea, who escaped death when his canoe capsized by riding to shore on the back of a whale. 'From then on, Whangara chiefs -- always the firstborn, always male -- have been considered Paikea's descendants'. The notes tell how former Gisborne writer Witi Ihimaera was living in New York City in 1986 when a whale became trapped in the

---

[4] A Maori word that refers to New Zealanders of European ancestry.

Hudson River: 'Like a wake-up call, the incident flashed him back to the whale legends of his childhood. What would happen if a girl tried to enter the pantheon of leaders?' The Toronto notes say Whale Rider's 'ultimately uplifting narrative is devoid of any false note or saccharin shine'. 'With striking landscapes and authentic performances from both people and whales, Caro manages to improve upon magic realism by offering realistic magic instead', they continue." (The Gisborne Herald Bulletin 19/09/02).

The questions I will ask in relation to *Whale Rider* are: what work does a smaller, less hyped, more situated film do? Considering The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider together, I ask what we can learn about New Zealand through the film resonances? What can we see together that we would not see if we explored one film alone? The filmic phenomenon of these two New Zealand films and specifically the emphases of the two films are invaluable for making a distinctive contribution to the geographic literature.

1.2.3 Considering the films together

The Lord of the Rings had a huge impact in New Zealand. It was very significant in terms of commercial activity, public consciousness and political activity. Whale Rider was part of the celebration of New Zealand film, enabled particularly because there were two acclaimed films at the same time. The phenomenon constituted by these films would not have happened without the development of the New Zealand film industry to a point where New Zealand films were viewed positively (but the success of these two films also helped with that positive view). New Zealand government assistance was also crucial to both films.

I do not attempt to strictly compare and contrast Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings. They are completely different films, although they were made in the same period and are both products of the New Zealand film industry. However, looking at the two films together, highlights context and offers complementary insights into the research questions.

Chapter 4 discusses film tours for both Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings, but Whale Rider has only one tour and I discuss four Lord of the Rings ones. There are sharp contrasts in this chapter between the films, as well as the complementary responses explored in other chapters. Chapter 5 compares The Lord of the Rings resonances in different places in New Zealand. Whale Rider is not part of this

discussion because I wish to draw out the complexities within The Lord of the Rings resonances across space and in different places. Chapter 6 returns to compare Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings directly in its discussion on identity narratives, but again more time is spent on The Lord of the Rings. The dominance of The Lord of the Rings in this thesis is simply due to its larger scale and wider and more prolonged resonances. It was a trilogy, not just one film, filmed in 70 locations, compared with three sites, and was truly a phenomenon rather than just a successful film.

So what interesting things can be done with considering the films together? It illustrates the New Zealand context in a way that examining only one film does not. Much Lord of the Rings research positions it as a one-off phenomenon, rather than having come out of a growing and complex industry[5]. Looking at the two films made in New Zealand at the turn of the 20th century by the New Zealand film industry, gives a sense of the diversity of product, people, ideas and identities that could create such differing films. This underlines my contention that these films say something about the contemporary moment in New Zealand. The availability of the two films also provides a sense of scale for each film (one relatively large, one small), juxtaposes different cultural frameworks (Maori and Pakeha) and explores film resonances in differing contexts and places. Considering The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider together is crucial in allowing exploration of the research questions and aids insights into film-landscape and film resonances.

1.3 Introducing conceptual frameworks

'Film-landscape', 'resonances' and 'more-than-film' are key to understanding the methodological approach to research undertaken, and the theoretical stance involved in analysis. Firstly, in this section I introduce 'film-landscape' and 'resonance' as these two conceptual terms are used to grapple with the empirical investigations. Following these

---

[5] The New Zealand film industry has a long history, making films since 1913. As well as locally produced content, there is a history of using New Zealand as a backdrop for films by overseas productions (from the silent period until today). The 1970s was a watershed for New Zealand film, with the establishment of the New Zealand Film Commission and the release of Sleeping Dogs (1977), which began the present era of film production. New Zealand films in the 1990s gained further public acceptance, with successes like Once Were Warriors, The Piano and Heavenly Creatures. This contributed to a change of sentiment towards New Zealand film by the New Zealand public. There was a shift from considering New Zealand films as uncomfortable to watch for the familiarity of accents, scenes and people, to supporting local product. It was in this newly supportive context that Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings were made, accepted and watched by a high percentage of New Zealanders.
For a more detailed history of the New Zealand film industry see www.filmnz.com/introducing-nz/film-industry-history.html or Dennis and Bieringa (1992), Martin and Edwards (1997), Reid (1986) and Shepard (2000) for interesting discussions on New Zealand's film industry.

clarifications on their grounding, intent and usefulness, I introduce 'more-than-film'. In contrast, this is an umbrella term that seeks to articulate my stance towards investigating film. All three phrases facilitate engagement with film, landscape and place, both in methodological and theoretical terms.

1.3.1 Film-landscape

The term film-landscape includes a performative component, as it is an interaction, a process of making meaning in the space between film and landscape. In it, I do not consider film or landscape separately, but rather relationally as this more accurately describes the performance and negotiation involved in the making of new landscapes in response to films. Film-landscape thus highlights the intertwining of film and landscape, and collapses the distinctions between its component parts. The term is shorthand for the interactions between film and landscape. Thinking in terms of film-landscape interactions contributes to a new understanding of the generative relationships that exist between film and landscape.

Studying film resonances provides material for thinking of landscape continually in-the-making. I argue that film and landscapes in film circulate in the popular imagination, and that the distinction between material landscapes and landscapes in film blurs and becomes relational when people watch (or talk about) films. Are they visiting New Zealand or Middle-earth? Is Whale Rider about a fictional place that stands for 'Maori culture' (or for cultural universals) or a specific place (Whangara)? Both of these (and more) occur as part of the film-landscape interaction. The space between film and landscape (denoted by the hyphen in film-landscape) is a conceptual space that allows for investigation into these complexities.

It is worth outlining what meanings I include when I use the words 'film' and 'landscape' in this term. I define film widely. I conceptualise it as including the filmic images, narrative and music projected in a theatre, as well as the material components and apparatus implicit in that projection/showing -- the film reels, DVDs and digital files. I also incorporate processes of production, distribution and consumption, making and watching film as part of this term. This includes many things that would normally be specified out, but the aim of the conceptual space of film-landscape, is that film, in its many forms, interacts with landscape. I do not wish to artificially narrow down which bits of film affect or relate to landscape, as it is the multiplicity and possibility inherent

in an open film-landscape interaction that entices.

Film is therefore many things: it is a representation of landscape as it would be in a painting; it is a scenic landscape presented on celluloid; a moving landscape similar to the lived-in world; and consumption landscapes (consumption of the film and consumption of film locations). It also remains in the memory of viewers and becomes part of how people participate in the landscape.

There is however, considerable variation in intent and meaning when talking about landscapes. What do others mean when they mention landscapes? What do I mean by landscape? I refer primarily to the *land*, and people's ideas about the land. I owe some debt to the Maori viewpoint of whenua/land, which is a concept that grounds all kinship relations and identity. This is articulated in the traditional pepeha/introduction in which you introduce yourself first in relation to 'your' mountain, river, and area to which you belong, then mention your iwi/tribe, then parents and finally your own name. In the term film-landscape, landscape refers to: (1) the material world (and diverse accompanying theoretical frameworks); (2) landscape used in film; and (3) landscape on screen. Firstly, landscape as the material world can be considered as the world 'out there' or 'from here'. (Landscape is both a 'way of seeing' that incorporates society's ideologies and personal beliefs, and a 'way of being' in the land, as all experiences begin there.) Secondly, landscape used in film includes many things: from locations where filming occurs; the landscape altered by the act of filming; and landscape altered by the act of visiting, talking about and viewing it because the film has been seen. Thirdly, landscape presented on screen is the 'way of seeing' that the camera offers (someone else's 'way', then reinterpreted by all those who watch). It is therefore, and most obviously, the scenery or setting (but should not be considered merely as backdrop). This is highly dominant in The Lord of the Rings, and important to the Whale Rider narrative, and is the cinematic landscape to which Lukinbeal (2005) refers.

But, how do we easily distinguish between landscape in film and material landscape when they overlap and intersect at many levels? One contains the other and vice versa. There is no clear-cut distinction between material and filmed, real and reel, lived and watched, because at one time they were the same and are still intertwined. I do not try and tightly define them as separate categories as I am interested in the interactions occurring in the space between them and the ways this is negotiated. Film-landscape,

with the emphasis on the hyphen, represents this space of interaction.

There is little theorisation to date in the literature on the varying relationships between film and landscape. As I define it, film-landscape is not just about how we can re-view landscape because of films. Nor is it just about comparing film landscapes and material landscapes for their similarities and differences. Film-landscape is about film and landscape being in often complex ways intertwined, through their similarities, viewings and enactments.

Tourism is a large part of this interrelationship, as film tourism allows the performing of landscape in relation to film. Without it, landscapes in film and material landscapes are usually considered as completely separate. Tourists, who go to places and are part of this mixing up, therefore facilitate an understanding of film-landscape. Yet, by and large, tourism studies is not concerned with issues of landscape theory. Likewise landscape studies and studies of cinematic landscapes do little to consider tourism. However, it is in film tourism (and television tourism -- the same theoretical concepts apply) that film-landscape interactions happen, as people perform the landscape they are in. Film-landscape is about what happens when people go to places, intending to gaze on landscape and remember film -- but end up gazing on film, or elements of film, and performing landscape in new ways. (This is explored and expanded in chapter 4, 'making landscapes').

Beeton (2005) offers a discussion of film-induced tourism from a tourism perspective. While her intervention is a useful account of people's pilgrimages to sites, she positions places as only destinations. So when she asks "what happens when we go to the place we experienced in a film?" her answer is couched in place promotion and tourism terms, such as considering the effects on a community of being marketed as a destination. Tzanelli says of Beeton's work, "film has precisely this function: it ascribes meaning to locations through imaging, making them desirable locations" (2007, 6). The role of film for Beeton is clear -- it brings tourists. Although she acknowledges that tours "allow people to straddle fiction and reality" (2005, 88) and that films or television shows can change people's perceptions and expectations of a place, she does not theorise this relationship between film and place or film and landscape. Instead, the focus is on understanding the drive of tourists better and understanding tourism development.

Tzanelli's (2007) work on the cinematic tourist engages with film and tourism from yet another perspective. Her main concern is the economic relations of tourism in the context of globalisation, and the reaction of tourist industries and locals to commodification of their stories and environments. Her work has much of interest to say on this area, and she engages with the relationships of tourists with film, of film with tourism, and of tourism's effect on places "from film to tourism (and back again)" (2007, 7), but never mentions landscape for the role it might play in these interactions.

However, the following quote from Tzanelli begins to highlight what I term the film-landscape interactions. She describes "tourists urgency to secure the efficient performance of an act that reproduces a cinematic narrative which was never true to the historical record" (2007, 2), raising issues of the role of film. These are the sorts of performances that I seek to explore with the term film-landscape, and believe the concept offers a grounding that could help these discussions. Others also work around this area, without explicitly addressing it. For example, Edensor describes the role of film in tourism as "mediating landscape" (2005, 106) in his work on Wallace monuments near Stirling. Both these examples could be theorised more deeply by thinking of film-landscape interactions.

Mordue's (2001) examination of television tourism in 'Heartbeat country' has many parallels to discussions of film tourism. Place is once again the word to focus discussion, "tourism marketing conflates imagined and 'real' place signifiers so as to make them inseparable" (2001, 237). This is very much the sort of thing film-landscape is intended to investigate. However Mordue's discussion heads in the direction of how this conflation is managed by tourists and the tourism industry, it does not look into the parts of the relationship that have been identified. Neither tourism, cinematic geography nor film studies theorises the overlap and relationality of film and landscape. Film-landscape theorises the relationship between what is filmed, what is on film and what is there/seen there afterwards.

Although film studies and work on landscape overlap for their interest in how views are constructed and made, and in the power inherent in this presentation, there is little discussion within film studies on landscape itself. Film studies focuses on the form of film but not necessarily on the elements included in the visual composition for themselves (ie landscape as well as film is a constructed way of seeing). The collection

on film in *Representing the Rural* (Fowler and Helfield 2006) is an exception to this as it explicitly discusses landscape, but it does so in terms that do little to problematise landscape as more than physical land. Drawing on Sharma's (1995) definition of landscape as being more than physical, a combination of material and imaginative components, Fowler and Helfield reduce landscape to "the 'real' soil [that is] ... covered in 'imagined' strata" (2006, 10). They make no distinction between film landscape[6] and landscape and do not discuss how representations of land on screen might be complex. Fowler and Helfield believe it is difficult to represent the experience of living on the land, but I believe that when filmed, or films are made about that experience, there is a much stronger interrelation than they acknowledge. This connection is what I seek to explore when I discuss film-landscape.

Lefebvre (2006a, xi-xii) has recently challenged film studies neglect of landscape.

> "Landscape as such is not a *genre* in the dominant cinema, as it is still visual media; the institution of cinema prefers generic categories that revolve around narrative. Of course, specific landscapes (or cityscapes) may belong to the iconography of various genre ... as such, they often appear to be somewhat peripheral material; after all, the telling of the story always requires a setting of some sort ... in investigating landscape in film one is considering an object that amounts to much more than the mere spatial background that necessarily accompanies the depiction of actions and events" (emphasis in original).

Lefebvre asks in his introduction to the edited collection *Landscape and Film*, what the role of landscape is, and suggests that landscape is a combination of real and imaginary interactions with nature. This collection has a wealth of discussion on film landscapes and adds to the American work in this area, under the banner cinematic geography. Again however, there is little on the interaction between film and landscape, instead the discussion focuses on categorising the use of landscape in film. Lefebvre (2006b) thus defines the functions that landscape plays within a filmic narrative, investigating the ways space is represented.

He is joined in this consideration of film/cinematic landscapes[7] by Lukinbeal (2005, 3),

---

[6] Film landscape and film-landscape are very similar looking terms. But the hyphen in film-landscape is very important. It is used to mean interaction, conjuncture etc.

[7] Why *cinematic* landscapes instead of *film* landscapes or *film*-landscape instead of *cinema*-landscape? Disciplines differ as to what term is commonly used. Film studies talk of film, but also of cinema and city, geographers talk of *The Cinematic City* (Clarke 1997) and 'cinematic geographies', while tourist studies also refer to both (for example *Film-Induced Tourism* by Beeton 2005 or *The Cinematic Tourist* by Tzanelli 2007). The choice of word seems to be in part about personal preference, and no justification is usually offered. Lukinbeal and Arreola (2005) give no reason for their use of the word cinematic for cinematic landscapes. Equally, Lefebvre (2006a,b) does not say why he refers to film landscapes. For me, cinematic conjures up visions of wide vistas and cinematically 'appropriate' landscapes, as well as

who states that "landscape is central in the formation of cinematic space". Lukinbeal also discusses the role of landscape in film and categorises this as various types -- landscape as space, place, spectacle and metaphor. Landscape, in all its meanings and political ends, is explored for its use and portrayal *in film*. Tobe (2003) suggests that television content is examined in a similar way, that the role of landscapes used in programmes generates certain expectations.

Cinematic geographers have expanded and explored the notion of film/cinematic landscape in a variety of ways that situate landscapes used and acknowledge their construction and function in film. Film landscape is complex in its own right, made up of layers of geographic imagination, logistics, props and devices and material landscapes (Le Heron 2002). However while much has been written on the ways landscapes function within film, there is little about how these complex cinematic landscapes relate to material ones through *performance as well as representation*. In some ways, the term film-landscape links two broad schools, the American cinematic geographers on the role of cinematic landscapes and the recent British cultural geography theorisation of landscape as performative. Film-landscape acknowledges the role of landscape in film but seeks to make it a re-presentation that performs, and is part of its own making.

As established above, many people in a variety of disciplines are interested in film, tourism and landscape. They discuss these concepts in a mixture of ways, but there is little work on the direct relationship between film and landscape, certainly not in the way I have outlined the conceptual space of film-landscape. Film-landscape is a valuable term because it describes and prioritises the interaction between film and landscape, and their co-constitution, which no other conceptualisation covers.

It is worth noting that the concept film-landscape emerges from an understanding of landscape as a complex and multiple relationship, and owes a heavy debt to landscape literature, rather than film or tourism literature (see section 2.1 for a discussion of this

---

any landscape that is in film. Cinematic is tied up with notions of the theatre space (the cinema) and cinematic (belonging to a cinematic type). But the word film refers to the celluloid/DVD itself rather than the space of projection. Film can therefore potentially be uncinematic. In this project of course, I have also broadened film to signify processes bound up in its production and consumption. Using the term *film*-landscapes therefore more accurately highlights the two areas of interest involved than the phrase cinema-landscapes, which would situate the term more tightly in the theatre and moments of screening.

landscape literature). It therefore deals with the intricacies and difficulties of defining landscape in relation to film. In this thesis, investigation of film-landscapes provide a unique opportunity to integrate multiple (representational and performative) versions of landscape theory. Film-landscape acknowledges that there is a performative relationship between film and landscape, a potentially extended process of making in relation to the other. Because of the distinctive qualities that film-landscape brings to this discussion, I am able to explore the many definitions and possibilities of landscape. Not only can I consider film as a representation, and acknowledge its other facets, but I can also discuss the performance and making of landscape through the presence of film.

1.3.2 Resonances

Resonances are another crucial part of this thesis's investigation of film. This project seeks to explore the wider work film can do (more-than-film). This partly involves, as already defined, film-landscape interactions, but also includes a much wider remit of possibility that I call resonances. This term arises from a concern with exploring 'the things that happen in response to film'. For simplicity, I initially define resonances as:

> Resonance: the happenings associated with film; things that happen in response to film (potentially at some remove).

This definition positions the thesis research in an exciting new area. Instead of merely investigating the more obvious responses to film (such as tourism, commodification or audience reactions), the term has space for a wide variety of happenings. As the empirical chapters reveal this does partly involve tourism, commodification and a widely defined audience, but not considered in the usual ways. Thinking resonances allows an open stance that means we do not always know what we will find when we set out to explore film resonances[8]. This is a particularly important facet. Resonance is a broad, encompassing and powerful term because it has no preset boundaries and can therefore include what is found (not just what is expected). Resonances are therefore a broad approach to investigating what happens in response to film. This approach includes not only individual viewer experiences, but also traces the social contours of film reception, the commercial exploitation of film and its political implications. All of these things can be profitably explored under the umbrella of more-than-film (see

---

[8] Throughout the thesis there are minor differences to the wording I associate with resonances. Sometimes I refer to film resonances (because they occur in relation to film), but the title refers to geographical resonances (because the where and how of processes are important), and the research questions refer to the social and cultural resonances of film (because context is equally so). These are all different ways to articulate the unpredictability of responses to films and the multiple levels at which they may occur. Resonances include discourses around/in relation to films and the varied ways in which films can impact on places (the two particular ways I explore film resonances in this thesis) and each version of the term merely focuses its use in the current context.

section 1.3.3) and using the term resonances helps to understand and group together the diverse happenings.

A useful way of contributing to an understanding of resonance is to ask, what is the dictionary definition of the word? The Chambers English Dictionary and The American Heritage Dictionary offer several definitions of resonance including:

> -- "resounding: sonority"
> -- "the sound heard in auscultation (the art of discovering the condition of the lungs and heart by applying the ear or the stethoscope)"
> -- "sympathetic vibration: the ringing quality of the human voice when produced in such a way that sympathetic vibration is caused in the air spaces in the head, chest and throat "
> -- "the complex of bodily responses to an emotional state, or of emotional responses to a situation" (Schwarz et al. 1988, 1250)
>
> -- "richness or significance in invoking an association or strong emotion"
> -- [in acoustics] "intensification or prolongation of sound" (The American Heritage Dictionary http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Resonance accessed 28/04/08)

The definitions offer a way of thinking through 'the happenings associated with film' in a rich metaphor that combines ideas of sound, vibration and bodily emotional responses. Resonance is associated with sound and movement. (That film is a moving sound and light show surely helps with its applicability). A body (hearts, lungs, air spaces in the head) vibrates, a sound is produced as part of the bodily movement. This then, is a personal embodied response. It is also non-directional. There is no sense of movement progressing outwards or inwards but rather vibrating in and where it is. There is no linear progression implied, or sense of where the resonance might go next. This potential, as yet undefined, that may move out into any touching parts (that may vibrate in response), is one of the attractions of the word resonance for my research into film. In this context, resonances may spread, or be confined, or may not. There is no imperative that a resonance be either big, small or travel.

The definitions also suggest 'sympathetic vibration', or an 'intensification or prolongation of sound' -- a movement in response to something. I pursue this angle, as my use of the word resonance is about happenings *in response to* film. A resonance is a response to a stimulus and a resonance may pass a stimulus to something in contact with it (a resonant body). It may be strong or weak, but a resonance is always a manifestation of a response or a continuation of something. The resonances explored in the subsequent empirical chapters are sympathetic vibrations, where film has meant

18

different things to different people, and resounded in different ways.

Finally, the dictionary definitions suggest an emotional component: 'emotional responses'; 'evoking strong emotion'. Again, this is applicable to investigating responses to film, as film is known for eliciting emotional reactions of some kind. Resonances are considered as part of a 'complex of ... responses', as part of a relational world. All these definitions are related to my interest in the wider work of film and contribute to articulating what it is I mean by 'resonance'.

I chose the word resonance to stand in for what I'm trying to investigate around film. No term in the literature quite captures the specificities of my more-than-film approach. However, this thinking was influenced by several insights from the literature that are worth mentioning here as these starting points led me towards developing the conceptual space labelled 'resonances'.

Firstly, Law (2004) provided an especially generative stimulus to my thinking on how to develop film resonance. He suggests that any 'thing' has an associated hinterland that makes up part of what it means to be that thing. This is a relational notion in which all things, relations or activities are intrinsically linked to others in ways that affect their composition.

> "In its practice science *produces* its realities as well describing them. ... If realities may be built, Latour and Woolgar also show that it is difficult to do this. In practice bright ideas are very far from realities. And it is the word 'practice' that is the key. If new realities 'out-there' and new knowledge of those realities 'in-here' to be created, then practices that can cope with a hinterland of pre-existing social and material realities also have to be built up and sustained. I call the enactment of this hinterland and its bundle of ramifying relations a 'method assemblage'." (Law 2004, 13).

This way of thinking of 'hinterland and its bundle of ramifying relations' contributed to the formation of the term resonance. It is not the same as hinterland because resonances do not also produce realities in the way that Law describes. Resonances also draw in varying elements at different geographical scales that are specifically referred to, such as economic, social and physical components. Resonance does not focus on conditions of possibilities and impossibilities that result in implicit multiplicities, of which only some are enacted, but instead focuses on those things that are enacted, felt or become in relation to other (the film). Law's work on emergence, multiplicity, hinterland and technological components being integral parts of any given thing (which has strong ties to other work on the non-human), contributed to my thinking on resonances. I began to

think further about relations beyond the thing, about things that persist and are part of a new version of something. The concept of resonances captures these ideas when explored in relation to film.

Secondly, the everyday metaphor of a ripple also provided a different trajectory towards resonances. In this case, the effects of film on society and environment could be conceived of as if it were a stone dropped in water that creates ripples. While helpful in a simplistic cause and effect way, this metaphor is limited as it implies there is nothing else going on, that the 'pond' is still and empty. It can also be criticised as implying a single originary point, whereas in the work of this thesis there is no single starting point for subsequent ripples: is it The Lord of the Rings book or the film? A conversation about it, a film tour or government initiatives? Thinking of resonance, by contrast, acknowledges, its resonant body implying that it will always interact with other stimulus. It is though, like ripple, a physical metaphor that helps by giving some imagery and analogy to the concept. This can be powerful as imagining the new and unknown requires a conceptual bicycle on which to pedal forward.

Thirdly, non-representational theory influenced my thinking about both landscape and film. The conceptual space resonance seeks to occupy sits nicely alongside this as the general turn in geography towards performance and trying to understand the precognitive is compatible to exploring the wider work that film can do. Non-representational theory has an interest in relational concepts of the world and in situating that in everyday moments. Thrift is the acknowledged proponent of nonrepresentational theory, and he states that it is "the geography of what happens" (2007, 2). This description fits very well with how I conceive of resonances. I add to this sentence, 'the geography of what happens *when...*' and ask in this scenario, what happens when film is released into the world, after it has been shown and viewed. Thrift adds, it is "not entirely clear what a politics of what happens might look like" (2007, 2). I am not sure either, what form, shape, flavour, feelings and so on might be part of resonances. (This is what the empirical chapters explore and begin to delineate.) The investigation into film resonances and film-landscape interactions discussed in this thesis examines responses to film through every day acting out of tourism and understanding of places and of identity. Non-representational theory influences the idea of resonances because I agree that sometimes things can just happen. That they can be and often are afforded. That a combination of representation, noncognitive, bodily,

20

economic and other resonances are part of the amalgamation of everyday life.

Could 'affect' be used in place of resonance? While they are in many ways similar, I argue that they cover different theoretical ground. The part of Thrift's (2007) definition of affect that is closest to resonances is that he believes affect to be the outcome of complex and multiple interactions between individual bodies and others. Affect is about adding capacities in a becoming world, the capacity of the mind/body to act through the emotions. Wylie also equates affect with capacity. He says that

> "affect: often taken as synonymous with emotion. But: emotion is subjective: a 'feeling' experienced on the inside, internally. Something that can be named, listed. Affect isn't simply something 'felt'. It is instead the general ambience, tone, mood or 'colour' of a given situation, location or activity. The key point is that this is not what is produced -- it is potential, it is what produces subject, objects, relations. An affect is not a thing but a process. It is in its doing, or as Massumi says, affect is 'the capacity to affect and be affected'. It is abstract yet real. It is, moreover, 'autonomous' -- it is the world's forceful capacity to move, change etc" (Wylie pers comm 2005).

Affect then, is a process and a mood, an intensity and it is concerned with emotions. It is about potential to move in response. But whereas an affective analysis would require an experiential/embodied account, resonance does not require thinking through the body, instead it is a description of a collection of events or assemblages in response to the film. Likewise, the term resonance is especially useful and apt because it keeps attention focused upon the films themselves as the cause of things, while the term affect sits outside of cause-effect reasoning.

The term resonance then, is complementary to affect, as they are both interested in unknown outcomes. "We do not know in advance what a body can do, what a mind can think -- what they are capable of" (Hardt 2007, x). But while resonances are interested in emotional responses to films, and people's subsequent actions and discourse, the investigation is not posed in terms of the affective, that is how the mind and body are engaged together. The major focus of this conceptualisation is rather, the happenings in response to film, whether these be emotional, physical, representational, performative, discourses or economic.

Film 'affords' many resonances, that is to say it facilitates certain outcomes or responses. Affordance is defined as:

> "what it (the environment) offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes" (Gibson 1979 cited in Michael 2001, 110); and
> "affordances stem from the reciprocity between the environment and the

organism ... affordances do not cause behaviour but constraint it along certain possibilities" (Macnaghten and Urry 2001, 9).

But while affordance can be part of thinking about the power of film and has links to Law's (2004) idea of emergence, resonances focus on what is done in relation to film, which includes new imaginaries and discourses rather than constraining behaviour as implied by affordances. Equally while thinking of affordance is helpful in terms of incorporating capacity building, technologies and possibilities, it concentrates on particular activities rather than the broad spectrum of responses that resonances are concerned with. Film is a good vehicle for (or affords exploration into) national identities, place imaginaries and tourism. The relationship between the non-human aspects of filmic technology and landscape means there is much that film can provoke -- and I define these uncertain reverberations as resonances.

The term resonance seeks to explore the multiple happenings in response to film. There is a long-standing interaction between representation (film) and commodification, so it may be assumed that commodification will be a large part of film resonances. Yet, this is both true and misleading. It is true that the various fingers of commodification stretch in many directions as large and small corporate entities seek to make profit from not only the film itself, but associated merchandise. In the case of both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, the film is a commodity, and the landscape used in the film is being further commodified through the running of film tours. Like all successful branded products, The Lord of the Rings resonated with the wider public, including those who did not actually see the film, because it caught the mood of people's emotional attachments to the film/book and to their wider imagination of New Zealand as spectacular and innovative (and other popular narratives about landscape and New Zealand identity). By contrast, Whale Rider was subject to much less commodification. Indeed, Maori residents in Whangara actively resisted the commodification of the places represented in the film. Commodification is thus an important part of the ways that contemporary society make sense of and utilises filmic representations. However, it is not the full story. Commodification is only one of the ways that films resonate beyond their production and screening, via film tourism, memorabilia and so on. But the idea of resonance goes beyond this. The commodification of the films helped ideas circulate, but their resonances were about more than economic relations.

Thinking about resonances as I am advocating, allows investigation into many types of possible responses to film. Exploring the relationship between representation and

commodification highlights resonances within an economic and cultural framework. But it does not point in the other possible directions that can be explored in relation to film, such as emotion (as affect might) or potential combinations of human and nonhuman technologies (as affordance does). But while affect examines embodied emotion, it tends to ignore wider social and institutional forces. And affordance, which shares the sociotechnical roots of actor network theory, tends to ignore the political dimensions of film in society. Resonance however potentially allows a combination of such explorations.

Resonance overlaps with several diverse theoretical concepts and in doing so establishes new ground for exploring the wider work of film. It picks up on social and economic sets of implications, and also acknowledges people's affective responses to film. Not all resonances are embodied, as an approach that uses affect would imply, some resonances are practical (for example they are commodified), and some are discursive. Resonances are also in part about the social and institutionalised responses to film. There are potentially a whole set of resonances, affective, institutional, emotional, commodified and so on. The term is intentionally wide. As is evident, there are many efforts to theorise around the types of responses to our everyday world that resonance explores in relation to film. Each version has its own unique direction, which are complementary to but not identical with the conceptual ground resonance claims. The term resonance covers many aspects of 'what can happen in response to film' and is conceptualised within a geographic community sensitive to and interested in such issues.

1.3.3 More-than-film

This thesis uses film as the basis for its case studies, though not in the way that might be expected. Rather than examining film or film content, the thesis outlines my approach to the power of film. It is important to note that I do not say, my approach to film. This distinction is crucial to understanding the conceptual ground this thesis, using the conceptual terms introduced here, interrogates. As is evident at first glance, more-than-film situates the project in new areas, as it states baldly, that the focus is not on film, but more-than-film. The thesis explores what can happen in response to film. That is, in the space generated by the phrase more-than-film, I explore both the resonances of film and film-landscape interactions. Three distinct empirical strands in the thesis enter into this more-than-film realm, into the wider work film is capable of, that the power of film imaginaries mobilises. Because the aim of this work is to better understand the

unexpected results, impacts and influences a popular film may have, it is necessary to use terms that legitimate a zone of exploration into these areas. More-than-film plays an important role in opening up thinking so as to allow this exploration. It is therefore not only a useful theoretical trope to reposition investigation, but a methodological one too. As I seek to shift the subfields within social and cultural geography work on film, the space and direction headed must be clearly articulated before beginning. The phrase and approach more-than-film, is just such a device, allowing a shift in focus from cinematic landscapes and cinematic tourism, to thinking 'what happens if'. I like what it begins to ask, which is about happenings and doings. Importantly, this directionality can be sketched out before knowing what travelling that way will involve. More-than-film approach is thus, like more-than-representational work, "stridently committed to the uncertainty of outcomes" (Lorimer 2005, 91).

However, while casting the theoretical net wide with more-than-film, certain literatures are either a personal priority or obvious inclusions given suspected resonances. Landscape literature is an area that can benefit from considering film and film resonances can best be approached from considering a combination of audience studies, film studies, tourism studies, and geographic work on film. Chapter 2, the literature review, takes a variety of approaches in turn in order to ask what they can add to answering the research questions. I mention this point because all projects and terms are influenced by their theoretical starting points. For me, more-than-film emerged from a consideration of landscape, *then* film landscapes, *then* film and *finally* audiences and tourism. This matters because my individual theoretical trajectory colours my thinking and the meaning of terms I use. In order to understand the ways I employ it in subsequent discussions, we must be clear about what theoretical strands are contained in my conceptualisation or else other readers may populate the space with their own interests and theoretical pathways.

More-than-film is an umbrella term, into which the terms resonance and film-landscape fit. They are part of the subset of what could be considered more-than-film. The phrase is used to mark out the conceptual space for investigation. More-than-film is an overarching approach, intended to briefly summarise what it is I am trying to do. It is a stance that suggests considering beyond film is open and can potentially include a variety of other empirically workable terms. Another way of describing 'more-than-film' is that I am trying to explore 'the wider work of film'.

More-than-film is about more than the content of film (as explored by discourse analysts and film theorists among others), about more than the representation of landscape and place in film (as explored by film/cinematic geographers), and more than a study of film audiences (as I am interested in wider social and cultural impact beyond the immediate viewing public at the time the films were screened). More-than-film moves beyond a strict investigation into any of these, and explores how multiple resonances are mediated and institutionalised in business, politics and society, through the media, government and commerce.

Looking at the phrase itself, it is worth examining its component parts. Firstly, as in the film-landscape definition, film is widely defined. It refers to the film, its production, its direct consumption, landscapes and scenes, narratives and dialogue contained within it. It is quite an assemblage of technologies and imaginations.

More-than means going beyond, including that which went before with what follows. It means not just this but also that, it is about *more*, not instead. Lorimer was also attentive to this meaning when he suggested it as an alternative title for non-representational theory. For him, more-than-representational geography tries to open up what can be researched and how it is researched.

> "The tendency for cultural analyses to cleave towards a conservative, categorical politics of identity and textual meaning can, it is contended, be overcome by allowing in much more of the excessive and transient aspects of living" (2005, 83).

This definition of non-representational theory's goal does not advocate leaving behind politics of identity and textual meaning, but it does advocate adding to how these might be considered and used. Similarly, more-than-film suggests *adding* to consideration of film.

Like the discussion Lorimer instigated around the naming of non-representational theory, the use of non- or more-than are powerful indicators of a theoretical direction. When applying these prefixes to film, a new focus is clearly signified. The phrase non-film immediately draws attention to both film and things that are not film. Like Thrift's (2007) use of this prefix, talking about a non-film approach asks useful questions. Where is the place of film here? It suggests an interest both in film and not in film. The work contained in this thesis is not about film, and yet it is, a dilemma which non-film

sums up. Without film, there could be no discussion of its resonances or an impact on making landscapes, and yet these discussions do not focus on film content or the material aspects of film. Instead they focus on the wider work of film. Non-film is however an uncomfortable phrase that conveys little of my intentions without a great deal explanation. I therefore borrowed from Lorimer's suggestion about non-representational theory, when he renamed it more-than-representational theory. He suggests that this more accurately indicates a desire to move forward while acknowledging and containing preceding theories about representation. It does not reject representation, but neither does it directly engage with it. Similarly, more-than-film encompasses film while going beyond it. As is pertinent considering the derivation of the phrase, the thesis works within a non-representational stance. The phrase more-than-film, prompts thinking about the relationship with the film, and also with representation. More-than-film blurs the distinction between film and content. Thus, the phrase and the work it does, adds itself to the "diverse work that seeks to better cope with our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds[9]" (Lorimer 2005, 83).

The conceptual space opened up by thinking about more-than-film has much in common with non-representational theory. I aim to research things that are "tricky to pin down" (Lorimer 2005, 84). I too am interested in the small, seemingly unimportant actions and feelings that make up our world. As Lorimer puts it,

> "the focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affected intensities, enduring images, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions. Attention to these kinds of expression, it is contended, offers an escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgement and ultimate representation. In short, so much ordinary action is no advance notice of what it will become. Yet it still makes critical differences to our experiences of place and space" (2005, 84).

Of course, film and landscape, even researched in new ways, will never involve all of the above. However, I contend that examining film, landscape and resonances, in a more-than-film style, accesses many of the everyday routines, fleeting encounters and enduring images that Lorimer talks of. More-than-film aims to investigate the occurrences that give 'no advance notice of what they will become'. Additionally, and most importantly perhaps, it is a stance that strives not to uncover meanings, but be a

---

[9]Though I do not follow the non-representational work into the body or affective emotions.

joint part of their creation.

The more-than-film research contained within this thesis investigates practices both material and discursive. It does this by paying attention to "doings near-at-hand, in ordinary and professional settings, and through material encounters" (Lorimer 2005, 84), not necessarily the way film is usually researched, but an approach that is extremely productive. This helps to overcome the tendency of landscape theory within geography to fix and frame its representations, instead considering the film representation as a re-presentation that does particular and potential work, and interrogate this in relation to landscape.

Thinking about film in a wider way takes into consideration the concerns of non-representational theory, such as performance and dwelling. The film-landscape definition discusses how film-landscape is inherently performative. However, it is worth reiterating here that landscape is performed through the interaction of human and non-human agents, it is an ongoing process, enacted differently each time. It is a 'happening' rather than a static scene external to the viewer (as landscape as a way of seeing would indicate). Butler (1990) suggests that ideas or concepts (such as sex and gender) are iteratively performed and changed. Landscape is performed in a similar way. It does not exist independently of our viewing, it has no pre-discursive nature, it is only nature (landscape) as performed by us.

The more-than-film approach is empirically enabled by the deployment of the terms film-landscape and resonances. As part of considering more-than-film resonances, we must acknowledge that these resonances are not always fleeting, but dwell in place and memory. As Crang (2006) discusses in to relation tourism, tourist investments in place may be more than a brief encounter, they are longer, deeper than previously thought. Rather than just existing when tourists visit, the touristic encounters begin when they start planning their journey and continue in memory when they have left. Film also dwells in place, it affects far beyond its momentary viewing in a cinema. More-than-film acknowledges this, and seeks to investigate the duration of its experience.

The approach to film articulated here as more-than-film, is a stance toward investigating film that goes beyond conventional focuses, namely those of geographers on landscape in film, of tourism on tourists and of film studies on discourse in film,

spectator/audience and contextualising film for analysis. The conceptual space opened up here widens research to broader cultural resonances, including such things as more-than-audience (those who have not seen the film) and potentially more-than-human material interventions in places. The resonances thus evoked are exciting in their possibilities. My approach is aimed at making such relationships and interactions more visible.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

The thesis focuses on the potential of film to explore contemporary moments when considered with a more-than-film perspective. To do this I articulate responses at a variety of levels. Firstly, I examine relevant literature for what it can offer this exploration, then outline the methodological approaches undertaken. I then move on to an in-depth discussion of what The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider case studies revealed about New Zealand through three focused discussions (chapters 4 to 6) which move from the most recognizable versions of film resonances (tours), to the scale of towns/places, and finally to national identity rhetoric.

Chapter 2 contextualises the thesis in relation to relevant literature. My discussion of landscape literature outlines the relatively recent move from landscape as a way of seeing to considering landscape as both performative and unfinished. This chapter's conceptualisation of landscape gave rise to the term 'film-landscape' as most appropriate to understanding the relationship between film and landscape, and directly influences chapter 4's discussion on 'making film-landscapes'. Chapter 2 also situates chapter 5 and 6's discussions of film resonances. Here I outline what a diverse range of literatures offer to the exploration, and the gaps I am interested in. I review film studies, tourism studies and audience studies discussing how they each contribute to exploring film resonances. I position the thesis within a more-than-film approach that uses elements of each literature that contribute to considering the wider work of film, outside of viewing. This approach allows conceptual space for the resonances of film and film-landscape interactions to be noticed and explored.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approaches undertaken which are designed to 'capture' multiple and unexpected resonances. I describe data collection and techniques associated with interviews, focus groups, conversational interviews, participant observation and analysis of newspaper articles and internet movie database message

boards. I explain where in New Zealand the research was conducted, and outline the ways I approached analysis and interpretation. I also situate the methodological approaches and operation in terms of ethics and my positionality (particularly as a New Zealander).

Chapter 4 explores the 'making of film-landscapes'. It articulates the multiple components to making landscapes in-relation-to film. I employ Law (2004) to focus the chapter through his ideas on multiplicity and simultaneity that work well as a lens to consider multiple landscape literatures. I discuss production and media work prior to the release of the film, and explore at length the remaking of landscape that occurs through film tours, after the release of films. I use the examples of Hobbiton and Whale Rider film tours to illustrate the performance of multiple landscapes. The final section of this chapter articulates the framing, presencing and remaking of landscape through the use of photoboards (stills from the film or film production) used by tour guides to facilitate their descriptions. As a whole, chapter 4's discussion explores film-landscape interactions and articulates some of the processes involved.

Chapter 5 discusses 'placing The Lord of the Rings', using Massey's (1984) contribution on the spatial divisions of labour and subsequent arguments about a global sense of place (1991, 2005). I examine the ways that The Lord of the Rings plays out in different places. I focus on resident and tourism operator response to the tourism generated by The Lord of the Rings. Widening from chapter 4's discussion of film tours to the scale of towns, chapter 5 explores film resonances in terms of how people are responding to film tourism, and illustrates that these are contrasting, complex and contradictory. The chapter discusses the variation of response between places and within a place, illustrating that it is not only spatial but social and cultural contexts that matter.

Chapter 6 explores 'film resonances and national identities'. In this discussion I explore the relationship between New Zealand identity narratives and New Zealand's response to and framing of Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings. This chapter uses Billig's (1995) articulation of banal nationalism to understand the language used (for example, 'our' film) and the reworking of national identity in everyday contexts. Bell's (1996) identification of and exploration of Pakeha identity myths is used in conjunction with Billig to focus analysis of the film discourses. Together they provide a framework for

exploring The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider film resonances in terms of identity narratives[10].

I illustrate the ways in which dominant identity narratives are strongly intertwined with New Zealand's response to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, in external promotion of New Zealand and in internal articulations of New Zealandness. I first consider the ways The Lord of the Rings was leveraged by government and business, discussing Air New Zealand's campaign to brand themselves the 'airline to Middle-earth', Tourism New Zealand's promotion of the country as 'home of Middle-earth' and other government initiatives to promote New Zealand as a filming destination.

Chapter 6 is also an in-depth exploration of the ways New Zealanders were understanding The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider in terms of pre-existing identity narratives. The film resonances are explored in terms of identity narratives and also in terms of the ambiguities, ambivalence and complexities revealed through popular response. In total, I argue that considering The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider together greatly enhances understandings of the New Zealand contemporary moment through film resonances.

The thesis argues that the films provide insight into rethinking the social, political and cultural context of New Zealand. The contemporary New Zealand context is the result of a complex combination of events, strategies and cultures. During the 1980s, New Zealand's economic paradigm was dramatically shifted to a neo-liberalising discourse, in the form of successive reforms and privatisations (Le Heron and Pawson 1996). As "a small open country in a globalising world" (Larner and Butler 2005, 85), the government dropped trade barriers to change its relationship with global markets. More recently (2000-), the current government has been moving towards a 'knowledge economy' that seeks to use innovation, technology and creativity as its hallmarks of success and difference (Larner et al. 2007, Lewis et al. 2008, Carlaw et al. 2006).

Part of the shift in New Zealand's political and economic (trade) context has been a refocussing, since the 1980s, from traditional European markets toward its role in and

---

[10] For readers not familiar with contemporary New Zealand society and economy, a useful introduction is available in the collection of geographical work *Changing Places: New Zealand in the Nineties* (Le Heron and Pawson 1996).

the opportunities of the Asia Pacific Rim. These new relationships have also changed the cultural makeup of New Zealand, as immigrants (Asian and Pacific Islanders) are attracted to the workforce and to participate in the New Zealand education system. This has added to the multi-cultural mix of New Zealand society and means that there are increasingly plural ways of being a New Zealander. However, the political framework of New Zealand's governance has always been, at least in theory, a partnership between Maori and the Crown. And this is what dominates New Zealand identity discussions, both in the literature (for example King's 2003 *The Penguin History of New Zealand)* and in popular discourse. The relationship between Maori and Pakeha is continually negotiated at all levels of New Zealand contemporary society. These are some of the social and political tensions that I argue (in Chapter 6) are being negotiated through government, business and popular responses to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider.

In chapter 7, I draw the thesis to a close by revisiting the key theoretical terms and considering how the empirical research demonstrated their utility, also adding to and deepening them. I summarise the knowledges produced and highlight the important aspects that contribute to the thesis's argument that a more-than-film approach has potential to profitably explore the wider work film does. I argue that a consideration of film-landscape interactions and film resonances in a variety of contexts produces interesting, highly contextualised and relevant discussions on how successful films can impact on places and people. The chapter reflects on the combination of methods chosen, and concludes that the mixed methodological approach is highly appropriate to exploring film resonances. Chapter 7 argues that the work contained in this thesis is a significant contribution to cultural and social geographies literature. Exploring film resonances and film-landscape interactions in a more-than-film style opens up new potential for film-related research, as the scope is widened to include the multiple and often unexpected possibilities inherent in people's response to film.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the research questions that guide discussion in the thesis: 'What work does film-landscape do?' and 'What are the social and cultural resonances of film?' After presenting the films for consideration, I introduced the key theoretical frameworks that enable empirical and conceptual investigations. Firstly, film-landscape interactions refer to processes occurring in the space between film and landscape. That is the ways in which people's understanding and experience of landscape (in these

contexts) is directly related to their experiences of film (either as a viewer, having heard of it, or as part of a film tour). Secondly, considering film resonances widens the work of film to social and cultural contexts and allows exploration of popular discourses and activities in response to film. Thirdly, I introduced more-than-film as an umbrella term that summarises my open approach to exploring the power of film. I also highlighted why The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider are ideal film resources through which to explore these issues and indicated that the juxtaposition of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider reveals complementary and contrasting elements. The thesis aims to demonstrate that these films can be used as a prism through which to highlight particular elements of the New Zealand contemporary moment. As a whole, the thesis argues for taking the aftermath of films seriously -- to considering more-than-film. That is to say, film resonances and film-landscape interactions are powerful and contribute to new understandings of landscapes, places and identities.

2 Film-landscape and film resonances: theoretical issues

This chapter outlines the multiplicity of theoretical literatures that underpin the thesis. I focus first on 'understanding multiple landscapes', as this literature is key to discussion of film-landscape interactions. As defined in section 1.3.1, film-landscape is a conceptualisation that seeks to highlight a performative relationship, in which film and landscape are not separable, but a relational notion that better articulates the work occurring between them. This term emerges from the landscape literature I explore in section 2.1. Section 2.2 'contextualising the exploration of film resonances' articulates that a wide range of literature is relevant to film resonances. I begin with film studies, then outline cinematic geography and social science work on film, widen to audience studies and then move to tourism studies literature to explore what these approaches can offer to the analysis of film-landscape and film resonances. I draw to a close with an argument that now is the time to look beyond the film per se and examine the influences film can have at multiple levels, exploring examples in the literature that an approach what a more-than-film examination might look like. This chapter therefore situates my exploration of the research questions within a wider theoretical milieu. My work is informed by a range of schools, and this chapter positions my thinking in relation to them.

2.1 Towards film-landscapes

2.1.1 'New' cultural geography and landscape

When contemporary geographers refer to 'landscape' they invoke many complex layers of meaning, interaction and theoretical approaches. This richness of interpretation builds on a strong heritage of landscape. The tradition of early cultural geography embraced a morphological approach to landscape that 'new' cultural geographers strongly critiqued arguing that a more complex theorisation of culture was necessary (Duncan 1980,

Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, Cosgrove et al. 1993, Kong 1997, Shurmer-Smith et al. 1998).

The framework suggested by Cosgrove and Daniels in their text *The Iconography of Landscape* (1988) was widely accepted by geographers. Landscape is described as a 'way of seeing' rather than an image, object or assemblage (Duncan 1995). Thinking of landscape in this way privileges the visual and implies that landscape is at a distance to be viewed and interpreted. There have been many critiques of this as promoting not only the idea of a masculine gaze (Rose 1993, Nash 1996) but of landscape as static and 'out there'. Nevertheless, this approach has generated much valuable reflection and current conceptualisations are necessarily influenced by it. The iconographic approach broadened the then narrow focus from landscape as physical to landscape representation via a variety of media.

> "If landscape is regarded as a cultural image ... then landscapes may be studied across a variety of media and surfaces: in paint on canvas, writing on paper, images on film as well as in earth, stone, water and vegetation on the ground" (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, 96).

This firmly positions landscape in the role of a representation as attention was drawn towards the writings about it, such as films, photos and paintings. Duncan (1995) claims that landscape is both a way of seeing and material cultural environment, but the emphasis is on the social construction of landscape, with landscape as a medium of cultural expression, a symbolic form. An iconographic approach construes landscape as a way of seeing embedded in a tradition of communication and signifiers, which can be evoked or reshaped to express meanings and values (Mitchell 1994b). Cultural geography work focused on how to interpret landscape, or to put it another way, how to 'read' landscape. As a technique, 'reading' landscape implies that deeper meanings can be extracted by visual or literary analysis (Barnes and Duncan 1992, Mitchell 2000).

Initially applied to painted images and religious icons, but more widely applicable, iconography is a method to understand cultural meanings in landscape, by describing the form, composition and content, "in order to disclose and interpret their hidden or symbolic meanings" (Cosgrove 2000, 366). In 1987, Cosgrove and Jackson argued that it is widely recognized that landscape and images are complex and often conceal meanings. In this approach, one must re-immerse viewed landscapes into their social and historical context, in order to interpret the significance and implications of symbolism that is often consciously inscribed with meaning.

But is it possible to unpack ideas inscribed on the landscape in such simplistic terms? This approach fails to problematise the notion of revealing and discovering the meanings of landscape. The way of seeing approach fails to acknowledge our being-in-the-world, but instead implies that we can lift the veil and uncover truths about landscape and its power. More recently, there has been a move to considering landscape not just as physical, ideological and iconographic (e.g. Ingold 1993, Dewsbury et al. 2002, Tilley 2004, Wylie 2007). Landscape thus moves from a store of symbolic meaning, to a dynamic process that is constitutive in nature.

Different angles on landscape are reflected through the American landscape literature. For W.J.T. Mitchell (1994a) landscape is a verb and a noun. This is an earlier phrasing that encapsulates the multiple components to landscape and ideas of performativity. It influenced my thinking in terms of considering landscape from more than one perspective. Although I advocate considering landscape as a way of being and sets of related practices, landscape has also often been thought to naturalise and hide relationships with places (see Don Mitchell's 1996 work on landscape and labour relations in California), and this dimension is potentially still applicable to a performative notion of landscape.

When Cosgrove and Daniels talk about landscape as a dominant way of seeing, landscape is apprehended as a visual phenomenon, and includes ways of understanding relations between nature and people. In this framework, landscape is a basis from which action can happen. Newer work that considers landscape as doing and embodied practice, offers a landscape directly *produced* by people's actions, producing new and multiple realities in its own right. This thinking informs my analysis. It acknowledges that landscapes can be both representational and performative, film and other things, simultaneously. I draw heavily on and explore ideas of always-in-the-making.

2.1.2 *Performative turn and non-representational theory*
Performativity and non-representational approaches to landscape are highly embodied. We create identities and landscapes through our everyday practices, we are in the world and cannot look from a separated point of view. While this appears to clash with ideas of symbolic landscape, landscape as text and reading the landscape from an iconographic perspective, I think both conceptualisations have much to offer. Ideas

about iconography and landscape as text remind us that power relations are always at play and suggest one way of understanding these – the notion that landscape is implicit in condoning this power being a large part of the argument. Non-representational theory on the other hand, condenses geographers' unease with representation and its claims to show an often singular truth through expert analysis. Most importantly though, it is a realisation that landscapes (painted, physical or film) are not finished projects.

Thrift's writings on non-representational theory (e.g. Thrift and Dewsbury 2000, Thrift 2000a/b, 2003, 2007) encourage looking at dance and theatre as the way into mobility and understanding that which comes before text and words. Few researchers however, have considered 'traditional' representational formats such as film through a non-representational lens. This thesis examines the connection between film and landscape in detail, both are commonly viewed as representations, both can be explored additionally as re-presentations.

Wylie in particular, has re-explored landscape in light of the new trends in geography. He summarises the shift in concerns of geographical research towards an interest in performance.

> "Over the past ten years or so, and especially since about the year 2000, varied notions of performance, practice, materiality and embodied agency have increasingly come to the fore in human geographical research. Another way of putting this would be to say that there has been both a rhetorical and substantive shift, from studies of *representations of* landscape, nature, identity, space, place, the body and so on, to studies instead investigating various *performances* and performativities of these tropes" (Wylie 2007, 163 emphasis in original).

While notions of performance are now common in various branches of geography, the geography of film or cinematic geography remains predominantly focused on films as representations rather than performances. I wish to consider film as being simultaneously both, in order to explore the possibilities that the relational notion of film-landscape has to offer. This means prioritising the experience of living with film as equal with considering the representational nature of film.

Thrift's narrow naming of non-representational theory has been criticised, particularly for the consequential effects of the choice of words. Non-representational theory as summarised by Wylie is inclusive of that which went before as well as looking for some new understandings.

> "*Non*-representational theory does not mean *anti*-representational theory... [it] is concerned to develop new approaches to body *and* society, culture *and* nature, thought *and* action, representation *and* practice" (Wylie 2007, 164 emphasis in original).

Lorimer's (2005) phrasing more-than-representational has been commonly adopted to demonstrate the emphasis intended.

Dewsbury et al. (2002, 438) also offer a cogent definition of non-representational theory, particularly focusing on the performative power of all representations, advocating that they be thought of

> "not as a code to be broken or as an illusion to be dispelled rather representations are apprehended as performative in themselves; as doings. The point here is to redirect attention from the posited meanings towards material compositions and conduct of representations".

I argue that films should be considered in this manner, as performative in themselves, as doings. This dramatically opens up the range of work that can be undertaken with films, moving from a content analysis which tends to favour 'posited meanings', to seeing films as powerful in terms of what they provoke and not just in terms of what they encode. The phraseology 'material compositions and conduct of representations' also draws us towards the work that film-landscape can do and considering what possibilities happen in response to filmic representation.

I attempt, following the argument outlined by Thrift, Wylie, Dewsbury, Lorimer and others, not to uncover meanings in the text (i.e. the films) but pay attention instead to their movements, discourses, makings of landscape and understandings that occur in response to the films. I do not focus on fleeting encounters, rather I examine the choreographed and repetitive nature of film tours, and the un-choreographed but equally thematic public discourse in places and at a national level.

> "The advent of phenomenological and non-representational theories of embodied practice and performance *has* occasioned a significant shift of emphasis... a move from 'images of landscape' to 'landscaping'. In other words, whereas the previous generation had focused upon already-made *representations* of landscape (texts, images) and their varied negotiation of cultural discourse and regimes of power, current work will commonly turn towards *practices* of landscape, and, especially, towards the simultaneous and ongoing shaping of self, body and landscape *via* practice and performance." (Wylie 2007, 166 emphasis in original).

This quote identifies the shift in my work, moving from examining films and the landscapes contained therein, to what film-landscape *does* and the shaping of New Zealand in response to and via film-landscape.

The potential of new theoretical insight coming from creating spaces between non-representational theory and representational theory is considerable. Being aware of this space opens up the possibilities of what we will find/write/understand about film-landscape. We must mix these new concepts of performance with previous ideas about the value of text and visual culture, in a journey towards understanding and inhabiting landscape. I therefore draw upon the complementary strands of landscape as performed and landscape as discourse, when considering film-landscape. Landscapes are *simultaneously* performed, performing and acting as representations and discourses, sometimes independently, sometimes in combination. As Thrift claims (2000, 556) the "world [is] in the making of now", moments are made by forging connections. If films produce fields of relations and resonances, then we need to develop approaches that recognise these dynamics and their complexity and specificity. Looking at resonances of film is a way to focus upon and explore these connections.

One of the versions of landscape mobilised in this thesis focuses on ideas around movement, dwelling and tracks, and performance. In this regard I am influenced by Ingold's (1993) argument about taskscape and the way in which repetitive movements can make the world. His writing on dwelling and tracks helped reshape my thinking to a more participative landscape in which changes can be made at a tiny level rather than on a grand scale and are a background influence on chapter 4's exploration of film tours.

Ingold's approach to landscape is that landscape is a story of life and dwelling, a story that guides people into it, rather than a meaning that covers the world in layers. His argument holds that thinking of meaning in layers, separates us from the world, which is in direct contrast to most 'new' cultural geography thinking on landscape and representation. He also perceives landscape as fundamentally temporal. What we gain from Ingold's assertion is an acknowledgment that the world is unfinished or continually being started, that in discovering meaning we also create meaning. "One cannot ... 'treat landscape as an object if it is to be understood. It is a living process' " (Ingold 1993, 162 citing Inglis). I acknowledge Ingold has been critiqued for offering a rather idyllic pastoral and atemporal setting, and one which is still strongly visual (Wylie 2007). Despite this, Ingold's strongly phenomenological stance gives a different perspective to being-in-the landscape that emphasises our embeddedness in the world. He re-places the tasks of human dwelling in context of becoming the world and

emphasises process over form. I find his analogy, that landscape is marked by our movements or gestures (as in painting), helpful as a way of reconceptualising our belonging and our necessity in the task of making and being in the world[1]. "The forms of the landscape are not pre-prepared for people to live in -- not by nature nor by human hands -- for it is in the very process of dwelling that these forms are constituted" (Ingold 1993, 162). It is the doing of it that matters, not the final result (as this is often re-made).

Cloke and Jones (2001) also use dwelling as a means of theorising place in landscape, and as an approach to nature, place and landscape. They discuss nonhuman agencies of trees contributing to the reproduction of nature-society relations.

> "Orchards ... trees ... constitute the place where they stand and are rooted. Our interest is therefore, in place and networks, in the complex roles which (in this instance) trees play within places and networks" (2001, 649).

I consider film in this way, in terms of the complex roles film plays within other networks (see chapters 5 and 6) and in terms of the ways films interact with landscape, constituting the places. This is particularly evident on tours where the props and photoboards of tours are an integral part of that landscape experience, as nonhuman participants in the making of landscape. Chapter 4 considers the comings together of film, landscape, props and people as a way to theorise the "comings together" that contribute to "forms of dwelling or place formation" (Cloke and Jones 2001, 650). Film offers a simultaneity of the past, present (in recollections) and possibilities for the future, and in the narrative of tours, everything collides. Cloke and Jones show that there can be a variety of approaches to considering landscape as performative, in the making and multiply constituted. I use my own understanding of landscape as performative to take concepts further in chapter 4.

Can we look at landscape performance through the stories we tell? Gregson and Rose (2000) discuss performance in a way that relates to this. For them, identity or spaces are constituted through iterative performance. There is the same potential for strongly built identities (of people, spaces and places) and for slippage into other meanings or landscapes. Film technologies dictate the film is the same in potentially endless iterations, but the situatedness of audiences and their knowledge/context provides a counterpoint to the 'frozen' narrative of films. Surely then, repeating stories replete with

---

[1] The archaeologist Christopher Tilley also emphasises the bodily experience of landscape, claiming that we must start with "being there, in the world" (2004, 29).

geographical imaginations creates landscapes of its own? I explore the notion that film tours are doing exactly this in chapter 4.

Lorimer (2006) adds to the writing on how simple actions or performances can be part of the making of landscape. "On the basis of these retold stories, we can establish that living creatures have a sense of place and, *by their repeated actions, afford place some of its most significant qualities*" (Lorimer 2006, 502 my emphasis). Without pursuing this lead into the non-human, the point Lorimer makes here is significant. That we, as well as animals, can make places important by returning to them, that the act of revisiting itself confers meaning. This is certainly the case with films and visits to film locations.

Lorimer stresses the contribution that the nonhuman play in making their own worlds as well as ours. "If landforms are visible, there are significant 'land forces' within that territory that come and go unseen, leave no obvious material trace and must be sensed instead" (Lorimer 2006, 502). Lorimer is of course referring to animals, but we can also apply the term 'significant land forces' to other things and ideas that were once part of and are activated in the landscape, such as film. I discuss ways in which tour guides employ movies to interpret landscape, and in doing so create new understandings of landscape with their participants, which are more complex than the representational element of films. As Lorimer suggests, there is no obvious material trace to these movies' influence, and yet in particular situations it is profound.

Wylie's (2006) definition of landscape as "the creative tension between self and world" is yet another powerful way of conceptualising landscape in new terms. As he puts it elsewhere in a way which to me elaborates on his definition, landscape is "something to look *at* and also a *platform* from which to experience the surrounding environment" (Wylie 2007, 142 emphasis in original). Thus landscape is about looking, about being, about the material world and the way we perceive and re-make it -- a complex relationship.

Although Wylie writes that "direct personal *participation* in, embodied acts of landscaping, becomes the substantive task for contemporary landscape studies" (2007, 166, emphasis in original), I believe that considering landscape as in-the-making, processual and performative opens the field wider than this. There is much to be gained

from considering one's personal participation, but there is also benefit in considering the participation of many bodies -- the ways landscape is made by and in relation to many and repeated gazes, actions and discourses. I explore film resonances at this wider level in chapters 5 and 6.

I use and mobilise multiple definitions of landscape in this thesis because I believe we need many versions to understand what is happening in response to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. The three empirical chapters are intertwined, covering both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, examining film-landscape interactions and resonances in different places, yet each exploring and experiencing through varied theoretical frameworks. In this way the empirically grounded chapters show how the same material can be profitably reinterpreted through different frameworks to gain a deeper understanding of the resonances of film-landscape. The term film-landscape as discussed in chapter 1, draws on the diverse landscape literatures and understandings, and is one way forward for dealing with the methodological issues of representational and non-representational theory.

2.2 Contextualising the exploration of film resonances

In order to contextualise the exploration of film resonances in this thesis, I need to situate the project within the relevant fields. But there is no one literature that is directly applicable, so what I offer is a review of a range of literatures, highlighting what I perceive to be the benefits of particular approaches to my work on resonances. This section is therefore as much about what work is 'around film' as it is about film studies, cinematic geographies, audience studies or tourism. It seems that many disciplines are attracted to studies of film as everybody tries to understand and be a part of this phenomenon. I acknowledge that there are others doing similar work on and around film, exploring its power and contexts, which this chapter relates. However, I believe that I offer a different angle through exploring film-landscapes and film resonances, and a correspondingly new perspective on the wider work of film.

2.2.1 Film studies

Film studies is an interdisciplinary area, including a wide range of interests such as content analysis, narrative form and structure, cultural studies, linguistics, philosophy, reception and audience studies. It is difficult to completely separate studies on film from other work, as an interest in film permeates many disciplines. There are therefore many departure points offered in this chapter for considering film. I discuss here my

take on this collection of work, particularly as they are relevant to an examination of film resonances, and ask what film studies approaches can add to a consideration of film-landscape and film resonances.

I approach film studies from the perspective of what this area can bring me as a geographer, and what it can bring to my work on film and landscape. All disciplines have particular areas of focus. For me, film studies focuses on *the film*, which is slightly different from my focus on *landscape* and *the power of film to shape ideas about places*. This is unsurprising, because my grounding as a geographer gives me a certain lens, as evidenced by the discussion between Lury and Massey in *Screen* 1999. They had similar interests but different approach points, which gave them (and also gives me) differing insights and interpretations to the subject matter. Lury was trying to understand Massey's geographical conception of space and place as broad and multiple, while Massey was interested in how film studies applies concepts of space and place to their interrogation of film and the contextualising work done.

> "[Massey] a concern with mutual construction of spatiality and social relations (and identities) is clearly something we share.
> ... [Lury] shared critical motivation: to reveal how ideology and politics function and how, more particularly, they are naturalised. Naturalised by environments that surround us, absorb us, or direct us in the business of our everyday and fantasy lives" (1999, 233 and 237).

After each made the statements about what they perceived film studies and geography to share, the other critiqued what was meant by the phrase. This is not to say that there were not points of connection, but that origins and priorities differ as well as converge.

In a similar way to the conversation that Lury and Massey shared, this whole section (2.2) outlines the ways in which film studies, cinematic geography, audience studies, and other geography and social science work, generally overlap in their concern for film, but each approach 'film' in unique ways. Perhaps the best way to illustrate the differing perspectives and to explore what film studies therefore has to offer my exploration of film and landscape, is to highlight the topics of introductory film studies texts.

One guide into film studies teaches

> "how to watch movies critically and analytically ... offers the critical building blocks required to understand film as an important narrative and cultural form. ... basic film concepts -- narrative structure, authorship, genre, actor and stars -- as well as more complex analyses of race, class, gender, film theory, audience

42

and reception ... introduction to ways which movies are constructed, achieve their effect, and convey their powerful message" (Lehman and Luhr 2003, jacket).

This text is typical of what film studies first introduces, which sets up analysis from then on. Students consider inside the film, reception, psychology, race/class/gender issues in relation to narrative genres and so on. This is not to say that many film studies writings do not go beyond this (they do), but it is important to note that this is where film studies begins. What makes my contribution unique is my personal theoretical trajectory. I began with landscape theory within geography, considering landscape as a way of seeing, as being encoded with ideologies, and I applied that theory to landscape in film (much as it could be applied to painted or photographed landscapes, see Le Heron 2002). As I moved to a more complex understanding of landscape as both mental/visual, representational and continually created by those living within it, I then applied this new understanding of landscape to my analysis of film, and found that reading film as a representation no longer fits. I now believed landscape to be more than this and sought to explore a wider relationship between landscape and film. This understanding and interest then also blossomed to include other ways films affect place imaginaries and identities (film resonances). I mention this because it shows that, (a) my trajectory is from geography, not from film studies, and this gives a very different perspective, (b) I am attempting to expand geographers' understanding of both landscape possibilities and a consideration of film. As Stam says of film studies,

"Drawing on a plurality of theoretical paradigms ... the question is not one of relativism, but rather of multiple grids and knowledges, each of which sheds a specific light on the object studied. It is not a question of completely embracing the other theoretical respective, but rather of acknowledging it, taking it into account, being ready to be challenged by it" (2000, 330).

Film studies and geography, particularly cinematic geography or work on landscape, have several points of connection. Most importantly for me, this is a shared awareness of the ways a view can be, and is, constructed. For film studies this is in the technologies of film, techniques of editing, the formal structures of making films, an awareness of filmmakers, economics of filmmaking and the context in which films work. There is a focus on the film as something made, "when we respond emotionally to a film, there is always a formal structure driving that response" (Kolker 1999, 32).

Film studies texts often begin by considering the form and composition of film. By this I mean the processes of creating films as well as what occurs in the film. This is usually approached from several angles, one example is to examine techniques used by

43

filmmakers to create powerful and effective films. This can involve talking about the film stock used for different light conditions to screen ratios, or analysing editing techniques, whether there are long or short cuts to enhance a scene, use of planning, structure of a still, music and other techniques for 'powerful' film making (Boggs 1996, Kawin 1992, Kolker 1999, Stam 2000). Analysing a film in such physical and material terms intent on understanding how a film is put together and arrives at the finished product, enhances understanding of a film at a grounded level. This type of analysis uses a reading metaphor: *How to Read a Film* is the name of an entry-level film studies text (Monaco 2000).

For geographers working on landscape, awareness of a constructed view is about how images (such as painting or films) and landscape can naturalise ideologies, and how landscapes are a product of economics, context, formal and informal structures. Reading landscape and reading film have much in common. Links can be made between this idea of 'reading' a film and 'reading' landscapes, both use knowledges about signs and symbols incorporated, and about production to make these interpretations. Indeed, geographers have mixed the two and have been known to 'read film landscapes'.

Many disciplines (geography, film studies, sociology, cultural studies and others) take film seriously, in a variety of ways -- exploring film content analysis and examining film for their themes or social inferences. The diverse approaches taken provide a rich array of angles by which to draw out interpretation of film. For example, there are arguments that certain places such as 'the home', 'the road', 'the western' and 'the city' have created their own niche in our imaginaries through film (home: Bronfen 2004, road: Cohan and Hark 1997, Conrich 2001, western: Pye 1995, city: Natter 1994, Donald 1995, Clarke 1997, Shiel and Fitzmaurice 2001). Indeed, genres are often considered important in reading film or film landscapes. It is thought that genre offers insight into movies as there are extra conventions to which a genre film will broadly adhere, for example, the use of light and shadow to portray cities as brooding and dark in film noir (Ford 1994, Hausladen and Starrs 2005). These all focus concern on a 'type' of film, and on ways things are done within this category.

However, Altman (1999) suggests that it is difficult to define a genre. He contends that it is only possible to apply a category some time after a group of movies has been made,

using the example of the Western, and therefore questions its usefulness as an analytical category. In light of this, and the interest in film resonances over film content, I believe that genre discussions are not applicable to the type of analysis I undertake of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. Additionally, I do not think that it was genre that made The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider reverberate in New Zealand. Instead I believe, it was a combination of pride in a New Zealand achievement and their success nationally and internationally. Indeed in The Lord of the Rings case there is evidence that New Zealanders were proud of the films and went to see them *despite* their being part of the fantasy genre.

> "I, in terms of Lord of the Rings and this is probably in the minority but I felt like I had to watch it because I was a Kiwi ... and I didn't actually enjoy the first one...no I think it was the first one, I didn't like the second one at all, but I sort of felt like obliged to. And it was such a big, a big deal at the time as well, that's why I had to see it. Especially overseas too because that's where we were when it was launched, it was sort of...and you had to go." (Auckland focus group 2, 16/11/05)[2].

The inference then, is that The Lord of the Rings (and Whale Rider) were *popular* films, that captured New Zealand's imagination.

> "Fictional narratives, and sometimes fictional characters too, are things of the real world. Othello may be a creature of the imagination, something that does not exist, but *Othello* is a real thing" (Currie 2005, 140).

Here, elements of the play become real and integrate into our world. Currie discusses the role of desire in film, suggesting that there is a link between this, our interpretation of that desire, and our need to satisfy that desire in life. He uses the character Othello to illustrate the difficulties of being emotionally involved with a film and critically judging it, but although this example is not the sort of approach I take, the paradox he raises of things being both real and unreal fits with the direction I take with film. I explore the ways The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider reverberate in New Zealand, in the imagination, in identity discussions and in making new landscapes. In these examples, allowing for simultaneously real and unreal components to impact on desires, is an important consideration.

Thinking about the role of characters and desire brings the discussion to the debate on audiences and spectatorship. The construction of the viewer/spectator and their relationship with film is a concern of film studies. Williams (1987) for example, debates whether it is possible to escape from the twin choices of over identifying with

---

[2] Instead of issues of genre, this quote raises notions of identity and nationhood, which I interrogate in chapter 6.

or adopting a male perspective -- either, she argues means a female spectator loses herself. Gledhill (1987) discusses women's film and assumptions about gendered spectatorship. In part the role of being a 'woman' watching a 'women's film' (melodrama) is examined for how this positions both a viewer and characters within films. Kuhn (1987) continues this theme, arguing that there is a distinction between a social audience and a spectator. For her, in a social audience an individual is part of a large audience when going to the cinema or watching the same television programme as others. In contrast, a spectator, is a "subject constituted in signification" (Kuhn 1987, 343), someone who contributes to making sense of their texts. She argues that in each case, there are a "different set of relations to representations and to the contexts in which they are received" (1987, 343)[3]. This distinction between an individual viewer who makes meaning and someone who is part of a group, illustrates the many levels at which watching films is being analysed and theorised. The relationship between audience and text is considered not only as between a viewer and a text, but the wider context.

> "Because texts do not operate in isolation from context ... must take into account the ways in which popular narratives are read, the conditions under which they are produced and consumed, and the ends to which they are appropriated" (Kuhn 348).

While some consider audience and text to be related through spectatorship, Bruno (1993) sees the relationship between film and context in a different way. Through her exploration of the work of Elvira Notari she argues that it is important to contextualise the films and the author, including the relationship of Notari's films to other texts. She situates the woman filmmaker in a male dominated culture. She does close work on the films themselves, and also on their production,

> "to draw a cultural history and contribute some insights into the history of Italian cinema, providing the elements of a critique of some, and historical assumptions, towards a rethinking of spectatorship and a reconsideration of questions of authorship" (Bruno 1993, 5).

Bruno placed the films in broader social and cultural contexts,

> "extant films are considered in relation to filmic fragments, stills, scripts, and other writing such as novelisations ... also turned to film magazines of the time, re-charting both critical discourse and advertising strategies" (1993, 6).

The technique spoken of here, using other types of text and knowledges to understand films in their complexity, pushes film studies beyond the film itself in intriguing ways.

---

[3] Brooker and Jermyn (2003, 127) offer these alternative definitions from within audience studies. Spectator: "hypothetical subject position constructed by the filmic text". Audience: "actual, empirical viewers belonging to distinct socio-historical contexts".

I follow this lead into the more-than-film in my investigation of newspapers, IMDB, focus groups and interviews. (Johnson's (1986) conceptualisation of the 'circuit of culture' also suggests such an approach in thinking about the social context of film, encompassing the interrelationships between producers, texts, consumers and their social context or lived cultures.)

The relationship between place and film, film and landscape, is in part explored by film studies' fascination with the cinema and the city (such as, Shiel and Fitzmaurice 2001, 2003, Clarke 1997 and *Screen* issue 40 1990), discussing the relationship between the city and cinema, stressing the two-way process. Work on the city encourages social and political engagement with film and media, it is about shifts from modernity to post modernity and considers how cities and film can be read in these changing contexts (Shiel and Fitzmaurice 2003). This often involves the close reading of films, to situate them in political contexts. Cinema and city work tries

> "to understand the representation of the city by cinema as a fundamental part of
> the construction of actual cities themselves, and the lived experience of
> individuals who inhabit the particular places. The 'city', or the characteristics of
> city life, then becomes a way of interpreting identity and living practices within
> the modern and/or postmodern world" (Lury and Massey 1999, 230).

This quote illustrates the way cities are seen to inform film, and film is seen to inform cities and city life in return. This begins to blur performance and representation, but while implying that representations have tremendous force, it still seeks to explore the representational side over its performative capacity and lived experience.

Against the dominance of work connecting the city, cinema and identity is some that prioritises the rural (e.g. Fowler and Helfield 2006). However, in addressing the assumptions made about the city and rural areas and edited film shots, Fowler and Helfield illustrate for me, the fact that their work is continuing in the same type of study as 'cinema and the city', just situated in a different context. For example, after describing how the city may be read in most films, they say the "mise-en-scène of the rural milieu, with its open, uncluttered vistas of big sky and expansive terrain, may also suggest a barren and lonely wasteland" (2006, 3). This is a simplistic reading, and is situated within a framework of interpreting text in relation to an environmental area and the common assumptions used by both filmmakers and viewers. Like much work on cinema and the city, this does not consider the wider work of film that is film-landscape as a process, or resonances as the happenings associated with film. Fowler and Helfield's work also continues the city/rural binary, that the work in this thesis seeks to

avoid, as it discusses small towns which are both rural *and* urban, explores how this and other 'empty' scenic spaces are populated, by tourists, by film and by people who live in the small towns.

However, I very much agree with Fowler and Helfield that there should be a "refusal to consume films as merely character driven narratives ... places and spaces ... make stories resonate with rhythms of history" (2006, 16). But their collection is firmly grounded within the canons of film interpretation and film's portrayal of images and people. They do not explore the 'places and spaces that resonate' as they suggest they might. This is where I take some inspiration from film studies, but pursue the things hinted at in their descriptions, that they do not engage with. The empirical chapters that follow explicitly investigate the resonating places and mental spaces of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider.

Television studies give more time and credence to the importance of context. There seems to be more acknowledgement that television is multiple and experienced than for film. In any event, Lury (Lury and Massey 1999, 235) described her move into television studies as it "allowed me to justify" talking about television as a lived experience. So there is obviously some reluctance within film studies to approach film in this way.

> "Television studies, because of its focus on the audience and on the social aspects of viewing, is already about exploring the potential openness of different projects and the potential multiplicity of meanings that might be ascribed to any one text ... embedded into the temporal and spatial routines of everyday life, television presents itself as open, fixed, multiple ... television has become part of lived experience, rather than simply a representation of the world experienced 'out there' ... the experience of watching television (as always-unfinished process)" (Lury in Lury and Massey 1999, 234-235).

This approach to television is exciting, and I believe it can be further applied to film, particularly to blockbuster/popular film because film has the potential to become part of a lived experience in the same way. Popular films particularly lend themselves to this sort of consideration as they integrate the everyday lived experience more so than others through merchandising, advertising, repetition and the discussions that such popularity engenders[4]. If the situated nature of programmes and audiences is important as Lury

---

[4] Kolker is concerned that we take film seriously and do not dismiss it as 'popular', that we "think of a film narrative as seriously as a literary narrative" (1999, xvii-xviii). I agree with Kolker's call that film should be treated with equal weight as literature, but do not focus on the narrative itself. Film should not be dismissed because it is considered to be mass or commercial culture, because its very popularity means its power to influence is large.

suggests, then this can be equally applied to studies of film and the power of film. I argue that watching film, just as much as watching television, is also an always-unfinished process. This is particularly the case when film tourism is considered as this extends the life and meaning-making associated with films. (Film or television induced tourism has attracted attention in the literature. I discuss this from the perspective of tourism studies later in section 2.1).

There is great interest in understanding films in context. Zhen (2005) situates Chinese modernity within its film culture and takes film seriously as part of society. "Films are not merely treated as isolated aesthetic objects that float outside sociopolitical and economical environments. I regard the films as significant works of cultural labour" (2005, xxviii). Equally, Kolker states that

> "our guiding principle is that movies do not come out of thin air. They have a
> history, just as we and our society do, and the histories of film, our culture, and
> ourselves are intimately entwined ... *Film, Form, and Culture* examines these
> negotiations [between form, structure, conventions, filmmakers and viewers]
> and the results" (Kolker 1999, iii).

Kolker's work explores these negotiations in one sense, but in other remains firmly focused on interpreting film texts. He clearly prioritises the "form and content", saying for example

> "I can analyse Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* or James Cameron's *The Terminator*
> (1984) as unique texts, as I might a novel. I can examine their formal structure,
> their images and narrative form. But I must also integrate them within the
> culture of the late fifties and the economics of the end of the studio system (in
> the case of *Psycho*), or the apocalyptic consciousness of the 1980s ... Both films
> can be seen as ways in which the culture continues to come to terms with the
> modern world" (Kolker 1999, 72).

This quote is a good example of the ways in which film studies often seek to contextualise their work. The films are read in interesting and nuanced ways and are well situated in their context. But it focuses on how to better understand the film or its contemporary society through cultural analysis, rather than explore what films might provoke in everyday life, as I seek to do.

Charney and Schwartz (1995) explore the early cinema period and draw very interesting parallels between the development of new ways of being and seeing in the 19th century and films emergence as a popular phenomenon. They argue that film was part of a greater transformation of society, and that its characteristics (so typical of modernity -- fast, moving gaze, spectacle, transient) reflect that society as well as film was becoming 'cinematic'. Their fascinating discussion on the co-constitution of modernity and

cinema offers a wonderful way of rethinking film in the 21st century. The more-than-film stance I have outlined, like Charney and Schwartz's work, insists that the contemporary moment is intrinsically tied up with film, and that the resonances of film are worth exploring.

I argue here that while film theory engages with both content and context it does not do so in a way that explores the power of film *after viewing*. There is great diversity of theoretical insight into the psychology of viewing film, reading film texts or into how social context affects filmmaking/viewing. However, there is little room for resonances, film-landscape interactions, affects and effects that film may produce within people, and in relation to landscape, when films are no longer being watched. However, some of the work, particularly the latter examples, are inspiring for how to take a more-than-film approach forward.

2.2.2 *Cinematic geography*

The self-named 'cinematic geographies' (Lukinbeal 2004a) explore filmic representations, with a strong focus on landscape. Geographers have been particularly interested in this aspect of film, particularly in its role as a character or as scenery (for example, Aitken and Zonn 1994), concentrating predominantly on the role between landscape, plot and character. This is an important element of *within film* analysis, although I contend it does not go far enough. However, examining film's use of and portrayal of landscapes, relates easily to analysis of landscape-in-the-making through/in relation to film. Before I draw out the strands I consider most important and worth extending, I briefly compile below a summary of cinematic geography work pertinent to my argument.

The 2004 *GeoJournal* special issue on cinematic geography offers a good overview of the sub discipline. Lukinbeal begins the issue by summarising the current diverse fields of cinematic geography and how they fit into other strands. He states the special edition will cover the following themes: representation and construction of gender, in particular concerns of mythic construction and hegemonic masculinity; construction of identity in terms of body and nationhood; as well as issues of using the textual metaphor to examine film and the future of cinematic geography.

Holmes et al. define cinematic geography as follows

"cinematic geography provides a unique opportunity to study the nature of American society because of its immediate concern with narratives of places that lie at the heart of societal practice, while at the same time the capacity and influence of film to represent these geographies are inestimable. Cinema can reflect, create and perpetuate geographically-based narratives in a variety of forms whereby realities and their filmic representations become inextricably intertwined, and so myths, icons, symbols, and stories of the country's places blend in a continuum from the experienced to the screen. At the same time, cinema reaches a wide and receptive audience wherein these imaginaries are inseparable from society, its practices and its people" (2004, 278).

I align myself with this definition of cinematic geography in that I agree that realities and filmic representations can become intertwined and that an exploration of this intertwinement is necessary. This is currently lacking in the cinematic geography literature despite acknowledgement of it being an important facet.

"Cinematic landscape extends far behind the silver screen to intercept how we narrate our identities and our landscapes and how we define the extent of ourselves within a global cinematic community" (Lukinbeal 2005, 17-18).

In chapter 6 I seek to illustrate how The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider film resonances are intertwined with identities, and how the films were mobilised in support of national identities in New Zealand, including positioning work on the world stage.

Geographers' exploration of film covers the interpretation of film texts, providing a range of rich explorations of individual films. This kind of work, though interesting, is typical of geography's approach to film. To briefly list some common examples: Holmes et al. (2004) study masculinity and cinematic geographies; while Arreola (2005) talks about mobility, water, the ways that places can be metaphors for change in people's lives; Mains (2004) discusses how places and borders are mapped on to spaces through filmic representations; Nicholson (2002, 2004) considers amateur filmmaking in terms of visual practice and leisure-related consumption and argues that non-professional filmmaking is neglected. Nicholson's major concern is the negotiation between identity and representations of place. She identifies that the geography of production, consumption and distribution are well covered and calls for a look at everyday life through amateur filmmaking. I also wish to move past ideas of production, consumption and distribution in my examination of film but do so in an entirely different manner. I do not examine filmmaking, but explore how people are living with the after-effects of film, the resonances that films create. In what ways are film-landscape interactions being mediated? What do people think about film tourism? How were the films appropriated by the nation?

Examining things from how films are made (the politics, decision-making, role of desires and money in production), to where films are produced, (common filming location 'stand-ins' like Vancouver), and the location and regulation of cinemas (Lukinbeal 1995, 1998, Coe 2000, Ott 2007) is another approach that focuses on production of film rather than consumption and reveals much about the business of making films, but fails to consider the ways in which films are assessed by audiences, the wider public, or critically, communities in which the production took place.

In sympathy with the wider move in geography, Lukinbeal writes "the politics of representation extends far beyond the textual analysis of cinematic narrative" (2004a, 248). By this he means that cinematic geography should go beyond the (admittedly rich) content analysis of film based on an idea of 'reading' film texts. For him, this includes working on the consumption and production of cinema, geopolitical relationships, understanding location production decision-making, and tourism, leisure and identity formation. He also solidifies the use of iconography and meaning creations in terms of its relationships with film concluding that "cinematic geography focuses on how social and cultural meanings are intertwined with space, place, scale and narrative" (Lukinbeal 2004a, 248).

Lukinbeal argues that reel and real are unsustainable binaries and concludes that as we cannot distinguish between real and reel, "film and cinema are just as important items for geographical analysis as the socially constructed 'material' landscape" (2004a, 249). This is a good justification for studying film, though I wish to make links between the film and the material landscape (which I encapsulate with my term film-landscape). In line with this, I prefer and prioritise the possibilities inherent in Lukinbeal's next statement:

> "the binary construct 'reel – real' and the texture metaphor can limit the topical area of cinematic geography... extra-textual approaches to cinema expose new terrain by focusing on production... and consumption... processes" (2004a, 250).

However, despite the will to look wider than the film, it seems that cinematic geography research is still heavily preoccupied with the production and content of film. There is some work beginning in an 'extra textual' approach, such as Zonn and Williams' (2007) work on touring cinemas that screen shows in the same or similar locations to where they were filmed. This thesis follows the call to look at extra textual approaches to film and does so by examining film-interactions and the geographical resonances of film.

As established in the previous section there is a strong history of 'reading' landscape and this has also been applied to filmic landscapes. Apart from the difficulties in considering landscape as something preformed and able to simply be discovered, the textual metaphor has been critiqued as inappropriate to things that are not written. Cresswell and Dixon point out the difficulty analysing film in this manner,

> "It is surely ironic that within geography's engagement with film the text metaphor has become hegemonic. This is linked to our limited ability to read vision ... We do not have the same language for understanding what we see on its own terms ...
>
> Film theory has nothing or little to say about the obviously pictorial nature of film. Picturing ... is most definitely not another form of linguistic representation: 'There is no language of pictures and pictures have little of theoretical interest in common with linguistic terms' ... what makes a good movie? The reduction of vision to language rather misses the point" (2002b, 5, also citing Currie).

The Cresswell and Dixon (2002a) collection on 'engaging film' pursues the themes of mobility and identity. As they and others rightly point out, films move on screen, they are moving pictures. The camera also moves, for films travel around the world and we travel mentally as we watch them. Acknowledging the inherent mobility of and in film allows us to more easily consider the mobility of filmic landscape and of the material world. While the text metaphor can be applied to film, "film resists such fixity" (Cresswell and Dixon 2002b, 4).

Work in other areas also argues for a "move away from the traditional authority of the text" (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000, 411), contending that we should focus on the processes that make the world, which may include re-presentations, and definitely improvisations. This is appropriate to a new conceptualisation of film. The authority of the text has dominated in studies of film, as evidenced by the large number of interpretative studies.

Considering film-landscape in terms of performance and continually in-the-making, rather than a fixed entity or a representation begins to overcome the problem of confining landscape to a textual metaphor. I write about film-landscape as a continual production and examine ongoing resonances, which also prioritises the performative capability of film. In chapter 4, I deal explicitly with some of the ways in which film images move about and create new understandings of landscape, using a conceptual stance that combines visuality with performance and attempts to move past a 'reading' to an acknowledgement of creating. In chapters 5 and 6, I explore the resonances of film in terms of how they play out differently in different places, and how they

interacted with ideas of national identities. These chapters take a stance that film is active and present after it is no longer being watched.

Acknowledging landscape used within film is important to understanding what happens in response to film and how film-landscape does work. Geographers' work on studying films as a whole, especially relationships introduced by types of landscapes, drawing on stereotypes around landscapes (or geographical imaginations) has provided a good link between theory on landscape and theory on film. There is increasing emphasis on reconsidering the textual frameworks for analysing film and encouraging a wider approach on production and consumption rather than on just film content. This is the direction that I pursue through considering film consumption as a broad remit, including work after film viewing. Smith (2002) and Edensor (2002) are examples of the ways geographers are pursuing new directions in relation to film, I return to their contributions in section 2.2.5.

2.2.3 Audience studies and consumption

I have demonstrated the need to move towards the after-effects, resonances, consumption, and the happenings of film. Audience studies address this issue from a different perspective, as do consumption studies (they occupy overlapping but not identical conceptual spaces).

Jancovich et al. state that "it has been a recurring complaint both within and against film studies that it has largely ignored audiences" (2003, 3). Their book on *The Place of the Audience* attempts to study film consumption as an activity in the context of viewing practices. Where and how people view film is just as important in audience studies as the film itself (for example, a movie watched at home or in the cinema is an entirely different experience). This criticism of film studies nicely highlights that films are watched, and that audiences (in all their multiplicity) also make a film in the watching.

Audience studies stresses that we cannot assume what a film means, nor can we consider an audience in any kind of unity (Hay et al. 1996). Hay et al. also point out that audience studies are more complicated than just asking people. Viewing should be considered as a practice, and audiences as fragmented, as disbursed through time and space. Ang (1991) widens audience to include television audiences and deconstructs it from a unitary 'thing'. Prioritising the experience of film consumers is important, but

the tendency to focus on fans does not provide a full understanding of how people react to film. Fans are of course easier to get to talk about film and also engage in discussions and productions of their own (online chats, or in writing fan fiction) (e.g. Barker and Brooks 1998). Unfortunately, work that goes 'beyond cinema' tends not to be about the broader resonances of film in and among a wider conceptualised audience, but about watching movies on video, the affect of multiplexes or of new media such as the internet.

I take a broad stance on who is audience and explore the time after the film has been seen -- which necessarily includes some who have only heard about the film. I believe that popular films have a reach greater than the actual viewing audience and that considering only those who see the films is limiting our understanding of the work film-landscape can do. There is general agreement that the power of film is immense,

> "an acknowledgement of the cinema's role in shaping individual and societal perceptions of space and place ... more than simply reflecting the environment, cinema actively participates in its configuration ... influential in marketing ideas about the natural world" (Peckham 2004, 420-421).

The context *after* viewing, how the after-images of film and film-landscape interactions may resonate and be performative in people's lives, is the area of this thesis's interest.

A further disadvantage of audience studies work is its focus on the immediate audience. Other than my stated wish to look further afield than a direct audience, I also believe that the immediate nature of the analysis does not account for reactions and responses over time. At the time of research there was a considerable lag from original screening dates (The Lord of the Rings: 2001, 2002, 2003, Whale Rider: 2002). I take from audience studies then, the desire to understand the experience of watching a film (which may be pleasurable or not) but do so in the wider context of New Zealand society and behaviours, activities and discourses that the films (through the experience of watching, being part of production, or simply hearing others talk about it all) have generated.

The Lord of the Rings has been the subject of a large international audience study project (over 15 months, in 20 countries, ESRC funded, 2002-6) which focused on the relationship people had with characters, international audience response, and among other things, how the New Zealand and Middle-earth relationship was perceived by overseas audiences (Barker and Mathijs 2007). There has been a lot written on The Lord of the Rings, especially stemming from this project, and the work is interdisciplinary

and varied. Two sample collections (Mathijs 2006, Mathijs and Pomerance 2006) focus on The Lord of the Rings phenomenon and cover issues such as the international image of The Lord of the Rings and New Zealand, merchandising, distribution, reception, fans, special effects and so on. Closer to home, The Lord of the Rings is part of another current geography PhD project in the UK, as Danielle Smith explores the relationship between fantasy and tourism. She focuses on the tourist experience of places in relation to mythic narratives and is interested in the frisson between reality and fantasy (Smith undated c.2007). The broad approach and appeal of The Lord of the Rings has generated some fascinating work, but there is still room for further exploration of issues relating to film-landscape work and film resonances.

I think it is interesting to note that New Zealand commentators included in these collections and elsewhere, see similar patterns in New Zealand's relationship to The Lord of the Rings as I do. That is, the ways in which New Zealand's postcolonial landscape is seen as a "transposable geography" that frequently stands in for another, (Jutel 2004, 60), that film location knowledge is being mapped onto New Zealand as an alternative heritage (Jones 2006), that for the majority The Lord of the Rings is simultaneously a spectacular event and not part of the everyday (Thornley 2006), and that there are strong links between New Zealand's cultural policy and its uptake of The Lord of the Rings (Lawn and Beatty 2006).

> "The Lord of the Rings project has become the poster child for a new kind of New Zealand national identity, one which draws on traditional narratives of low-key but unique national ingenuity, while reworking them in terms of an emerging narrative of creative entrepreneurship" (Jones and Smith 2005, 924).

Jones and Smith suggest that film provides a solution to New Zealand's search for an authentic (Pakeha) national identity. In chapter 6 I explore these issues, in relation to a broader range of national narratives than just creative entrepreneurship, but focusing in on the phenomenon they also noticed, that New Zealand responded to The Lord of the Rings in particular and unique ways.

Consumption literature offers additional insights into the consumption or viewing of films: ideas of audiences not being duped and interpreting things (both films, landscapes and tour activities) in their own way (Jackson and Taylor 1996); or in terms of commodity chains, often obscuring the relations involved in the film's making; or landscapes of consumption (Mansvelt 2005) in which both tourists and locals participate. There are in fact many fascinating paths one could take with any given

film. As consumption studies has moved from critiques of places such as shopping malls (consumption sites) to ethnographic studies which bring a more active view of consumers and consumer practices, it becomes easier to apply the ideas more widely. As I have outlined here, the direction I am taking is away from the film, instead moving around and in between the landscapes used, related to and being re-made in relation to the films.

Jancovich et al. (2003) suggest in their review that film consumption is gaining attention, focusing on television as 'the' social and cultural context of film watching. More significantly such work opens up the possibility that discussions of film consumption should be about the broader cultural and social consumption rather than the film itself. By asking about how film is placed in social and cultural contexts we begin to open different areas for enquiry, such as those raised by the research questions.

2.2.4 Tourism perspectives

This section discusses what tourism studies can bring to an analysis of film-landscape and film resonances. There are several points of connection between landscape theory, film and tourism, such as ideas about the gaze, a tendency to privilege the visual and a concern with landscape. Tourism is, after all, predominantly concerned with people visiting places. And for tourists, this interest in place is often an interest in scenic landscapes or film locations. Tourism then, should have much to offer on looking at the resonances around film and landscape-making in a new light. While it appears that tourism studies is completely appropriate for an exploration of these issues, I found reading the literature frustrating as the ideas were very close to my interests while being aligned slightly differently. My focus is on film resonances from a resident and New Zealand perspective. Tourism literature highlights the tourist experience and often considers international visitors from an outsider perspective. This meant that while the literature provoked many thoughts, it was not directly applicable.

Urry (1990) made famous the concept and phrase, 'the tourist gaze'. Referring to the experience of tourism for the tourist, he both acknowledges and prioritises the act of looking which is central to tourism (and can be strongly linked to both landscape literature and the act of looking at a movie). Urry distinguishes between different types of tourist gaze, but ultimately concludes that there is "no single, authentic tourist

experience" (Urry 1990, 100). Urry problematises one of the central acts in tourism, and puts it in context of a postmodern world where the gaze is often self-conscious.

The first definition Urry offers of what he means by a tourist gaze is notable for its emphasis on landscape. It seems that a crucial part of being a tourist is not just to observe people but to look at new landscapes.

> "Part at least of that experience is to gaze upon or view a set of different scenes, of landscapes or town scapes which are out of the ordinary. When we 'go away' we look at the environment with interest and curiosity... we gaze at what we encounter" (Urry 1990, 1).

This marks, for me, a clear and early connection between the interest of tourist studies and the interest of landscape theory. Both are concerned with how we frame what we see (ways of seeing), and the interactions that occur as part of that gaze. My examination of film tours in chapter 4 particularly considers this interaction.

As a landmark work, Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* has been both formative and well critiqued. Chaney (2002) suggests that the glance is a more appropriate metaphor for this tourist action. It is fleeting, about interaction not just looking in, less commanding and acknowledges that spaces can be unfinished. It also acknowledges that locals and visitors have different meanings. The continual engagement with gaze as central to tourist studies shows its importance more than a decade after Urry's work was published.

The concept of the gaze also strongly resonates with film theory. Watching film is about undivided attention given to a screen and a concentrated gaze is encouraged. What's more, in film this gaze is unidirectional (it is only when tourists gaze at landscape or film viewers gaze at film locations that there is potential for a response). Tourism literature has explicitly focused on this connection in writing about film-driven tourism. There is a strong cohort studying tourist interest in film locations. Tourism literature has been the only literature to deal with film-based tourism, despite the strong rapport. I highlight these points of convergence between tourist studies, film theory and landscape theory as the linkages between theoretical disciplines can be explored to create a stance that draws on multiple literatures, and offer strong new insights as a result.

Tourists interact or engage in a performance in relation to the people and places they have come to see. I find strong links between imagining how I would see and interact as a tourist and imagining an autonomous person in this position (often adopted by earlier landscape theory). Recent landscape theory allows me to blend these two positions, and become a researcher who is also a tourist, who looks at and experiences/participates in (making) landscape. Moving towards an experiential approach allows us to put the gaze in motion, rather than juxtaposing ideas of landscape as a visual gaze or an embodied experience. Adventure tourism, for example is about embodiment, about mobilising the gaze (Bell and Lyall 2002). By considering the gaze as active, and here I am referring to the gaze of landscape theory as well as 'the tourist gaze', we can open the possibilities of interpretation. Film tourism in particular, allows for a moving gaze. If film is an example of a certain way landscape is framed (which is generally agreed), then film tourism becomes one way of mobilising both landscape and the gaze. Tours of film locations provide both the more static form of looking and framing, *and* active participation in making the landscape anew.

Tourism does talk about making places in similar and complex ways to landscape theory. Some consider for example, "the tourist as a metaphor for a way of being-in-the world" (Chaney 2002, 206), a phrase that has resonances with the philosophical underpinnings of Wylie's phenomenological approach to landscape. Further connections are evident in Crang's words, "it is not about what representations *show* so much as what they *do*" (2006, 48 emphasis in original), by which we see that the non-representational turn is also impacting within tourism studies.

Coleman and Crang theorise places as dynamic and created through performance,

> "instead of seeing places as relatively fixed entities, to be juxtaposed in analytical terms with more dynamic flows and tourists, images and cultures, we need to see them as fluid and created through performance ... highlight dynamic sense of embodied and performed, ...engagement with places and tourist activities" (2002b, 1).

This conceptualisation highlights performance and dynamism, but it also prioritises the tourist experience in its definition of place. Crouch considers "leisure/tourism as an encounter... as a process rather than a product" (1999, 1). He is also part of the movement towards practice, towards considering tourism as a process about complex human and social engagements. For Crouch (2002), tourism is not a product, destination or consumption, it is embodied, and meanings are made through practice. I

explore tourism as an encounter and, through practice, through film tours in chapter 4, and more loosely in chapter 5 through 'placing The Lord of the Rings'. But, although it is easy to see tourism-type resonances from The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, film resonances involve more than tourism, and the tourism literature, while in the spirit of the enquiry I wish to pursue, offers only a partial approach to exploring film resonances.

Authenticity is also a subject of much debate in tourist studies. Is what tourists visit 'authentic' in any way? MacCannell (1976) introduced the idea of front stage performance for tourists and backstage realities of everyday life. But are all tourists looking for the authentic? Does authenticity matter? Shaw and Williams (2004) discuss authenticity and its varying degrees and blurring in their examination of tourist spaces. The common consensus is that the postmodern tourist is aware of and welcomes the blatantly inauthentic (for example Disneyland and shopping malls). Shaw and Williams (2004) examine themeing and briefly discuss the way New Zealand was themed as The Lord of the Rings, but their exploration of themed landscapes assumes that all parts of New Zealand have the same experience, and that The Lord of the Rings' impacts are undifferentiated, an assumption I contest in chapter 5. It is important to understand how tourism spaces are conceptualised, I would argue by different groups in different places. Their discussion of the social construction of tourism places is in a globalisation and cultural capital framework, and assumes an 'outsider' is the only recipient of these images.

All tourism literature deals in some way with authenticity, beginning with MacCannell's definitions and critiquing it for assuming that places are authentic for locals and staged for visitors, rather than beginning from a perspective that the experience for one is no 'better' than for the other (Coleman and Crang 2002a). If we accept Urry's argument that contemporary tourists engage in a search for the authentic while recognizing that this is probably impossible to find, then film tourism can be seen as aimed at the postmodern tourist. "The post-tourist knows that they are a tourist and that tourism is a game, or rather a whole series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience" (Urry 1990, 100). Film tourism encourages embracing the contradictions inherent in visiting film locations that no longer act as such, while enjoying the powerful imaginative presence of film. The film and its story/characters are both present and absent, the landscape seen on tours both is and is not the landscape

of film. The tour experiences draw on this, and as chapter 5 demonstrates there is also a diversity of experience and acknowledgement of tourist 'games' with different places.

Written from an age concerned with modernisation and its disorganisation, MacCannell (1976) states that modernity is unreal and inauthentic, that real and authentic belong to other places and other times. But Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings are not precisely from this time or place. The Lord of the Rings is clearly fantasy, we travel to the unreal and the inauthentic in the film, and on tours we travel to an authenticated version of this unreal and inauthentic world. While set in the contemporary world, Whale Rider uses Maori legend as its backbone. This somewhat blurs the boundaries, and any film viewer may ask themselves what they consider to be authentic or inauthentic about it.

Tourism studies focuses on the tourists themselves, and Obrador Pons (2003) argues that the tourist is mobile, embodied and in the world, rather than detached and ungrounded. While I agree with this, the tourist is not my focus. Obrador Pons argues that tourism is "a practical and embodied way through which we are involved in the world" (2003, 47). His argument is potentially excellent, but misses out how tourists make their world and landscapes from being in it. Baerenholdt et al. (2004) argue that 'front stage' personas such as tour guides can help build an atmosphere, but ultimately that the performance of being a tourist and making a place touristic and atmospheric is up to those who participate. This is useful in terms of considering film-landscape interactions on tours, but my focus is not really on tourists or mobilities, rather about how landscape is being made by these fleeting but repetitive practices and narratives, how residents interact with the films and film tourism, and how at a countrywide level films are integrated with ideas of national identity.

Tourist studies also deal with mobilisation, a central issue in geography, and is often conceptualised in terms of flows of people across borders and boundaries and links to globalisation discourses (e.g. Shaw and Williams 2004). Tourism generates some interesting angles, making new connections between theory, and acknowledges that social context, industries, government plans and so on play a role. This is a potentially profitable means of further exploration of film resonances, though I use ideas of national identity and placing film rather than specifically economic-political contexts.

Tourism studies literature was a useful grounding to analysis of film-landscape interactions and film resonances as it looks at film in quite a different way than other literatures, that is, as a force that provokes movement and experiences of places. It acknowledges the power film has in a different way to film studies or cinematic geography, as it considers them away from the film content and in terms of film resonances. Tourism studies also theorises destinations as visited, particularly in relation to film (e.g. Baerenholdt et al. 2004, Crang 2006), but conceptualises them as destinations not places. This is an important distinction that emphasises the role of the tourist as someone who arrives and leaves, and constructs destinations through this lens.

Although tourism studies provided an insight, it does not offer a framework for the exploration in this thesis as there is too much emphasis on place-as-destination and tourists rather than residents. I shift the focus to interactions and resonances from the point of view of the every-day, including people that live with resonances and with tourists (rather than the tourist experience). This means while tourism is an important component in considering film resonances as it comes close to the wider remit, I use the literature as a springboard for how I might analyse resonances in relation to films.

2.3 More-than-film

In this final section of the literature review, I bring together a variety of work that is illustrative of what I believe a more-than-film approach might look like. These examples demonstrate what other people's work might mean to more-than-film. These are cases that inspired me into the practicalities of more-than-film research, which is a methodology for open practice.

> "Recognising the potential for transformation and becoming in all life. So we should see cinema for what it can and might do, and not for what it is" (Colebrook on Deleuze 2002, 47).

Deleuze's insistence that cinema is philosophical, is an excellent grounding for treating it seriously and more importantly for looking beyond the usual to what cinema can do in ways we may have not anticipated. Deleuze talks about the necessity of understanding something's duration, or its excess (I think referring to the power film has to go beyond its own boundaries) which influenced my desire to investigate these films several years later. Deleuze believes in the power of repetition to renew, and this closely ties with the power of film. As Colebrook (2002, 47) summarises, "cinema for Deleuze, is not about representing a world we already had, it creates new worlds". This to me is a call to look

at the work film-landscape does and the resonances films create. This is not about production, intent or interpretation but about the excess of film.

Deleuze refers to cinema rather than film, which implies a greater concern with the apparatus of cinema and with extremes of presentation or representation, rather than 'outside' the theatre possibilities. He concentrates on the movement of image in the cinema and the power of the cinematic eye to view in an inhuman and multiple fashion, which is a very different view than that offered by a painting or photography. Film therefore needs new modes of enquiry that capture his insistence that cinema (and film) are powerful, transformational and *do* things.

Smith's (2002) analysis of the film Nanook of the North (1922) begins to explore film in this way and it offers some parallels to the experience of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. She considers the film in several ways: firstly as an authentic/inauthentic representation of Inuit life; secondly she tries to separate Nanook the person from the film; and thirdly she examines how the film "enters commercial and recreational landscapes" (2002, 112). It is this last point which has the most bearing on my work as she finds that there were multiple and diverse responses to the film including promotions for the film, campaign books for exhibitors, ice-cream bars, character attractions and fashion lines. While in the case of Nanook of the North these were predominantly established by film promoters, the way the film grew and became more-than-film was similar to the expansion of The Lord of the Rings.

Whale Rider too illustrates the "uncontrollable nature of representational discourse" (Smith 2002, 112) and is a closer parallel to the Nanook of the North experience. Smith explores the idea of authenticity of the representation of Inuit culture and found that although it was largely considered amusing by the Inuit for being so far off the mark, other viewers generally believed it, highlighting that viewers employ their own perspectives when watching. Smith points out that whether or not something is authentic is not as important as who is claiming that it is so, raising an interesting counterpoint to tourism studies approaches to authenticity. The Whangara community had a different reaction to 'their' film from the rest of New Zealand, but exploring notions of differing reception and that films may mean different things at home or abroad, is an important point.

Smith also follows the promotional attempts around the film, focussing on Nanook's travel to promote the film – an act interestingly repeated by kaumatua/elder Hone Taumaunu for Whale Rider. While Smith's analysis of the film employed concepts of cultural diversity and difference, it is a good example of how looking at film from unusual angles can reveal the inter-textural, relational and ongoingly negotiated identities around film. It is this awareness and way of following a film through the production, consumption, promotional projects and uptake in various contexts that I see as being a useful example of exploring more-than-film.

Edensor's (1997, 2002) work on the Scottish film Braveheart explores the relationship between film and other political purposes. At one level, it is an example of how identity is represented and contested in film. At another, he examines Braveheart in relation to the heritage industry, how it is used to further ideas of nationalism, and was used by political parties to help encourage voting. Edensor looks at how the film Braveheart is both celebrated and how, in a manner similar to The Lord of the Rings, Whale Rider and Nanook of the North, it escaped its movie confines in unexpected ways. Braveheart circulates around the world, but in particular ways and with particular meanings in Scotland and elsewhere. It is a useful example of how film can become bigger than the motion picture experience, which I used to inform my exploration.

Filmmaker Frank Capra also thought about the power and durability that a film can have. Speaking around 1934 he said,

> "I never cease to thrill at an audience seeing a picture. For two hours you've got 'em. Hitler can't keep 'em that long. You eventually reach even more people than Roosevelt does on the radio. Imagine what Shakespeare would have given for an audience like that!" (quoted in Schaber 1997, 18).

Capra eloquently illustrates why investigating the work that film does is such an important prospect.

> "Film is extensive... Extensive and grasping, film not only reaches, it holds. It practices its own specific kinds of domestic and foreign policies. This is why it is essential to situate it not only within its contemporary political activity but within a nexus of political technologies" (Schaber 1997, 18).

These two quotes illustrate the potential and reach of film. Through chapters 5 and 6, I situate the resonances of film in two particular ways, demonstrating how the films interacted with local context, and ways New Zealand identity narratives were intertwined with the reception of the films in New Zealand.

There has been an "emergence over the past century, of 'a cinematic society' that 'came to know itself through the cinematic apparatus'" (Nicholson 2002, 48 also citing Denzin). Denzin's claim of a cinematic society is a large one, but one worth exploring in relation to popular films. In chapters 4 to 6, I illustrate that this is true to a certain extent for both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, as the New Zealand context, identity issues and knowledges about its landscape are negotiated with the film. In chapter 6 I explore the notion that New Zealand 'knows itself' through Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings as New Zealand broadcast particular favourite self-images in relation to the films. In particular contexts, film has played an important role in constituting new understandings of landscape, place and identities.

Warner (2004) describes places as crossroads, and spaces as temporal, geographical and mental in her discussion of magic and transformation in contemporary literature and culture. She considers places to be points of interchange. But the stories in which this occurs are never held between the pages "Stories are not confined by the texts they inhabit ... They spill out from the covers of books" (2004, 22). Crosscutting, jumping, and growing of the tales between people occurs – revealing a definitely performative element to her conceptualisation. All this fits with an examination of film-landscape and film resonances. A quote from Warner best captures the power that I feel is inherent in films and why it is so important to study the resonances around particularly popular films. Although she is describing Arabian Nights, the message is more widely applicable. "[Arabian Nights is] a book that flies free of its covers, and *suffuses our consciousness whether or not we have read it in any version*" (Warner 2004, 23, my emphasis). I am claiming this space for The Lord of the Rings and potentially for Whale Rider, and am excited by exploring the ways in which this happens.

In some ways, film has a life of its own. It circulates and is taken up by different people in different ways, the same people can have different views, there are ambiguities and multiple understandings and ambivalence. In many ways the films escape the intentions of the filmmakers. There are wonderful opportunities for exploration that open up if we consider film in this way.

As a whole, this review demonstrates the literature context in which the empirical chapters are situated. Chapter 4 draws on landscape theories to understand the multiple emergence and performance of landscape on film tours. Chapter 5 and 6 are informed

by broader literatures which all have something to offer a consideration of film resonances (reviewed in 'contextualising the exploration of film resonances'). I particularly used as inspiration examples of work in the more-than-film section, that considers film as a phenomenon wider than production or viewing, and the way in which films interact with their contexts and become more-than-expected.

In the next chapter I outline the processes of research into these areas, and the research design chosen to best facilitate investigation into film-landscape interactions and film resonances.

3 *Methodology*

This chapter outlines the methodologies chosen and how they are appropriate to answering my research questions. An important consequence of considering film-landscape as interaction or process, and in being concerned with wider social and cultural resonances, is that I have adopted a broad epistemology that attempts to capture as many angles as possible. I argue that diverse methodological strategies were necessary because I attempted to capture resonances not normally considered in the literature. I constructed my research questions to investigate my initial beliefs on film resonances and how these would play out over space, time and in different contexts.

In this chapter, I begin by discussing research design and its relationship to the research questions in section 3.1. Section 3.2 covers the reasons for adopting the methods chosen and describes the way each method was employed in practice, and the ethics associated with this. I move on to analysis and interpretation in section 3.3 and in section 3.4 I discuss my positionality as relevant to the research.

3.1 Research design

The research questions were established to focus my interest in the power of films. 1) What work does film-landscape do? 2) What are the social and cultural resonances of film? Question one has an emphasis on film-landscape interaction. This highlights the processes between landscape in film and material landscape, and Chapter 4 explores these direct film-landscape interactions. Question two focuses on wider resonances of film, and the idea that as a powerful medium, film will have many impacts both direct and indirect. Film-landscape interactions and geographic imaginaries from film combine in interesting ways with ideas of New Zealand nationality (explored in chapter 6) and ideas of places (chapter 5).

The research questions directed investigation, analysis and write up. Particularly, the

questions I was asking needed to be addressed with an appropriate methodological strategy. Qualitative methods were used as I was "interested in a multiplicity of meanings, representations and practices" (Smith 2001, 24). Within the qualitative framework, a mixed method approach was the best way to generate relevant data to my project (Valentine 2001). I kept in mind Stehlik's (2004) idea of a rhizomatic approach, where methods do not have to triangulate or be linear (which assumes a fixed thing that can be revealed), but can be organic and follow opportunities as they arise. My research design included a belief that film resonances and film-landscape work would be best explored in locations where filming occurred and that I knew film tours to be happening. Within places I also wanted to address differences in context, and needed a variety of methods specialising in gathering different sorts of information, to access the range of resonances and film-landscape work I believed existed (though I did not yet know in what forms).

I use five techniques (participant observation, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, conversational interviews, textual analysis of both newspaper articles and Internet Movie Database (IMDB) message boards) to approach my research questions. These were appropriate because some offer complementary angles on the same subject matter, others provide different angles from new material. Interviews, focus groups, conversational interviews and participant observation combined to analyse places, and how film plays out in different places. Textual resources (newspaper and IMDB), interviews and focus groups together gave insight into how New Zealanders viewed New Zealand identities in relation to the films. Interviews, focus groups and participant observation together provided perspectives on tours (film-landscape interactions). Combined they form a bundle of methodologies for investigating the central research questions.

3.1.1 Locations

To study The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider in terms of their resonances and film-landscape interactions is to study both New Zealand and places within New Zealand. Accordingly my first angle into accessing the specificity and multiplicity of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider was through exploring multiple places. From this a sense of the nature of film resonances and film-landscape interactions in places was developed. I took a place by place approach to build up knowledge, using elements of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995). Using methods in a variety of locations was part of the

design to enable comparison across both space and other social contexts. In all locations, I observed, interacted, interviewed, conversed and took notes. This produced a particular type of knowledge that was useful for exploring film resonances.

I divided my research into several locations, chosen because of filming nearby: (1) Gisborne and Whangara, (2) Matamata and the Alexander farm, (3) Wellington, (4) Queenstown and Wanaka and surrounding areas, (5) Christchurch, and (6) the country as a whole including Auckland. Figure 3.1 can be used to familiarise the reader with the locations referred to in the text, and also shows that film locations (and hence areas of interest for fieldwork) are clustered. Each site was chosen for proximity to filming locations and to investigate reports of visitors travelling to see film sites. There is a heavy concentration of The Lord of the Rings sites in the lower South Island, making Queenstown a logical place to visit, as was Wellington for the same reason. Christchurch is a reasonable base for visiting Edoras, and Matamata the only place to visit Hobbiton. Whale Rider was filmed predominantly in Whangara and Gisborne, and they were therefore also obvious choices.

The research involved three main phases, two fieldwork periods in New Zealand and a third phase devoted to the analysis of textual resources and fieldwork data. The New Zealand fieldwork took place over the periods October-November 2005 (North Island) and May-July 2006 (South Island). In stage one I visited Gisborne and Whangara, then Matamata and Wellington. In stage two I explored Queenstown, Wanaka and Christchurch. The North Island was the logical place to begin the research on film resonances, given the focus on the two films and as both films had locations there. The close juxtaposition of the Matamata and Whangara field visits was crucial to gaining an appreciation of the spatial, social and cultural contexts of the films.

In the early stages of fieldwork I was open to different avenues and ready to change approaches as necessary. This occurred particularly between stage one and two as I realised my focus was not on tourists nor on council involvement but rather on tours, tour operators and other residents of place. As the two stages were some time apart, my ideas had been refined and my focus sharpened in the intervening period. The next section (3.2) presents the rationale for each research method, the ways data collection was undertaken and the ethics involved with this.
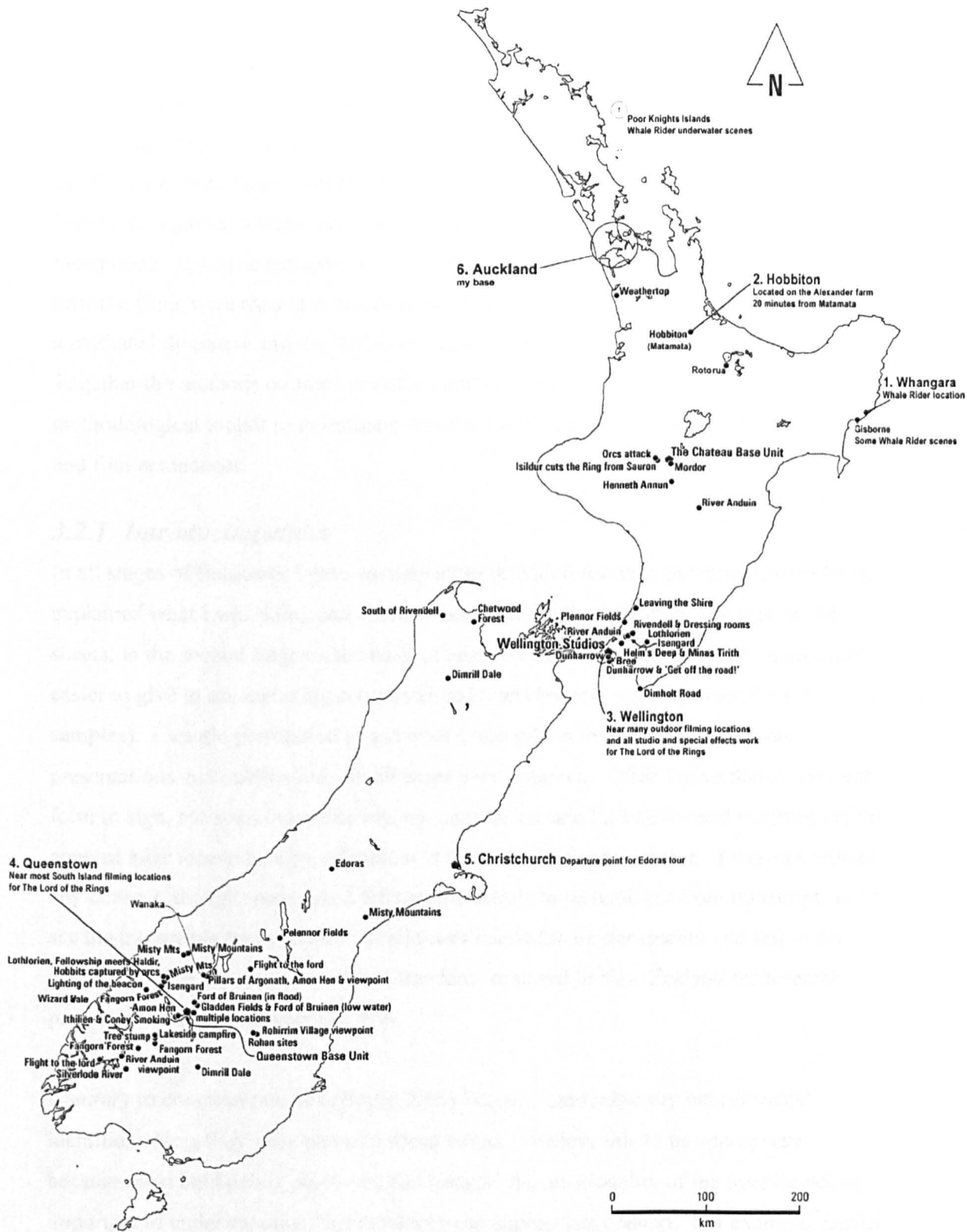
Figure 3.1: Research locations and The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider film sites

3.2 Methods, data collection and ethics

Framing the research in terms of a wide approach to gather information on film resonances, allowed me to be responsive to information as it developed. Focus groups helped capture public discussion and discourse, interviews probed decisions and opinions, on tours I experienced film-landscape interactions, and with conversational interviews I gained a wider sense of resonances and probed for gaps and alternate viewpoints. Using newspapers and the IMDB I gained a sense of wider coverage and how the films were treated at 'national' and 'international' levels. Newspapers provided a mediated discourse and the IMDB the unsolicited opinions of heavy film investors. Together the methods outlined provide a multifaceted approach, a robust methodological toolkit to investigate the conceptual space of film-landscape interactions and film resonances.

3.2.1 Introducing ethics

In all stages of fieldwork I gave participant information forms to potential respondents, explained what I was doing and asked for consent. In the first stage this was on A4 sheets, in the second stage on the back of business cards (which was less intrusive and easier to give to all, including conversational interviewees) (see appendix 8.1 for samples). I sought permission to use what I was told in my thesis and in future presentations and publications. In all cases people agreed. Often I gave them a consent form to sign, but sometimes this was not appropriate and I asked for and received verbal consent after repeating my explanation at the end of the conversation. I was not refused any consent, though some asked for specific details to be removed from transcripts or to see the transcripts for approval. At all times I aimed to be transparent and fair in my conduct, and to adhere to the ethical standards required in New Zealand for research projects (Tolich and Davidson 1999).

Contrary to common practice (Boyle 2005) I do not anonymise my interviewees' identities unless they were part of a focus group. I believe this to be appropriate because most held public positions, and because the positionality of the interviewee is important to understanding their remarks in an appropriate context. For example, David Kennedy CEO of Destination Queenstown has strongly held beliefs on the role of tourism in Queenstown that are informed by his position. I gained permission from all interviewees to use their names in relation to their comments.

In each section below I highlight the specific ethical issues for that method. While I write about ethics within this section (3.2), I am aware that ethical issues arise at all stages of the research, including analysis and interpretation. Briefly, I see the main issues in analysis and interpretation for this thesis as involving: using the information collected, as to conduct research but not use material would be unethical (as people participate in the knowledge that they are contributing to something); staying true to what I said I would use the material collected for; offering and sending transcripts for people to approve as requested; and providing a summary of the work to those who are interested.

3.2.2 Participant observation on film tours

The Lord of the Rings generated a significant level of tour activity, which I knew before beginning research. Film tours exist for both Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings. I believed this activity to be an ongoing expression of the impact of the films and wanted to explore this obvious and direct evidence of film resonances. Specifically to investigate the questions: What was happening on the tours? Why had they come into being? Were they a transient phase or an enduring resonance? In what ways do tours mediate participant interaction with landscape known to be in films? By participating as a tourist in The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider tours, I was able to study film-landscape interactions on a personal level. Doing this meant that I did not just hear others' descriptions, I had been on the tours, interacted with others and the landscape, heard the narratives, been moved by and experienced the event. I also interviewed tourism operators to gain a greater understanding of the tours.

Participant observation is good at providing rich detail, particularly non-verbal information. It enables the researcher to note activities and behaviours. I participated on the film tours as a tour member. One of the difficulties commonly associated with participant observation is the difficulty in gaining access and time required (Dowler 2001, Punch 2001). However, tour groups are communities that come into being, exist and are disbanded within a day. This meant that my level of participation and role as an outsider was exactly the same as everyone else's. I did not have trouble being a semi-participant (Punch 2001) as tours are short lived and encourage group interaction between strangers. Participating in film tours allowed access to the 'inside' of the film tour experience, one of the aims of participant observation (Cook 2005).

Concentrating on film tours and the film-landscape interactions occurring on them, brought out nuances of connection. Participant observation allowed me to observe tourists and the ways landscape was being made in relation to film. The tour approach comes closest to investigating the performative in terms of landscape. It allowed analysis of the translation of ideas into the actual making of landscape, landscapes as performance, multiple versions, permanence and duration, absences and presences.

Laurier and Philo (2003) describe their method of ethnomethodology as practising small scale examination. They engaged with the idea that the encounter is at the heart of geographical work, and that paying close attention to things is a very productive process. Laurier and Philo apply this to conversations but I found that these ideas could be equally used for a range of encounters, on film tours, in places and in newspaper reporting.

I participated in five tours, one for Whale Rider and four for The Lord of the Rings, chosen from a range of tours running in 2005/06. There is only one Whale Rider tour, and it was the only way to visit Whangara without a personal invitation. A substantial range of The Lord of the Rings tours are available in both the North and South Islands. I went to 'Hobbiton' as I believed it to be an important tour, and I chose the other The Lord of the Rings tours from pamphlets collected during stage one of fieldwork. The circulation of advertising material gave them a profile that made them appropriate tours to attend. There were also many tours I did not go on[1]. The majority of tours were pitched at overseas tourists and priced accordingly, the cost of tours did have an impact on my research budget[2]. I selected tours operating in high profile areas. Table 3.1 shows the tours chosen, their cost, location, brief description, and who I spoke to in relation to the tour.

I participated as a tourist in each tour, which was surprisingly hard as I had conflicting positionalities working in me at the same time (see also section 3.4 for a further discussion on positionality). I was a New Zealand tourist enjoying the experience, who felt slightly detached as I had been living overseas, but I was also a researcher analysing

---

[1] Including tours in Queenstown, Wellington, Wanaka, Tongariro National Park and a 14 day The Lord of the Rings tour around New Zealand.
[2] Hassle-free Tours gave me a free tour and did not expect anything from me except that I enjoyed the experience, the others I paid for.

73

the tour. My only moderate enthusiasm for The Lord of the Rings films was something of an anomaly and caused surprise as the expectation was that a researcher would be a Lord of the Rings film fan. I undertook overt participant observation and my dual roles were quickly established through the usual questions participants ask among themselves. I participated fully in all tour activities and conversations.

My experience on the Whale Rider tour was markedly different. Firstly, I had not read the book (only seen the film). Secondly, I was the only participant on the tour, so group interaction was not possible. The tours are only run if four or more people are interested, but the tour guide made an exception in my case. As far as I can judge from his comments, he ran the tour as he usually would. My positionality in this case was Pakeha (albeit one who has stayed on a number of marae) and an outsider without benefit of being part of a tour group.

As a participant observer I talked to everyone about why they had come and what they thought of the tour (see appendix 8.2 for broad schedule). I also listened to other conversations amongst the participants, though most commonly their conversations were with the tour guide rather than between group members. I did not record or take notes during the tour, but took photos and made extensive impressionistic summaries recalling as much as possible after the tour in my field diary (see appendix 8.3 for description of my tour experiences). I wrote in a stream of consciousness style that later helped with conveying a sense of being there (Cook 2005). I asked those in the tour and the tour guide for permission to use information and to take photos. The tour guides probably saw being photographed and giving permission as part of their job, but as I explained my purpose and the photos I took were fairly innocuous I do not believe this interfered with their ability to make an informed response to my request. While speaking to the participants and tour guides was part of my methodology, this was secondary to my being an integral part of the tour, as this engagement was central to comprehending film-landscape interactions.

Table 3.1: The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider tours mentioned in research

Company name	LOTR/Whale Rider product	Cost	Location	Brief description of tour	Who spoken to
—	Whale Rider tour	$50	Whangara	Two hour tour of Whangara marae. History of the area and hapu. Tour taken by kaumatua and cultural advisor on Whale Rider	Hone Taumaunu
Rings Scenic Tours	Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour	$50	Matamata	2.5 hour tour of Hobbiton set on Alexander farm. Walking tour.	JR (tour guide) Henry Horne (marketing manager)
Nomad Safaris	Safari of the Rings (Trip A: Wakatipu Basin; Trip B: Glenorchy)	$140	Queenstown	"The best 4x4 safari by far. Half day tours with Nomad Safaris, visiting spectacular locations used in the 'The Lord of the Rings'" (QT Magazine June 2006, 9)	David and Amanda Gatward-Ferguson (owner operators)
Dart River Safaris	The Dart River Safari	$199	Queenstown	Six-hour trip from Queenstown. Includes 1.5 hour jet boat ride, walk in native bush, bus trip there and back.	Kerry Walker (sales and marketing manager)
Info and Track: adventure, info, transport *I did not go on this tour	Paradise Found: Scenes of the Rings and More ... (they also offer five additional combo options which can be added to the basic Paradise Found tour: jet boat, horse trek, skydive, guided walk, Deer Park)	$99 (combo options cost: $274, $199, $370, $180, $170)	Queenstown	4.5 hour trip from Queenstown. Bus trip from Queenstown up the Glenorchy Valley, include short walks.	Rebecca Cochrane (general manager)
Hassle-free Tours	The Lord of the Rings journey into Middle-earth Edoras	$199	Christchurch	One day tour to Mt Potts high country station, location of Mt Sunday (Edoras). Four-wheel-drive and walking, handle replica film items.	Nicky Marsh and Mark Gilbert (owner operators)
Wanaka Sightseeing *I did not go on this tour	Trails of Middle-earth full-day Gwahir's Patrol (half day air option) The Quest (full-day road and air)	$290 $1300 $1500	Wanaka or Queenstown	Four-wheel-drive tour, visit over 20 locations, handle replica film items. Helicopter tour, access to 12 remote locations, handle items. 35 locations, handle replica film items, helicopter and vehicle.	Melissa Heath (owner operator)

In each case in the empirical chapters I refer to the tour/company by the commonly used name. For example, Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour rather than Rings Scenic Tours, but Wanaka Sightseeing not Trails of Middle-earth. Appendix 8.3 has further details on my tour experience, the dates tours began and origins of tourists.

3.2.3 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews or 'conversations with a purpose' (Khan and Cannell 1957) were a key feature of my research strategy. In my experience talking to people always opens up new and sometimes unexpected possibilities, juxtapositions, insights and leads. I therefore wanted to maximise my chances to hear what people wanted to say (or not say). To facilitate this, semi-structured and prearranged interviews were conducted (conversational interviews were also undertaken which I discuss in section 3.2.5).

Interviewing is acknowledged to be a good method for getting in-depth, detailed information. Interviewees have the opportunity to elaborate, complicate, contradict and qualify their answers to sometimes simple questions. Interviews also allow the interviewer to probe unexpected areas. I used interviews to provide insight into the workings of tourism operations and marketing of areas, and selected a range of interviewees on this basis. While aware that interviews only capture what people say, rather than behaviour (Valentine 2001), interviewing is a useful technique for understanding how people articulate their experiences and opinions on the film phenomena. Interviews were part of my strategy to access general and specific opinions and experiences of those involved in creating some of the film resonances (whether in making the film, in creating tourist products or in promoting their area in relation to the films). These interviews formed the basis of detailed information gained about tours, place responses to tourism and the making of and promotion of the films. Aware that relying only on the opinions and experiences of those heavily invested in tourism or place promotion does not provide a balanced view, I supplemented these interviews with focus groups and conversational interviews. In combination with interviewing a range of people, I covered much research 'ground'. Interviews as a methodological approach allowed insight into the film-landscape interactions as people living with it experienced it.

I undertook semi-structured interviews with several individuals in each place and area of interest. I deemed them to be key individuals that would be able to offer insights into the town's reactions to both filming in their area, tourist activities and subsequent flows of visitors to see the film locations.

Regional Tourism Organisations (RTOs) were targeted in each location, as the focus of

film activities in particular places encouraged me to investigate at a local rather than national level. Tour operators constituted another group of interviewees. I spoke to tour company owners and operators who provided, often with great passion, first hand knowledge and reasoning behind decisions to create film-related tours.

The national component of film marketing and advertising was explored by way of an interview with key people at Air New Zealand, Film New Zealand and the New Zealand Film Commission. I also interviewed three filmmakers who were directly involved with location work. These respondents gave a film industry view on the success of the films, offered personal accounts of how the films had affected their careers, and gave their opinions on how it had affected communities involved. I was able to explore my newly formed ideas about the relationship of New Zealand and Middle-earth and the effects of Whale Rider on geographical imaginations.

The duration of The Lord of the Rings phenomenon created space for additional important actors in creating resonances. I interviewed two prominent individuals, writer Ian Brodie who has produced a series of popular The Lord of the Rings location guides and Miett Fear who organised the red carpet world premiere of The Return of the King in Wellington, around which New Zealand fervour about The Lord of the Rings galvanised.

A total of 31 interviews were arranged by phone or email (see Table 3.2). At each site I had previously identified a number of potential interviewees. They were recruited by research into who was the appropriate person in the organisation and either cold-calling or e-mailing (when not in New Zealand). I also followed up referrals when offered using a snowballing approach (Valentine 2005). Each interview lasted 1-1.5 hours and was a semi-formal discussion using a schedule of questions modified according to the activity and perspective of the respondent (see appendix 8.4). Nearly every interview was with individuals, but on three occasions they involved groups. These interviews generated additional discussion through elaboration, clarification or querying of points made by one party.

Type	Location	Name	Role	Approach	Date
Business	Auckland	Jenny Simpson	Sponsorship Manager, Marketing, Air New Zealand	E-mail	15/11/05
Council	Auckland	Bob Harvey	Mayor of Waitakere City (film friendly), NZFC board member, author of White Cloud (film book)	Referred by Ruth Harley	10/11/05
Council	Gisborne	Rick Mansell	Manager of Economic Development, Gisborne District Council	E-mail	17/10/05
Council	Matamata	Dennis Bellamy	Environmental Services Manager, Matamata-Piako District Council	E-mail	26/10/05
Council	Phone (based in Wellington)	Miett Fear	Senior strategist advisor-creativity and innovation, Wellington City Council. Was project manager for The Return of the King premiere in Wellington.	Referred by Kevin Murphy	17/11/05
Council[3]	Wellington	Kevin Murphy	Director of council controlled organisations, Wellington City Council	E-mail	08/11/05
Film	Auckland	Leon Narbey	Cinematographer, Whale Rider	Previous contact from MA research	10/10/05
Film	Auckland	Robin Murphy	Location manager, The Lord of the Rings	Referred by Susan Ord	10/11/05
Film	Phone (based in Wellington at time of call)	Grant Major	Production designer on The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider	Referred by Leon Narbey	09/11/05
Film	Wellington	Susan Ord	Projects Manager, Film New Zealand	E-mail	01/11/05
Film	Wellington	Jean Johnston	Manager, Film Wellington	E-mail	03/11/05
Film	Wellington	Ruth Harley	CEO, New Zealand Film Commission	E-mail	07/11/05
Media	Matamata	Sandra Hunter	Ex-editor of Matamata Chronicle, current editor of East Waikato Country	Cold approach -- went into office	26/10/05
Media	Matamata	Rexine Harman	Reporter at Matamata Chronicle	Cold approach -- went into office	26/10/05
Other	Phone (based on Wanaka)	Ian Brodie	Author of The Lord of the Rings Location Guide	E-mail	29/06/06
Other	Wellington	Jeff Rowe	Resident of Wellington suburb where Peter Jackson's studio is	Previous contact from MA research	09/11/05
RTO	Gisborne	Kaarin Gaukrodger	Marketing Executive, Tourism Eastland	E-mail	18/10/05
RTO	Hamilton	John Rasmussen	CEO, Tourism Waikato	E-mail	28/10/05
RTO	Queenstown	David Kennedy	CEO, Destination Queenstown	E-mail	19/06/06
RTO	Wanaka	John Alldred	CEO, Tourism Lake Wanaka	E-mail	22/06/06
Tourism	Auckland	Lynne Butler	Manager of three i-sites -- Auckland (Sky City), Auckland International Airport, Auckland Domestic Airport	Referred by friend	14/11/05
Tourism	Matamata	JR	Tour guide on Hobbiton movie set and farm tour	On tour	25/10/05
Tourism	Matamata	Sue Whiting	Manager, Public Relations and Matamata information Centre	Cold call	27/10/05

---

[3] My perception of who key stakeholders were altered slightly during the project. Council employees were soon seen to be peripheral to contributing to film resonances and were excluded in the second phase of fieldwork. High-level film industry interviews were also quickly revealed to be the wrong 'track'.

Type	Location	Name	Role	Approach	Date
Tourism operator	Auckland	Vic and Raewyn James	Owner operators, Red Carpet Tours	Cold call	16/11/05
Tourism operator	Christchurch	Melissa Heath[4]	Owner operator, Wanaka Sightseeing	Cold call	26/06/06
Tourism operator	Christchurch	Nicky Marsh and Mark Gilbert	Owner operators, Hassle-free tours	Cold call	26/06/06
Tourism operator	Gisborne	Hone Taumaunu	Kaumatua of Whangara, cultural advisor on Whale Rider, Whale Rider tour guide	Cold call (used Brad Coombes name)	19/10/05
Tourism operator	Matamata	Henry Horne	Sales and marketing manager, Rings Scenic Tours	E-mail	25/10/05
Tourism operator	Queenstown (e-mail interview)	Kerry Walker	Sales and Marketing Manager, Dart River Safaris	E-mail	21/06/06
Tourism operator	Queenstown	David and Amanda Gatward-Ferguson	Owner operators, Nomad Safaris	Cold call	21/06/06
Tourism operator	Queenstown	Rebecca Cochrane	General manager, Info and Track	Cold call	21/06/06

Interviews were held in cafes (relaxed and neutral spaces) or offices. I taped interviews as this meant I could pay more attention to respondents, and most were unconcerned by this, though one or two asked for specific things to be left out of the report[5]. I answered questions as asked about myself and the project. I gave all interviewees information sheets about my research and asked them to sign consent forms allowing me to use the material collected during the interview.

Reflecting on the range of interviews I undertook most interviewees were genuinely interested in my research, although some were merely polite. The impassioned interest came from tour operators who had themselves witnessed the 'phenomenon' of film response and were encouraging of any research into the subject. Film industry representatives expressed tepid interest as they did not see the topics as relevant to them once we began discussions. These latter reactions were useful in reminding me not to assume any simplistic cause-effect notions between successful films and the making of other similar films.

---

[4] Melissa Heath, Nicky Marsh and Mark Gilbert shared an office and were interviewed together. In interviews with more than one person the conversation was often dominated by some – David leading the comments on Nomad Safaris, Vic on Red Carpet Tours, and Mark and Melissa doing most of the talking in their group (though Nicky while only commenting occasionally was participating fully).

[5] During interviews with Henry Horne and Ruth Harley the tape recorder malfunctioned. Phone interviews with Miett Fear and Grant Major were not recorded. In all these cases extensive notes were made and the quotes in the text are from these notes.

A different cultural framework seemed to apply in relation to Whangara. Interviewees commented that there was a different framework at work for Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings (Rick Mansell pers comm. 17/10/05), and my field diary reflections also reveal this:

> "the thing I really noticed was that it's the Maori connection that matters. It's the specificity of Maori custom that has made Whale Rider and the reaction to it what it is. It all comes back to the different cultural framework" (field diary 17/10/05).

> "She [Kaarin Gaukrodger] talked about *them* and *their* culture. Very great awareness around here that the Maori community have their own way of doing things and that this must be respected, well that it is respected, because there is no other way" (field diary 18/10/05).

I contacted Hone Taumaunu first as he was the kaumatua (elder) of the community and I had been told[6] that others in the community would not speak to me unless I contacted him first. I was unable however, to convert that step into other contacts. Possibly a hui (Maori group meeting where everyone can air their views on an issue) would have been more appropriate – but not straight forward to arrange.

3.2.4 Focus groups

Part of the drive of the research was to explore popular resonances of film in whatever manner they were occurring, and focus groups were used to help illustrate and bring into discussion things I had not anticipated. "Groups often provide researchers with surprising insights" (Bedford and Burgess 2001, 124). Focus groups generated insights into the impacts of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider on those uninvolved with tourism or film related activities.

Defined as one-off group meetings that a researcher has initiated and moderates, the benefits of focus groups are that dialogue can develop, and meanings can be negotiated and contested (Valentine 2001, Bedford and Burgess 2001). Focus groups also provide access to multiple respondents in a short period of time. They provide a lot of detail and are good at getting attitudes towards places (Conradson 2005), a key idea I explore in relation to film.

The difficulties of focus groups are in managing them successfully and crucially, in forming the groups and ensuring attendance. Despite these challenges I believed focus

---

[6] By Maori researcher Brad Coombes (University of Auckland) who has worked extensively in the East Coast.

groups would enable investigation into the social and cultural resonances of film in a way not possible through semi-structured interviews or from participation. Equally key were the experiences and opinions of those who were directly (or not at all) affected by the film resonances. This broader stance illustrated the everydayness of film resonances and the relative unimportance of them, evident through focus group and conversational interviews. The composition of groups is important to the claims that can be made about what the focus groups say. Also, the fact that it is easy for some group members to dominate (Conradson 2005) means that focus groups can only ever provide a guide to popular thinking (Bedford and Burgess 2001).

I spent considerable time thinking about what I wanted to achieve with focus groups, what I wanted them to talk about, and how I would subtly elicit this. To prepare I read about ways of facilitating workshops (Chambers 2002), discussed focus groups with others who had run them, and recalled what I had found successful in focus groups I have been part of. I worked through several versions of questions before I began conducting any focus groups, finally settling on a general schedule that began with an easy topic (what films they like) and progressed into my particular areas of interest (see appendix 8.5).

I conducted nine successful focus groups with a range of genders, ages and ethnicities (though more Pakeha than Maori) (see Table 3.3). The focus groups were held in a range of locations, as resonances in different contexts was a key research question.

Six of the nine focus groups were with high school students in Years 12 and 13 (the final two years of high school). I selected this cohort for several reasons. They represented the youngest cohort who could have seen the two movies when they were released (Whale Rider 2002 and The Lord of the Rings in 2001-2003; both films were PG13 and the students would have had an average age of 13 at this time). I was interested in this younger age group because my other sources were mainly older adults. As school students they were in school during most of my research time, and focus groups provided a reasonable way to access their opinions. High school students knew the other participants before beginning and were comfortable with the group situation.

Location	Name referred to in text	Date	Age group	Number of participants and gender	Ethnicity as given by participants
Gisborne	Gisborne Girls High School focus group 1	20/10/05	Year 12 (16-17 year olds)	4 female	2 New Zealand European 2 European (European in the New Zealand context usually means New Zealand European)
Gisborne	Gisborne Girls High School focus group 2	20/10/05	Year 13 (16-17 year olds)	4 female	2 New Zealand European 2 New Zealand Maori
Matamata	Matamata College focus group 1	26/10/05	Year 13	6 female 4 male	10 New Zealand European
Matamata	Matamata College focus group 2	27/10/05	Year 12	4 female 2 male	1 white (USA student) 3 European 1 English 1 part Maori
Auckland	Auckland focus group 1	28/10/05	54-58	4 female 4 male	1 European (born in New Zealand) 1 European (born in England) 1 white European (born in UK) 1 Pakeha NZ 3 Pakeha 1 NZ European/Pakeha
Auckland	Auckland focus group 2	16/11/05	23-35	3 female 3 male	1 NZ 2 Pakeha 1 NZ European 1 European 1 NZ European/Maori
Queenstown	Wakatipu High School focus group	21/06/06	Year 12	6 female 4 male	1 Japanese/Kiwi 1 New Zealander 1 Kiwi 1 New Zealand European 1 Maori/European 5 European
Christchurch	Christchurch focus group	25/06/06	33-57 (one aged 17)	3 female 6 male	1 Indian 1 European/Pakeha 1 Kiwi 4 New Zealander 2 refused
Christchurch	Riccarton High School focus group	26/06/06	Year 13	8 female 7 male	1 New Zealand 1 New Zealander/Caucasian 9 New Zealand European 1 Maori 1 Asian-Chinese 1 Cambodian 1 German
Auckland (focus group pilot)	The University of Auckland discussion	13/10/05	18 years old	Male	Chinese (Kiwi/Asian)

The recruiting strategy for school focus groups was to use my New Zealand Geographical Society connections to obtain the names of member teachers in the study locations. Those approached were happy to assist, providing I spoke to their class and 'promoted' geography as an exciting option. At Gisborne Girls High School (the first high school approached), the teacher identified volunteers for me prior to my arrival and I met with the students at lunch time. While this was an effective method, it raised issues about consent that I was not entirely comfortable with. However, it did not lessen their assistance to the project or undermine their status as broadly representative.

In subsequent schools I arranged to present my research project in front of the class and then personally asked for volunteers to accompany me during class time. This too had advantages and limitations – the groups attracted lively pupils who were happy to talk but who may have only wished to miss class. Offering time off school increased participation and combated the attendance problem I had with the pilot[7]. The school groups were drawn from geography classes, but as students at New Zealand high schools take a spread of subjects at any level (all students took 5/6 subjects) using geography as an access point did not mean the students were not representative of their age group. The high school focus groups were homogenous across New Zealand so as to allow comparison between their comments on place and films.

In addition to the six school focus groups, three groups involved adults (23-58 years old). Because most were unaware of the details of the project I was able to invite discussion about New Zealand films using the common schedule of questions. The older group complemented the high school opinions and I used family networks to access participants (using key family members to snowball for recruits).

Focus groups were held in school classrooms or a group member's home. In all cases this was a comfortable and familiar scenario for the participants. In one school focus group a teacher remained present which inhibited discussion, and I ensured this did not repeat. The groups were arranged in a circle, provided with chocolate biscuits and I established the ground rules before beginning (anonymity, all participation encouraged etc). I facilitated on my own, but made comments in my field diary afterwards about the relationships between group members and what struck me as particularly important. I also made notes during the focus group occasionally but was reluctant to do this as I did not want to influence participants' views of what I thought was important by writing when they spoke.

Group dynamics in focus groups are always an issue (Burgess et al.1988a/b) as the ideal of a strong discussion where everyone participates equally is not always possible. Participants in the school focus groups spoke freely as they all knew each other, but inevitably some speakers began to dominate. In each focus group, however, everyone

---

[7] I trialed focus group questions and delivery at the University of Auckland. This pilot highlighted the difficulties of recruiting participants.

did speak and while in many cases one voice may have expressed an opinion, murmurs or laughter of agreement or disapproval quickly followed. The school focus groups tended to have shorter discussions with some periods of silence requiring me to intervene with a new question. The adult groups differed in this respect, chatting freely, often requiring me to manage a return to the topic. For one group I had to draw the discussion to an end at 1.5 hours.

In all groups I explained the purpose of my research, handed out participant information sheets with my contact and project details briefly described and asked the participants to sign consent forms and answer questions about age, ethnicity and so on. I taped all the discussions and transcribed them anonymously, designating speakers as female/male. In one instance the tape recorder failed, but I realised this part way through and started note taking. After each session I also recorded impressions of dynamics and what had been said that I considered important. These immediate reflections proved invaluable during write up. High school focus groups were interested in what being a Ph.D. geography student involved and asked questions about this. The adult focus groups asked about the information I had gathered during research. In all cases I answered questions about myself and the project, but deferred this until the end of the discussion.

3.2.5 Conversational interviews

Conversational interviews were a technique I developed in the field to better access a wide range of opinions in an informal way. Although I began targeting tourists, I shifted focus as I realised that residents were an important resource of information and opinions about film resonances that my current methods did not fully access. Conversational interviews involved short chats with people such as shop workers, business owners, and information centre workers. This broadened my encounters and the viewpoints I was gaining through other methods. Laurier and Philo's (2003) idea of the 'encounter' as productive, supports this type of approach.

Audience reaction is part of the resonances of film. Gross (1996) and Barker and Brooks (1998) both elucidate some of the difficulties of working with audiences. In this work, I consider audience broadly, focusing on New Zealanders (not overseas tourists) and residents (particularly of places where filming occurred), those who are no longer watching the film, but have once again become involved in everyday activities. But audience research can still offer insights. Barker and Brooks describe the difficulties in

getting people talking, while accepting the fact that sometimes people 'just see a movie'. But their most important warning is of the necessity of really listening, resisting the temptation to pre-formulate answers and accepting that people are experts about themselves. With this in mind, I developed the conversational interview approach. Together, focus groups and conversational interviews were invaluable for putting findings from other approaches into perspective and yielding unique insights in their own right as to the impact of popular films on everyday life of the relatively uninvolved.

Speaking to residents through conversational interviews gave me a wider range of insights into the communities' responses to filming and tourist interest than I was gaining with semi-structured interviews and focus groups. I deemed the best method to do this was talking to shop owners/workers on the main streets as well as information centre workers. My field strategy was to visit local businesses that had a plausible link to The Lord of the Rings or Whale Rider in some way. This included booksellers whose sales of Tolkien, Ihimaera and related books were of special interest, souvenir/gift stores where levels and composition of tourist visitation might be noted, jewellers because The Lord of the Rings had spawned a new generation of character jewellery, accommodation providers to assess changes in visitor numbers, and food premises that had been identified by other respondents as noticeably dependent on The Lord of the Rings or Whale Rider phenomenon.

I also approached counter workers at tourism operations and staff of information centres, as such facilities are an integral and much used feature of the tourism landscape. They were assumed to be knowledgeable about changes in interest in the films and film locations, and about the availability of brochures and other advertising and literature relating to the films and locations used in filming. The conversational interview strategy was particularly productive, both supporting and contradicting what key interviewees said. Conversational interviews were initiated on the spot and most lasted 5-15 minutes, with a few taking 30-45 minutes (see appendix 8.2 for questions).

3.2.6 Field diary

Keeping a field diary complemented and intersected with all other research methods. I used it as a tool to manage being in the field. Through writing, I took stock, made decisions and coped with stress. After each encounter or interaction, I wrote my personal reflections and impressions on how it went, what I thought was important at

that time, and how I felt it intersected with other work and research. The field diary has a presence in the thesis, though mostly a hidden one. It informed analysis of transcripts and particularly the tour description and analysis in chapter 4.

Entries included the date, what I'd been doing, and how I felt about the interview/focus group/conversational interview I had just done. I usually included how I thought the encounter had gone (useful, worthwhile, how helpful, whether I thought they were being upfront and honest or more cagey). I also wrote a summary of what I thought the main points had been (this was helpful later as my opinion at the time was different from when reviewing transcripts). In addition, I often wrote end of day entries. A typical entry after a focus group was:

> "I just completed a focus group with high school students from Wakatipu High School. This went quite well I think. The students were happy enough to talk although a large amount of conversation wasn't terribly relevant, I got a couple of important pieces of information. I got an insight into how they viewed The Lord of the Rings -- nothing special. I also got an insight into the impact they thought it had on Queenstown -- had increased tourism, had made New Zealand more widely known to the world at large and had brought some bigger chain shops into the area. They talked a bit about landscapes. They also talked about how Whale Rider wasn't typical because it didn't have mountains and things in it. This was surprising to me, because for me, The Lord of the Rings isn't typical because it has mountains etc. in it -- I guess it is all about where you grow up. They pretty much confirmed everything I had thought from other interviews and research I have done" (field diary 21/06/06).

Typical extracts from entries after interviews were:

> "I came away from it basically feeling I had got another layer of the same kind of thing that had been told to me before" (field diary 21/06/06).

> "She had a different take from everyone else [goes on to describe]" (field diary 21/06/06).

I used the field diary for making decisions and taking stock:

> "still don't know what tourists think ... what does this mean for my research? I would have had to do my research from a different perspective ... there is much to be said here about do consumers take things up the ways the operators think? Still, operators are a good way to get a sense of the market because they *rely* on being in touch and changing it to fit what people want" (field diary 22/06/06).

> "I'm glad I went to see her [worker in Queenstown I-site] because she gave me an insight that people might be bypassing The Lord of the Rings tours altogether which I hadn't considered" (field diary 19/06/06).

It was also the place where I reflected on the research and had ideas:

> "maybe the films only help us if we know nothing. Otherwise it's our knowledge (our cultural context, subset of that intimate knowledge) that is drawn upon ... it's not the investment as such but the way New Zealand (and its component parts) is being conceived and imagined" (field diary after film industry interviews 31/10/05).

"I had an idea the other day to explore the difference that film tourism makes on a place compared with what was there beforehand [goes on to describe idea]" (field diary 28/06/06).

3.2.7 Textual analysis of newspapers and Internet Movie Database (IMDB)

The final approach in this methodological toolkit is the textual analysis of both newspaper articles and IMDB content. Newspapers help to shape public opinion about issues, and while they are underused in geography as a primary source of information, they are a very valuable source of data (May 2003). They are an archive source for cultural and political views of the time and day to day events (Hannam 2002). Newspapers have large coverage, but it is important to be aware of their biases, limited sources, coverage of only 'newsworthy' items and tendency to converge on an issue. May (2003) calls for further work on the consumption of newspaper articles, and I use focus groups in chapter 6 to provide an illustrative example of how this may be done. Ogborn (2003) cautions that the discourse that prevails is often a matter of power not truth. Indeed, a Pakeha view predominates in newspaper reporting, and I use IMDB message boards to begin to critique this by offering some other viewpoints.

Newspaper articles on Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings provide an overview at a 'national' level. 'National' because there is no national newspaper in New Zealand but the narrative is often in national terms. Despite the biases of newspaper reporting, they are a large source of written public discourse on Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings filming and subsequent success. As such newspapers are important to an in-depth exploration of film resonances.

I gathered newspaper articles from three key sources. Firstly and mainly, Newztext (a New Zealand online fulltext data base of newspapers and magazines) was searched to provide the bulk of newspaper articles analysed. Secondly, local reporters in Gisborne and Matamata gave me all the articles they had written on Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings[8]. Thirdly, I collected appropriate articles from a general reading of New Zealand newspapers. (See Table 3.4 for newspapers used).

---

[8] When on-site in Gisborne and Matamata I contacted the local newspapers (The Gisborne Herald and Matamata Chronicle). Neither are in Newztext and they offered a valuable source of local opinion directly related to films, including letters to the editor.

Table 3.4: Circulation and distribution details for newspapers and magazines used in analysis

Publisher	Title	Circulation / Readership	Distribution
APN News & Media	The New Zealand Herald	200,000/300,000	Primarily Auckland, Upper North Island and Wellington
Fairfax Media	Waikato Times	41,000/97,000	Hamilton and Waikato region
	Sunday Star Times	191,000/603,000 (Weekly)	Nationwide
	Sunday News	96,000/416,000 (Weekly)	Nationwide, tabloid
	The Dominion Post	98,000/255,000	Wellington and lower North Island
	The Press	89,000/223,000	Christchurch/Canterbury and South Island
	The Timaru Herald	14,000/31,000	Timaru, South Canterbury
	Manawatu Standard	20,500/47,000	Palmerston North and Manawatu
	Taranaki Daily News	27,000/Unspecified	Taranaki and King Country
	The Southland Times	29,000/60,000	Southland and Central Otago
	Nelson Mail	18,000/39,000	Nelson, Marlborough and Tasman
	Matamata Chronicle	6,200/Unspecified	Matamata and region
	The Independant Financial Review	4,000/34,000 (Weekly)	Business & Finance professionals
	Stuff	Visitor statistics are not available	Web based aggregation of Fairfax newspaper content and online-only content
NZ Government broadcaster	Radio New Zealand (newswire)	National Radio: 470,000 (weekly), 46,000 (typical quarter-hourly) Concert FM: 125,000 (weekly), 6,000 (typical quarter-hourly)	Nationwide, various programmes (National Radio, Concert FM channels)
3media Group Ltd	OnFilm	2,200/Unspecified	Film & Television professionals
Fourth Estate Holdings Ltd	The National Business Review	Unspecified/96,000	Primarily business and finance professionals
The Gisborne Herald Co Ltd	The Gisborne Herald	10,000/Unspecified	Gisborne and region

The newspapers contained in Newztext offer a representative selection of New Zealand's major and some minor papers including business and magazine format (22 newspapers, 1 radio newswire and 39 magazines). Most newspapers in New Zealand do not have the obvious political leanings that UK newspapers have.

The Newztext database is searchable by keyword or phrase, and to collect the articles for analysis I queried 'The Lord of the Rings' and 'Whale Rider'. There were 8715 articles that matched the first query and 889 that matched Whale Rider. Newztext automatically limited itself to presenting the first 200 articles (sorted by score/relevance). I sorted by relevance (the number of times the phrase appears in the text) rather than date because I wanted a snapshot across time and the articles that most

heavily focused on the films. 200 articles seemed sufficient to draw illustrative conclusions from. I gave equal coverage to Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings, even though The Lord of the Rings consists of three films. Both collections contained repetition and some irrelevance.

The database search was done in March 2005 and so provided a snapshot until that date. This was 2.5 years after Whale Rider's release and just over one year since the final The Lord of the Rings film so was a reasonable time period after release to show resonances, but not too distant to begin collecting many irrelevant articles.

The Internet Movie Database forums provide an 'international' flavour as wide-ranging, undirected and unsolicited discussion takes place around all aspects of films. It is 'international' because internet posters are from around the globe, including New Zealand. The IMDB is an internet site specialising in film information, trivia and reviews. Membership is free and they claim it is "visited by over 50 million movie and TV lovers every month" (www.IMDB.com). Two areas where members may post comments and start a discussion are user comments and message boards. I used information from message boards to supplement other approaches.

Tzanelli (2004) and Dodds (2006) have both used the IMDB and give evidence for it being the most popular of such portals and therefore worth exploring for audience and fan reactions. Dodds equates fans with message board users (though distinguishing between types of fan) and cautions that while we cannot tell who is typing, there are certain types of people who more commonly contribute to this kind of site. The usual characteristics of heavy internet users according to research (younger men, highly educated, affluent) are characteristics shared by online fans. Tzanelli also uses the IMDB as a way to access fan opinion. I situate my research in the broader context of New Zealand response, and do not focus on fans as a key component.

Dodds outlines the advantage of the IMDB as that it provides opportunities to observe the performance nature of online interaction and is a less intrusive way to research. However, participants may not be who/what they say. Tzanelli uses the IMDB to identify recurring themes and use them as a framework for writing. This is the approach I have taken, using the IMDB to highlight and illuminate rather than as a representative source.

I accessed the website (www.IMDB.com) in January 2006 and reviewed user comments, newsgroup reviews and message boards. User comments are personal reviews of the movie in a relatively formal 'film review' style. I reviewed the 'IMDB user comments for Whale Rider (2002)' through a variety of filters provided. There were 310 user comments and I read the first 10 for each filter: find a friend (reviews with the same vote as yours or the average vote); love/hate (alternating); male/female; chronological; best (comments people voted most useful); worst (comments voted unhelpful); loved it (comments by those who voted the film above 7.9/10, the average score the film received); hated it (below 7.9/10). I wrote at the time in my field diary, "user reviews which I thought would be of more use are more formal and less interesting in terms of what they spark off. Similar information and themes there as to the newspapers". They still provided a sense of the ways the film is being responded to, but are less varied than discussions in message boards. Newsgroup reviews also provided fairly similar reviews that raved about the film but discussion is not possible in this format. I decided to use message boards as the main focus as vigorous discussion was occurring there (sometimes including flaming).

Through reading the online postings I gained an insight into the type of discussions being held about films. They ranged from being highly character- or plot-driven, to being about trivia or issues raised by the films. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider generated very specific kinds of conversations: for Whale Rider these were about cultural issues, both the specificity and applicability of relationship issues across ethnic and cultural groups; for The Lord of the Rings these were about characters, and appropriateness of the films' representation of Middle-earth, the book, as well as fan fiction.

I sampled the user comments and message boards for both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. I selected two of the top five threads (over 40 replies) for Whale Rider for further analysis. The top five threads were: do all new zealanders speak perfect english? (169 responses); why is she BAREFOOT throughout the film? (46); Hawaiiki (43); OVER RATED! (41); so boring! (41). The first thread is an obvious choice, and I chose 'OVER RATED!' as it sparked very interesting discussions over a range of topics both unanticipated and worth including. Both these threads were popular and potentially relevant to the thesis. They were also still active in January 2006 showing

that the movie is still being watched and discussed.

After reviewing content, I decided to analyse only the Whale Rider message boards as they provided an important widening viewpoint, whereas The Lord of the Rings discussion did not need extra coverage. The IMDB discussions analysed are not representative, as only a small sample of the whole were read, but they show a little of the resonances occurring elsewhere in response to film. They provided insight not tied to any geographical location (while people often declared their nationality, the discussion was between people from mixed locations, unlike the focus group or other discussions I had). Although only those with high investment in films will write, this is an opportunity to access unsolicited comments and group interactions about films and they show support for the themes at a broad level.

I did not ask permission to use message board comments for three reasons. Firstly I did not engage in the message board, solicit conversation or start a thread on topics that may not have been raised on their own. Secondly, it is commonly accepted that on such a site comments are available for view and comment. All the material was already in the public domain. Dodds (2006) believes permission is necessary, but he had begun topics and engaged in conversations. Thirdly, by their nature posts are anonymous, as pseudonyms are used.

3.3 Analysis and interpretation

Having collected information from the sources described, I had to 'make sense' of it. It is worth repeating, as others have done before, that this is not a linear process, nor does it begin one day sitting at a desk after I have 'left the field'. I analysed, judged, synthesised and interpreted what I found and make decisions about what was important and where to go next *as I was researching*. I would not describe analysis as the move from material to writing, because for me at least, writing formed a crucial part of the interpretation itself (as Pryke 2003 also suggests). 'How do I know what I think till I see what I say?' aptly summarises the struggle to produce coherent narratives from 'data' that is usually overlapping and full of contradictions (and is the more interesting for it). Bennett and Shurmer-Smith (2001) discuss the difficulties of writing towards a polished text.

> "All these different, sometimes conflicting, occasionally contradictory stories
> wanting to be told and yet we're confined to writing a sensible, smooth text. A text
> made up of short, simple sentences, which the reader can speedily grasp and

understand and use to tell another story. Their story. We're allowed no contradictions, no messiness, no life -- just dead easy text" (2001, 252).

As they point out, writing is part of analysis and interpretation, though it is often a struggle.

Analysis and interpretation are iterative - they require repeated thinking, reading, coding and sorting. Flowerdew and Martin (2005) describe analysis as moving from a focus on detailed to abstract theoretical issues. In this section I outline as best I can the complicated, messy process of moving from raw 'data' to chapter-length themes.

Beginning with the outputs from the methods, I outline the process of coding and thematising. Most field outputs ended up being textual resources when I analysed them formally, although they were not originally. The interviews and focus groups had been transcribed[9], as were verbal field notes. The field diary was already a written source as were the newspaper articles and IMDB message boards. The field diary contained impressions of all interviews and focus groups, observations about the places visited and records of conversational interviews and tours participated on. Although I analysed the tours slightly differently, there was therefore one general process of coding and interpretation that I used once I had the text selected and sorted. I adapted this process for the specificities of newspapers, IMDB and transcripts, but applied similar coding techniques to all.

3.3.1 Interviews and focus groups

The first step I took in analysing interviews, focus groups and conversational interviews was to assess the kinds of knowledge I had gained. I had interviewed a range of people who could tell me about their areas, so considering the transcripts by group/topic as well as place was logical. As the chapters reveal I use the material in both combinations to productively inform analysis and writing.

The literature on coding suggests thematic analysis line by line (Jackson 2001, Conradson 2005), being rigorous and thorough (Kitchin and Tate 2000, Crang 2005)

---

[9] I did not transcribe interviews, focus groups and verbal field notes myself but employed two people to do this. Although Limb and Dwyer (2001) outline the benefits of transcription as giving close familiarity with the material, severe RSI prevented this from being wise. I familiarised myself with the material after receiving transcripts through close reading, using field diary notes made at the time, and where necessary listening to the tapes for clarification.

and moving from coding to interpretation. I analysed the transcript material in a variety of steps. Firstly, I read through all the interviews and focus groups to get a general sense and coded material into themes derived from content (low-level descriptive codes). Secondly, I undertook a thorough coding of all focus groups and all interviews that were deemed particularly relevant. For focus groups I listed these main themes at the top of each transcript. I analysed interviews slightly differently, instead listing all descriptive themes in one place and noting which transcript and where was under this theme. Some of the descriptive codes used were as follows: (focus groups) saw The Lord of the Rings because New Zealander, concerned that tourists will be let down, knowledge of recent movies, discussion on tourism and The Lord of the Rings promotion, small community knows extras, opinion on local tours, opinion on what want to see in New Zealand films; and (interviews) Hobbiton adds profile to Matamata, The Lord of the Rings tourism doesn't affect Queenstown, legalities, local response to tours, why tour operators include The Lord of the Rings in tours, The Sound of Music connections, copyright issues etc.

I analysed these codes for themes and then reduced them to fewer categories (such as a sense of community, opinions on longevity, impact on the town, response of tour operators, pride in New Zealand, reactions to The Lord of the Rings promotion). My themes were partly interpretive (May 2003) as I not only coded by content but by my interpretation of the material according to my interests and theory (also known as open coding, Crang 2005). Some codes were later recognized to be more complex (such as longevity and pride in New Zealand) and were teased out accordingly in analysis and write up. The focus groups were analysed specifically for reaction to film tours, reaction to film tourism in their town, for overlapping themes with other focus groups as these emerged, and with overlapping themes from other sources (such as newspapers and interviews). The interviews and focus groups were not coded and analysed in isolation, but as part of the shifting between this material, newspaper and IMDB analysis, and consideration of the research questions and literature.

I returned to the transcripts again later and re-evaluated in light of the new understandings I had from the wider analysis process. New things appeared more important and others had been demoted in priority. I also returned to select quotes that supported or revealed points from the established themes. I used my field diary to prioritise what I had thought important when in the field, which allowed me to re-

evaluate these passages in a later context. I used the same coding method as outlined above for my conversational interview notes and field diary records.

An important next step was comparing transcripts with each other and making connections between the themes (Jackson 2001). This involved recognizing patterns within places, between places and in relation to literature. The more general themes were achieved partly from grouping descriptive codes and partly informed by appropriate theoretical constructions. There was considerable 'back and forth' between the material, literature and reflection. Analysis and interpretation was an incremental development. Analysing data led to new conclusions as it was juxtaposed in different ways through analysis than it had been previously or in my time in the field, "the work of analysis -- and it is work -- is bringing things together in new ways" (Crang 2003, 143).

Discussions of reflexive writing talk about the necessity to reflect one's own experiences without being unnecessarily personal (Ley and Mountz 2001, Butler 2001). However, the final writing is the point at which we must "shoulder the responsibility and tell it the way we see it" (Bennett and Shurmer-Smith 2001, 261). I have attempted to distinguish between my opinions and the voices of those I worked with by using direct quotes in the text.

I use quotes throughout the chapters to support the themes and to highlight the important component in complexities of these themes. Each quote was selected as a concise example of the themes more widely articulated (some people provide more quotable quotes than others), or used to demonstrate the diversity and depth of coverage of particular issues. In the text itself I use ... to indicate that material is excluded, and underline portions of the quote to indicate what I deem important about it. In all cases (unless otherwise indicated) this emphasis is mine and not in the original quote. I unpack all quotes either in the text preceding or following them. I treat newspaper and IMDB quotes in the same ways.

3.3.2 Tours

The film tours were a very important part of my methodology. They were obvious evidence of film resonances and through them I was able to explore direct film-landscape interactions. All other methods only provided indirect information on these

making landscape processes. Chapter 4 discusses making film-landscapes in detail based on the experience of participating in film tours. This chapter uses my field notes as a basis for tour description and is supplemented by photos taken at the time. Conversations held with other tour participants and tour guides also inform the chapter. Analysis of tours does not fit easily into any category. I used coded interviews, focus groups and newspaper reports as background information, but predominantly wrote up my experiences and versions of landscape as I experienced it. This approach was directly informed by Law (2004) and analysis predominantly undertaken in the writing of a presentation for the 2006 IGU Brisbane conference. This required me to evaluate and juxtapose the tours with each other, which highlighted the repetition of particular features in different tours and also absences.

My analysis of film tours does not however include considering landscape, film or photos as text. I do not employ any visual methodologies to reveal power relations or other encodings. Instead, I explore how people were interacting with film-landscape on tours. I am interested in how people are negotiating landscape and implicit suggestions between film and landscape, in the now.

3.3.3 Newspapers and IMDB

I use the same coding techniques for newspapers and IMDB message boards as transcripts, that is descriptive coding, interpretive coding and re-reading, all in combination with theoretical frameworks. More broadly, my analysis of newspapers was based on discourse analysis. Aitken and Craine (2005, 264) define discourse as "groups of statements and practices that structure the way we think about things", based on Foucault's work. I use this approach generally, and particularly for chapter 6 which explores the relationship between discourses about the films and discourses about New Zealand national identities. I do not try and 'uncover' or find metanarratives, but use newspapers as a prime method to inform this.

I did not do content analysis of the newspaper articles (counting frequency of themes and analysing those frequencies) because there was much repetition of the same story and I did not feel this would give me a true sense of the variety of response. Many articles are repetitive (showing clearly their origins in the same press release) and superficial. As the database compiled regional papers, and each covered the same topics, there was a high proportion of relatively banal reporting on award numbers and

press releases (for example 10 to 20 different lists of the Oscar nominations and chances of both films).

May (2003) suggests treating newspaper articles as interview transcripts. I followed this pattern, but analysed a large number of articles in depth, rather than a select few. I believe this was a more thorough approach as it enabled me to re-read many articles at a later stage and re-prioritise as necessary. Only doing one selection of which articles are important (as he suggests) potentially limits interpretation. I coded newspaper articles both descriptively and interpretively and was thus able to explore the ways in which the themes intersected with national identity narratives. Reading and coding the articles for themes draws out the essence of coverage and acknowledges the weight given to set topics, without reporting them in detail. This allowed me to focus on the themes that emerged that are of interest to the research, and to let others be noted but not pursued.

I coded newspapers similarly to transcripts, but first had to select which articles to focus on. Initially I undertook a thorough coding of a 20% sample of the articles for each film. The sample revealed several themes to be dominant. The first pass revealed descriptive codes such as: (Whale Rider) awards, links to successful New Zealand films, funding information specific to movie, details on selling/release less distribution, collaboration with iwi, cultural specificity leads to universal themes, international success, emotional response to film, film as proof of something, pride/ownership etc; (The Lord of the Rings) tourism, place names mentioned, wonderful technology being used, landscape/scenery, awards, New Zealand on the map, New Zealand lucky, pride/ownership, Peter Jackson is great, The Lord of the Rings as merchandising vehicle etc. I analysed these descriptive codes for overlap between The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider articles and also between other methods. I then reduced the number of codes by collapsing into fewer categories: patriotic boosterism/rhetoric of success, state of the film industry, pride/ownership/emotional response, cultural framework, quality of the film, tourism, advertisement, economic success etc.

After gaining a sense of the content through the sample, I returned to the newspapers and read more articles. For Whale Rider, I read *all* the newspaper articles available (there were less than for The Lord of the Rings - many articles were actually about a basketball team with the name Whale Riders). I coded all articles read into the new interpretive codes. For The Lord of the Rings, I sorted through and scanned all articles,

reading ones which appeared particularly relevant. I also used the search function in Word (articles digitised) to select particular phrases to support and flesh out themes. In this way I used the search function as Crang suggests, as "ways of checking a much more organic process" (2001, 226), using reading, re-reading, familiarising and coding as the main methods. This analysis exposed themes important for appreciating the emergence of the films as a phenomenon.

I also read all articles from The Gisborne Herald (52) and The Matamata Chronicle (15) as these were important to access yet another viewpoint on the nuances of film resonance in-place. I paid attention to where in the newspapers articles were occurring, and most covered the films under the section 'news'[10]. Most articles also seemed based on press releases (judging from the amount of repetition) and columnists provided the major source for critique.

In section 3.2 I outlined my reasons for focusing on IMDB message boards, from the wealth of information available. Once I had chosen the message boards to analyse, based on reading the available options, I analysed the online entries using the same coding techniques as for the other textual resources. Once again I moved from descriptive codes to interpretive codes and drew out themes for further discussion in chapters as appropriate.

3.3.4 Moving to chapter themes

I did not use any output from methods in isolation, although each source of information has different themes associated with it. Each chapter is informed by a combination of approaches and literatures. Chapter 4 predominantly uses information from tours, photos, literature on landscape, and tourism operator interviews as background information. It is informed by Law's (2004) work on multiplicity. Chapter 5 was predominantly constructed using interviews and conversational interviews, along with focus groups and local newspaper reports to provide a complex picture of The Lord of the Rings resonances in particular places. This analysis was combined with readings on tourism and Massey on space and place (1984, 1991, 2005). Chapter 6 makes sustained use of newspaper analysis, supplemented by IMDB message boards and focus group

---

[10] The reference list includes information on the articles position in the newspaper if this is of interest to the reader.

information to critique the dominant public rhetoric. Material in this chapter was analysed in the context of banal nationalism (Billig 1995) and national identities. The methods used to gather information were designed to be used in conjunction with one another in analysis. Together they ensured a full and rich exploration of film resonances and film-landscape work.

I was always interested in exploring the interactions between film and landscape. This interest, combined with the fact that film tours were the most obvious resonances of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, means that a chapter exploring the themes of film-landscape relations through the work happening on tours was conceived early on. As soon as I started going on tours, I began thinking in terms of the literature (even while on them), so this was an appropriate theme to highlight. The other two main themes emerged from the research material when I had space to reflect in conjunction with literature. Chapter 5's focus on placing The Lord of the Rings had a number of lives, originally conceived around ideas of circulation and movement. It became about place when I realised I was able to articulate the work of the film (and its circulation and the movement that it provokes) better by grounding it in context. Chapter 6's discussion also evolved as the material was analysed. My original idea was to frame the film resonances in terms of the political contemporary moment and ideas of a knowledge economy. But the links with national identities and conceptualisations of New Zealandness in popular rhetoric quickly became my preferred way of exploring the film resonances because of its dominance in newspapers and another materials.

3.4 Positionality

It is now an accepted tenet that research is affected by the positionality of the researcher and that all knowledges are situated and partial (Rose 1997). My positionality affected choice of topic, research design, the detail of undertaking enquiry and analysis. While many aspects of our positionality are sub-conscious, the aspects of my positionality that I believe were relevant to this research process are predominantly, that I am a New Zealander, I am Pakeha, that I lived in the UK while undertaking this PhD and I am a geographer.

To tackle first the subject of nationality. I consider myself a New Zealander and therefore felt both attached to my research subject and heavily involved in the outcome. My attachment to and understanding of the New Zealand context has been central to my

work and of the choice of research subject. It has been a catalyst for my interest in New Zealand film and landscape and in my analysis (particularly in chapter 6).

I have a long term interest in film and I focused my two year masters on New Zealand film and directors' intentions in using landscape in their films. My interest in these topics was thus well established before embarking on the PhD. This helped with establishing my credibility in the film industry in Wellington, although the research evolved to be less about the films themselves. My two years as a Community Planner in Auckland City was also part of the multiple facets I have as a researcher. In particular, I see in retrospect that my time in the council heavily influenced stage one of fieldwork as I believed local government would play an important role in allowing and encouraging filming and film activities. However, despite my expectations gained from working in local government, councils played a negligible role and I omitted that part of my investigations in stage two.

What role did my positionality as a New Zealander returning from the UK have on interviews? Generally, I found that interviewees were initially confused as to my origins, but then received me unproblematically as a New Zealander, and my study in the UK was a matter only of mild interest to them. The exceptions to these were the UK immigrants I spoke to (five interviewees) who were pleased to have a point of commonality with me and the UK. As a New Zealander I understood the context I was interviewing in and was able to make contact and make a pitch in a way that secured an interview[11]. Additionally, people spoke to me as an 'insider' and as 'us' (Mohammad 2001, 106), assuming a shared understanding of New Zealand.

In Whangara and Gisborne my positionality was different. Here, it was my Pakeha-ness that mattered. As a Pakeha outsider I did not get a warm welcome in Whangara, I found this the most challenging aspect of researching Whangara. While I had attended a tikanga Maori primary school, in Whangara and Gisborne I was aware that I was from a different cultural framework, whereas in research at all other localities I did not feel this. I felt intimidated by the continual talk in Gisborne of visitors to Whangara being

---

[11] I was only refused one interview when I was able to make contact (with a newspaper reporter at The Gisborne Herald), and she still provided me with information – all the newspaper clips she had written on Whale Rider.

unwelcome. I was very unsure of how a researcher working on a phenomenon they wished would go away would be treated (there is an unfavourable response to Whale Rider tourists in Whangara). My field diary indicates my anxieties at the time.

> "I just read/skimmed through the articles given to me by Kristine Walsh [including letters to the editor] -- they are going to be so helpful. Lots in there to help with the other things I've been hearing -- gosh I'm glad that Hone is going to take me around [Whangara] -- not an open beach where you can just go down the road to the beach and go look -- nope. Lots of cultural antagonisms being stirred up here" (field diary 19/10/05).

Ley and Mountz (2001) discuss the right of a researcher to intrude when there is little benefit to the community and Tuhiwai Smith (1999) talks about the necessity of understanding questions specific to Maori, which is not an understanding I had. Accordingly, I did not pursue research into the Whangara community, and I still feel this was the correct decision.

I became particularly aware of my New Zealand identity in the writing of this thesis. It mattered to the writing that I was from New Zealand but living away, and I believe it provided a unique perspective. I saw New Zealand through the research as both part of it, and at a distance. This space meant that some things about New Zealand society as a whole were more obviously a factor of New Zealand culture to me than if I had still been living there. However, as part of that culture I also sometimes had difficulty seeing things without the detail or in knowing what needed explaining. As an example, conversations with supervisors made me aware that I had internalised certain things (such as the tall poppy syndrome) and sometimes assumed that particular New Zealand histories were widely known. In talking about these and other issues, it became clear that I needed to explain for a wider audience. Mohammad writes about her work within the Pakistani community in a way I identified with,

> "I also found that I took some knowledge for granted so was not aware of highlighting certain issues that cropped up in the research until others in the academy pointed out specific instances when this happened" (2001, 108).

Yet, I argue that the combination of detailed knowledge of New Zealand history and social and cultural context, combined with a little distance, has produced an informed and coherent piece of work.

My positionality was clearest to me during writing. I found it difficult to write some of the empirical chapters, as my New Zealandness both helped and hindered analysis. I am very much present in these chapters as a Pakeha New Zealander and I attempt to write

openly within this. Chapter 6, which deals with notions of New Zealandness, particularly confronted and challenged my ideas of what it meant to be a New Zealander, as I wrote about how the films had been appropriated in the 'New Zealand identity' cause.

I have outlined that my positionality as a New Zealander not in New Zealand, and as Pakeha have been important. I am also female and a geographer. I did not feel that being female impacted on my ability to gain interviews, focus groups or other research either positively or negatively. Of course my positionality as female is different to male, but it was not highlighted during research as my New Zealandness and Pakeha-ness was.

My stated position as 'a geographer' at all points in my research did have some impacts. I actively used my positionality as a geographer to gain access to high school students for focus groups and to legitimise all claims for research when requesting interviews. Other minor impacts involved expectations from interviewees as to what I would be interested in (their notions of geography not coinciding exactly with mine). For example,

> "Vic: we add another dimension which is not strictly geography, that it's actually the people they meet ...
> Raewyn: But if you're going from a geographical point of view ...
> Vic: but in terms of just the scenery, geographically, the first thing that strikes people is the scene at Hobbiton" (Vic and Raewyn James, Red Carpet Tour owner operators pers comm. 16/11/05).

One interviewee also questioned whether I should be doing this topic in geography.

> "I mean I would call it not so much geography as something more like, you know social philosophy" (Susan Ord pers comm. 01/11/05).

Vic and Raewyn James highlighted in their interview what they thought I would be interested in 'as a geographer', and Susan Ord did not understand how what I was doing could be called geography. These types of assumptions from interviewees meant I sometimes had to spend time clarifying my interests and research during interviews.

Finally, there was an assumption that as I was researching the resonances of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider that I would be a fan of the films (and in The Lord of the Rings case of the books as well). However, while I am a fan of The Lord of the Rings books I have only restrained enthusiasm for the films. I enjoyed Whale Rider, but again only moderately, and have never read the book on which it is based. I chose to research

these films as they had large impacts on New Zealand and seemed to me to be 'escaping their boundaries' in interesting and multiple ways. Overall, this did not have a negative impact, and I shared an interest in the power of films to move people with tourism operators that established a good rapport.

3.5 Conclusion

To address my research questions I adopted a bundle of methodological strategies. I initially focused on accessing the resonances of film I could see (through film tours and tourism operators) and then used other methods to highlight the more diverse film resonances occurring. As in all research, my understanding evolved and I adapted methodologies to suit, dropping council interviews and introducing conversational interviews as appropriate. In the end, not everything I originally thought critical was crucial, and supplementary material proved invaluable.

Together, interviews, focus groups, conversational interviews, participant observation on tours, and analysis of newspaper articles and IMDB message boards, provided valuable information and insights into the work that film-landscape does and the cultural and social resonances of film. While each method has strengths and limits, I used them in combination in analysis so that they complemented each other and produced new insights in juxtaposition.

The following chapter is the first of three explorations into the research questions using The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. Chapter 4 begins this analysis with an in-depth discussion of the film-landscape interactions occurring on film tours, outlining and exploring multiple versions of 'making film-landscapes'.

4 Making film-landscapes

This chapter explores the making of landscapes. In chapter 2 I outlined the diversity of landscape literature, moving towards the conclusion that considering landscape as a way of seeing and as performed can be combined. In this chapter I employ these ideas to explore the making of landscapes through film tours. Examining the practices and speech that occurs as part of the tours acknowledges the range of voices involved in landscape-related conversations. I build on existing landscape theory by exploring how filming locations have new imaginaries attached to them because of the films, and how the tours provide a way of performing these new imaginaries. This performance is contingent, complex and contested. It involves a reworking of previous landscapes and imaginaries into new versions.

I argue that The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider tours enact landscape in new ways through a constant process of re-presentation and juxtaposition. I found Law (2004) a useful tool to work through ideas of landscape as a way of seeing *and* landscape as performed. Law offers two important definitions:

> "Enactment: the claim that relations, and so realities and representations of realities ... are being endlessly ... brought into being in a continuing process of production and reproduction, and have <u>no status, standing or reality outside of those processes</u>"

> "Performativity: ... the claim that enactments produce realities".
> (Law 2004, 159, 162).

His ideas of multiplicity, simultaneity and coexisting narratives provided a strong framework through which to explore film-landscape work. "Attend[ing] to enactment ... allows or requires us to add in multiplicity" (Law 2004, 140). The insistence that many versions are not only possible, but absolutely probable greatly facilitated analysis of the tours. It meant I did not have to reconcile conflicting or tangential narratives but could allow them to coexist. The result is a nuanced exploration of the film sites and film tours that lets multiple versions of landscape cohabit.

Tourists and tourism are not the only things that happen in response to films (as

chapters 5 and 6 amply demonstrate), however they are an obvious and important component of the response to films. In a very direct way, tourists are a popular reaction to film. The film tours analysed in this chapter are a reaction to tourist demand to see landscapes used in film. I analyse how landscape is made through performance and investigate the continual making of landscapes through guided tours, the continual presence of the films, and new meanings being associated with film sites and landscapes. The resonances of film are multiple diverse and diffuse, however focusing on sites where filming occurred, gives a way of exploring the resonances through some concrete examples. I explore Hobbiton, Whangara and The Lord of the Rings tours in this text.

I work with the understanding that landscape is not fixed but continually being made and remade. There are many agents/actors involved in the landscape process, I consider important actors to be the filmmakers, the residents/locals, tourists, tourist operators, and the films themselves. A "hinterland of realities" exists (not all human, also the farm, the film, the photoboards etc), which all operate in their own ways towards producing landscapes (Law 2004, 143). Together, new versions of landscapes are fashioned as the ways the landscape is perceived and the creation and accumulation of associated meanings continues to shift.

The chapter also uses a 'more-than-film' approach. It explores the resonances around film. I consider film as a representation (one that re-presents as well as represents) and examine the performance of that re-presentation on the tours. Film tours offer a unique insight into film-landscape interactions because they juxtapose these elements deliberately. Through them we can see the film-landscape process at work.

To draw out extra nuances of the work film-landscape does, the chapter first discusses production work prior to the release of the film, as physical and imaginative alterations occurred as part of making film-landscapes (section 4.1). The next section (4.2) examines making landscape through tours held at filming locations after Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings had been released and consumed. This section deals with multiplicity, ideas of emergence, and landscape as always-in-the-making, and particularly considers Hobbiton and Whangara (4.2.1-4.2.2). It also examines The Lord of the Rings tours in general (in section 4.2.3), using photo boards as the central device to explore the relationship of the tours with the landscape.

4.1 Production and media work prior to the release of the film

The purpose of this section is to discuss the work that goes into making the landscape presented in film, and to outline that even prior to a film's release this altering of landscape affects imaginaries and contributes to film-landscape interactions. Prior to release, film can still affect conceptualisations of landscape. The creation of an onscreen landscape requires considerable effort by filmmakers. It involves a range of activities from building sets, designing costumes, camera techniques, computer graphics and physically altering a site. This can result in a changed imaginary, how people think about locations changes in response to new information, press releases and the discourses circulating about film production and particular important sites. In The Lord of the Rings the creation of Middle-earth sites was of much interest during production, and some locations used gained considerable media attention. The 'construction' and filming of Edoras, Hobbiton, Helms Deep, Lothlorien, Mordor, Isengard, to mention a few, were all covered by newspaper reporting. The long duration from beginning of production to release of the final movie (five and a half years) allowed interest to build, as did the combination of an existing The Lord of the Rings fan base and Hollywood backing.

Through newspaper coverage (for example Stuff/The Press 19/05/01), the general New Zealand public was provided with description and imaginings of the film's Edoras, *before the film was even released.* Newspapers described work and interviewed workers on set. We learned that it was a remote but spectacular location[1] and that great effort was made to achieve the standards Peter Jackson demanded. Edoras was a mixture of buildings and computer-generated images. A Great Hall was built in its entirety and the rest of the village as frontages. Workers were on the Edoras site for eight months.

The production of the Hobbiton set was also the focus of speculation and interest. It is significant that the physical changes made to the landscape remained and are now celebrated. Large areas were flattened and hardpacked for carparks, hobbit gardens created, large trees moved onto the site, fake stone bridges built, inns and water mills erected and hobbit holes established[2]. The hobbit holes are by far the most important

---

[1] Edoras (the seat of King Theoden of Rohan) was filmed in the Rangitata valley in the foothills of the Southern Alps in the Canterbury region. Mt Sunday was used for the hill Edoras adorned.

[2] To accommodate the heavy equipment and trucks needed for filming, the New Zealand Army built a road into the farm. This road has remained and is now used for the many daily tours to the farm. This is another significant physical change that is now incorporated into the Hobbiton tour. It is less celebrated, but still a major change.

aspect of the physical renovation in symbolic terms. The hobbit holes themselves are plywood frames embedded in the hillside (only Bag End has a rough interior -- similar to a shed). Hobbit hole interiors were filmed in a Wellington studio. Gardens were planted one year in advance of filming to make Hobbiton look as real and established as possible.

> "I knew Hobbiton needed to be warm, comfortable and feel lived in. By letting the weeds grow through the cracks and establishing hedges and little gardens a year before filming, we ended up with an incredibly real place, not just a film set. It felt as if you could open the circular green door of Bag End and find Bilbo Baggins inside" (Peter Jackson in Stuff/Sunday Star Times 01/12/02).

This decision and the newspaper coverage of it is a good example of the way film production can be part of remaking landscapes. Perhaps because Hobbiton's long duration as a film production site was covered in the media, people are ready to accept the farm as the site of a settlement, now mostly departed. On tours of Hobbiton, we are encouraged to celebrate the *absent presence* of hobbits and their village.

There was a great deal of tension, excitement, secrecy and publicity surrounding all The Lord of the Rings locations, in particular those deemed iconic such as Hobbiton, and the more accessible sets in Wellington. People contested the secrecy surrounding sets regularly as reporters and the public tried to get access and sell pictures. People working on sets were also prosecuted for selling costumes and props. The Evening Post was banned from the production's first press conference on the Minas Tirith set because of its unofficial coverage of filming progress (The Evening Post 01/01/01). Advice was given in newspaper columns about whether or not photos taken from outside the Wellington sets could be legally impounded (Stuff/The Evening Post 13/12/00). The Lord of the Rings was a large production that had high awareness. The landscape changes being made were part of popular discourse *before* the film was released. This may be part of the reason tours to The Lord of the Rings locations are so popular.

Behind the scenes landscaping occurred on all The Lord of the Rings sets. Grant Major (production designer on The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider) and Robin Murphy (location manager on The Lord of the Rings) provided insight into the elaborate manoeuvres The Lord of the Rings crew undertook in order to film. For example, when filming in Tongariro National Park, certain plants that did not match the required look were removed, their exact location catalogued, and replaced once filming was finished[3]

---

[3] Department of Conservation concessions insisted that all sets be removed. Tour guides spin this into a

(Robin Murphy pers comm. 10/11/05). There was a kind of contradictory aesthetic at work -- dramatically altering landscapes in order to create a film (landscape) and, then returning it to 'before'. Meanwhile, the film lives on, and in the minds of people, the changes still exist.

The Lord of the Rings goal was to create Middle-earth from New Zealand locations. To do this, the production team chose parts of New Zealand that would 'look European' and deliberately avoided anything that would 'look native'. Location manager Robin Murphy recalls the process of finding locations that could pass for Middle-earth.

> "Peter always used to say too, was that the thing about <u>New Zealand is that it bears a lot of resemblance to Europe</u>. You've got your lakes and mountains down south which are like Switzerland or Nordic areas, you've got your benign countryside and Matamata that looks very English, <u>but the light quality is different. The trees are just a little bit more different.</u> You know you've got willows and vines and various things here but yeah, so it's like that sort of can't quite put your finger on it. <u>Well the audience won't be able to quite put their finger on what's different about it.</u>
>
> <u>That's why ferns are out,</u> anything that looked like New Zealand native bush was out. Like down south of course you've got all the native beech trees which is brilliant because that's very European but it's also native and they're beautiful. Yeah so I think what <u>he was really going for was a sense that it was European but there was something different about it.</u> Something that wasn't European about it. ...
>
> And he didn't want ferns, ferns were a big no-no. If I found any locations with ferns dotted about I'd always have to ask, can we take the ferns out?" (Robin Murphy pers comm. 10/11/05)[4].

The working premise in the backs of the production crew's minds was "to imagine that clean, a clearer place, clean and crisp a place ... it's an atmospheric thing" (Grant Major pers comm. 09/11/05). Major also reported that they avoided the North Island as it looks too distinctively New Zealand, and they needed something that looked similar but different, like a slightly altered Europe, not something foreign.

> "New Zealand geography is newer, fresher and newer, not as slumped as England ... we weren't able to use the native landscape look, so no filming in the North Island" (Grant Major, pers comm, 09/11/05).

The Lord of the Rings team went to great efforts to be as accurate to the book as possible.

> "We followed the description of Hobbiton to the letter. This was for the benefit of people who knew the book, <u>we were as accurate as we could be</u> ... because it's the first thing you see in the movie, <u>we went to a huge amount of trouble to see that the geography was true to the book</u>". (Grant Major pers comm. 09/11/05).

But this does not mean the film was accurate to New Zealand. A scene in The Lord of

positive rhetoric.
[4] As mentioned in chapter 3, underlining is used in quotes to emphasise parts I deem particularly important. In all cases, unless otherwise indicated, this emphasis is mine.

the Rings frequently contained three or more places in different parts of New Zealand. As Robin Murphy reported,

> "some of those landscapes are very contrived. Like they might have two or three different locations or a location and painting, and so it is not that many of the really big wide shots that are actually natural location shots of New Zealand. Especially the big shots" (pers comm, 10/11/05).

All the campaigns directed to raising New Zealand's profile in relation to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider discussed New Zealand in national terms (chapter 6 explores this further). This is policy for tourism promotion, because talking about different areas of New Zealand is deemed too confusing for those unfamiliar with it (John Rasmussen pers comm. 28/10/05). As a result, *New Zealand* is marketed as being 'home of Middle-earth'. The intricacies of which part of New Zealand may match which part of a film are not dealt with. While the whole of New Zealand is seen as Middle-earth, it is the tours on the ground that deal with how the film matches the landscape by selecting and enacting particular sites as Middle-earth.

Filming involves and creates physical and mental alterations. As part of this process, many items are temporarily added to the landscape as props. However, in the Whale Rider case props have a duration and have now been absorbed into the landscape (in contrast to Hobbiton where they are not absorbed so much as overlaid). Fibreglass whales, a ceremonial waka (canoe), and the reiputa (whale bone pendant) are not part of the land, or scenery in any strict sense, but these film props have come to be more than just props. They were gifted to the Whangara community and are now displayed. The bone carving is proudly shown by Hone Taumaunu[5] (Figure 4.1), but the status of the whales and waka is uncertain. To me they looked rather forlorn, sitting on the grass with the paint on the whales chipped (Figure 4.2). I do not know how the community feels about them as there were no other locals present during my visit. They have definitely become permanent fixtures however and thus part of the landscape. They are from the film production and are now post-release landscape features.

---

[5] Hone Taumaunu is the Whale Rider tour guide. He is a kaumatua/elder of Whangara and was also the cultural advisor on Whale Rider filming.
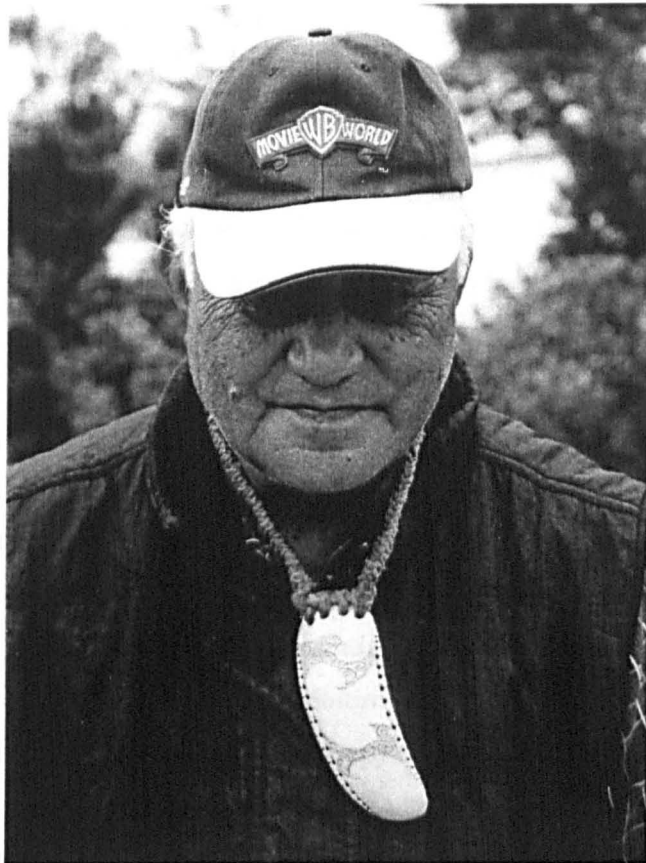
Figure 4.1: Hone Taumaunu with reiputa (whale bone pendant). (Photograph by author)
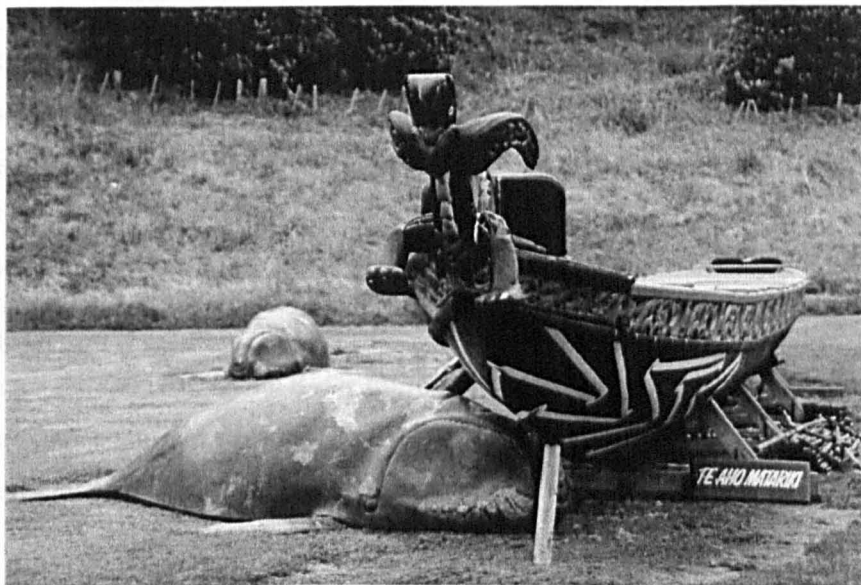
Figure 4.2: Fibreglass whales and waka at Whangara. (Photograph by author)

While in the Whale Rider case, film production items lingered on at the filming location and became part of the new landscape, in The Lord of the Rings case the paraphernalia of props have been separated from the land. Perhaps they are more attached in the

imagination to characters (Gimli, Frodo, Aragorn etc) than to places. Nevertheless, they do form an important part of the world the filmmakers sought to create. Indeed, The Lord of the Rings guided tours use props to provide a link with the story. To make the visited New Zealand landscape once again become part of The Lord of the Rings story, tour participants are invited to wear a cloak or swing a sword at the location where important scenes were filmed (this is explored further in section 4.2.3).

The Lord of the Rings became famous for its use of technology to digitally transform New Zealand into Middle-earth, and equally well known for the lengths the filmmakers went to create weapons, clothing and all the paraphernalia the Middle-earth world needed. Indeed, the props in The Lord of the Rings assume a significance beyond the usual, and become an integral part of the world created by the filmmakers (or continued if we credit JRR Tolkien with its original creation). Te Papa Museum of New Zealand featured 'The Lord of the Rings -- The Exhibition' from December 2002 to February 2003. The exhibition featured "the most comprehensive display of props and costumes from the movie yet staged" and went on to tour in London, Boston and Sydney (Stuff 18/12/02). Things that would normally be ephemeral, useful only for the film production period, have persisted after the film.

Whangara was not physically transformed by filming in the way that The Lord of the Rings locations were. But the act of filming changed notions about Whangara (of residents themselves). Production designer Grant Major reported a major social transformation through the filming.

> "It was previously a fractionated place. Neighbours weren't talking to each other. ... by the time we left the place was buzzing. It brought together lots of people who had gripes" (pers comm. 09/11/05).

Newspaper coverage of Whale Rider filming and release talks positively about the filming and presents a community behind the project. Only from Major did I get the alternate picture of a community that needed something like this filming project to come together. Whale Rider also revitalised interest in Maori stories-- both a belief that they were worth listening to on a national and international stage (see chapter 6), and also of whales and other local legends in the area.

The creation of sets, work of film production and active filming contributes to reimagining, and thus remaking, of landscapes as much as the film itself does. As people hear about a location as something else (e.g. Mt Sunday as Edoras, Matamata as

Hobbiton, Whangara as Whale-Rider-Whangara), a kind of slippage begins to occur. (I explore this further in section 4.2). I have teased out some of the complexities here, and illustrated that the pre-filmed, where-filmed, and in-film landscapes are tightly intertwined. Tour guide rhetoric demonstrates this well, as they relate where you are, conflating past, present and filmic times in their narrative.

In the following section, I discuss effects on landscape after films have been released. Firstly, I explore making landscapes through Hobbiton and Whale Rider, focusing on the idea that multiple versions and visions exist (4.2.1-4.2.2). I also explore the landscaping work that photoboards do on The Lord of the Rings tours, and do not do for Whale Rider (4.2.3).

4.2 (Re)making landscapes through tours

Films impact on our imagination about a place, and this in turn interacts with previously held imaginations about a place when people visit film sites. What does the film tell us about a place compared with what we experience there? In every case, these do not match up, but Whale Rider is particularly vivid in the disagreement on what the film means to everyday life. Ironically, this film is considered the most 'authentic' and the location most closely matches that shown on film. This twist on the differing accounts of landscape offered by the films, and how landscape is treated at sites and in popular discourse, needs further investigation. This is all part of the continual becoming of landscape in response to film. Our ideas are directly changed and challenged because of the movies.

Landscape in The Lord of the Rings is treated as a major character: usually landscape is either aiding or impeding their passage; and it clearly reflects the personalities of its inhabitants (a kind of reverse environmental determinism). Landscape is also something the characters journey through. Each stop is clearly indicated to be temporary, and while the hobbits may long to return home, the characters spent almost the entire story journeying. (The only exception to this is the brief idyll shown in Hobbiton during the first 15 minutes of the film).

How then does the film match with site visits? The Lord of the Rings is about journeying. Queenstown, Wanaka and Christchurch are all on the acknowledged tourist circuit around New Zealand. The tours in these locations involve travelling from site to

site, moving within the tour. Hobbiton is treated differently. Instead of journeying, scenes in Hobbiton are all about dwelling in one place, pastoral contentment is the dominant theme. The atmosphere of a lived-in place is recreated by the tour. The local tourism organisation want to convert visitor numbers to nights stayed in Matamata, but with little success (Sue Whiting pers comm. 27/10/05). The discourse of settlement does not exert this kind of influence. You cannot stay on the Hobbiton set or farm, although a Wanaka hotel offers a hobbit-hole room. No other The Lord of the Rings themes have been translated into bedrooms as they lack the settlement rhetoric.

Whale Rider is more complex. It is all about the struggles of people who are historically rooted to Whangara. There is a significant scene where Pai begins to leave but finds she cannot and returns to Whangara. Her father is the only character we hear about who does leave (other than through death) and we only see him in the context of his return. Emphatically then, this is a story about being-in-a-place, and the struggles of moving forward while doing this.

The film then, sends strong signals of community and dwelling to those who see it. The Whangara you might try and visit is intensely private and reluctant to have visitors. This contrast between movie and reality shows one element the power of film has in making our understandings of place. It is a dwelling and living place for residents though no one was there when I visited (not dwelling during the day). Tourists are not allowed to stay overnight at the site. Generally, visitors to the area expect to be able to visit the film location but are sometimes rebuffed. This goes against impressions from the film, and is also contrary to Pakeha responses to tourism.

Film tours narrate landscapes, new imaginaries and storied landscapes are created. The Hobbiton tour in particular, tells the story of The Lord of the Rings production intersecting with farming to create Hobbiton – itself based on a story. The Lord of the Rings tours interweave these local histories with the potent Lord of the Rings tale production epic (which in New Zealand is a story in itself). Both Hobbiton and other The Lord of the Rings tours use new imaginaries that are being made in response to the films, and because landscape is in the making, are actively contributing to these new imaginaries. The Whale Rider tour narrates landscape in a different way. Here the tour tells older legends of the area and leaves the participant to relate them to the film rather than giving prominence to the new film narrative.

The exploration of case studies (Hobbiton and Whangara) that follows in section 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 draws on the work of Law (2004) to facilitate understanding of landscape literatures. I saw, as the tours were underway, the tracks and mark-making of people in the landscape, creating new meanings in the places visited. When tours are explored through notions of multiplicity and simultaneity, a complex understanding of the film location landscapes is produced.

4.2.1 Hobbiton: multiple landscapes being performed

I argue that tourist and tour operators are re-inscribing meanings of the Alexander farm (and more widely of Matamata in itself) through the Hobbiton tour[6]. The tour is an example of how multiple landscapes can be made and active at once. This occurs through reimagining, re-inscribing and performing meanings.

To begin I explore the example of Matamata and its partial transformation into Hobbiton. I say partial because: although a sign on the Main Street declares 'welcome to Hobbiton' (Figure 4.3); and the information centre and many other shops are decorated with hobbit holes (Figure 4.4); the site where it was filmed is actually twenty minutes out of town, and the continual conflation of Matamata and Hobbiton its contested by some residents. (See chapters 5's discussion)

The Hobbiton tour begins in Matamata, at one end of the main street where the Matamata Information Centre is located. The tour literally begins here as the Centre looks like a hobbit hole (Figure 4.5). As you buy your ticket and wait for 'Gandalf' the white bus to arrive, there is time to browse the Lord of the Rings Location Guidebook, postcards and other exclusive memorabilia.

The tour wove its way around the farm site (or at least the part of the farm where most of Hobbiton was filmed). First we were shown areas film crew used as an introduction to the production narrative. Coloured pegs in the ground marked the spot where marquees and food caravans had stood, and these corresponded to large photoboards of the site in operation (Figure 4.6).

---

[6] The Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour is run by Rings Scenic Tours. It is on private property, a sheep farm owned by the Alexander family. It is situated 20 minutes from Matamata. See appendix 8.3 for a description of my Hobbiton tour experience and details on numbers and origins of tourists.

Figure 4.3: 'Welcome to Hobbiton, Matamata, New Zealand' sign on main street.
(Photograph by author)
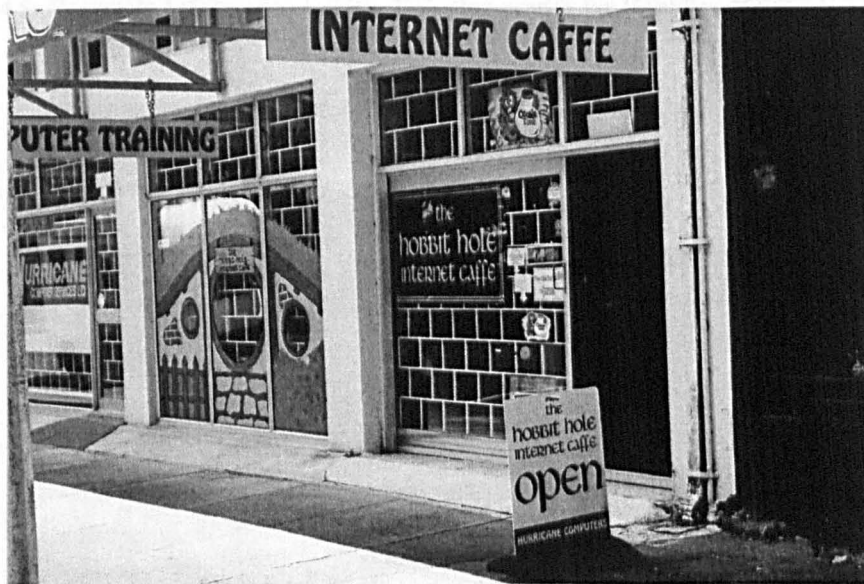
Figure 4.4: Hobbit hole internet cafe. (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.5: Matamata Information Centre. Ticketing agency for Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour. (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.6: Photoboard showing what used to be on the site. Pegs in the ground mark significant locations. (Photograph by author)

The marketing manager Henry Horne later stressed to me the importance of "telling a story". Rings Scenic Tours chose to focus on what the site could really offer and tell a story about what it was like filming *there*. It is not about The Lord of the Rings as a

whole, but about the Alexander family's experiences as these intersected with the Hobbiton filming demands.

> "Rather than The Lord of the Rings, this is a personal account of what it was like to have the movie filmed there ... it gives a completely different angle ... we have infrastructure to handle large numbers, but there is still a high level of storytelling" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

Thus, there were many personal stories incorporated into the tour[7]. The use of such anecdotes illustrates the friendly and humorous nature of the Alexander family, and allows Hobbiton to offer a personal narrative that many other The Lord of the Rings tours do not. Above all Hobbiton is a themed landscape,

> "what gives the spaces a character, what hails people to them and what makes them appear to be sites of fantasy and pleasure is the employment of a story ... these stories are imposed upon the space, rather than intrinsic to it" (Philips 1999, 94).

The Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour marketers understood how to theme and promote their fantasy landscape. Photoboards are an important part of the Hobbiton storytelling and themeing.

> "Photos are the most important part [of the tours]. They allow people to get their imagination going and see what was there" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

Henry Horne maintains the photos help people to see the set as it was in the film, "don't see New Zealand, see something totally different" (pers comm. 25/10/05), thus contributing to the themeing of their farm as Hobbiton.

The tour was comprehensive and took us around the site in some detail, each stop enlivened with entertaining stories from our guide, the coloured pegs, and large photoboards showing pictures taken during filming and from the movie itself. The enthusiasm of our guide really added to the experience and by the end of the tour I felt I had a good understanding of what filming had *looked* like at least (Figure 4.7), and a sanitised version of how the Alexander family had felt about it.

The Alexander farm was previously known only to those of the region (and possibly farming circles). Certainly neither the farmer nor the family were recognisable on the international tourist circuit. To state the obvious — this recognition is due to the circulation of the location sites on film. The exteriors of Hobbiton performed in the hugely successful and widely publicised The Lord of the Rings trilogy and thus became known features of New Zealand/Middle-earth landscape (which landscape is unclear,

---

[7] For example, Ian Alexander driving across a fake stone bridge, built only for effect not actual use, despite unsuccessful attempts from the crew to warn him. He crossed without incident and the crew decided it was safe to use after this unscheduled test of its strength.

the demarcation between New Zealand and Middle-earth in this context is blurred).
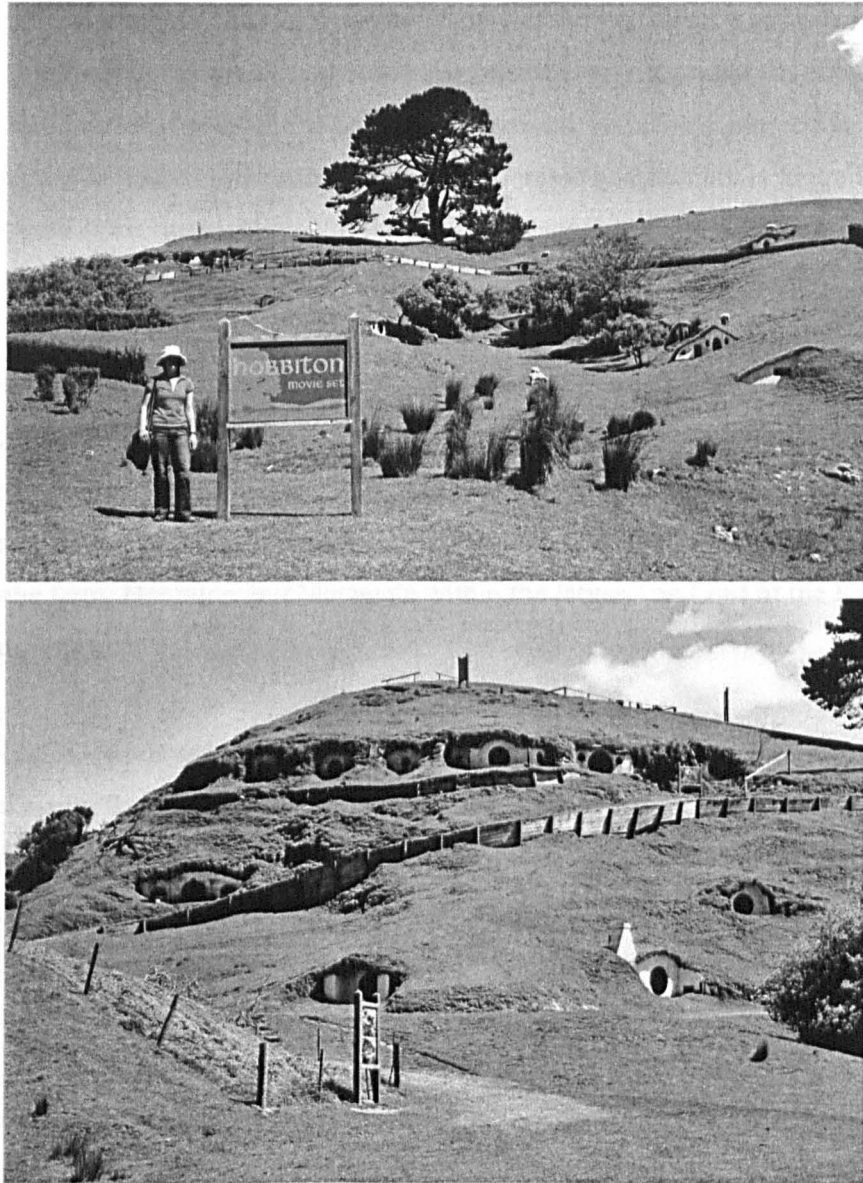
Figure 4.7: The Hobbiton hill rises in front of me as a tour participant (it was quite thrilling which I had not anticipated). Bottom photo shows Bag End as slightly larger hobbit hole on top row. (Photograph by author or on behalf)

Much geographic theory argues that landscape is not a finished product but continually becoming (Wylie 2007). Working with this conceptualisation I wish to capture the idea that the Alexander farm is being literally/literarily (film and book), physically (earthworks and hobbit holes) and imaginatively (tourist destination and advertising) remade, and that the continual tourist visits, guide and tourist interactions, and locals and tourist reactions are continuing to reconfigure this landscape in fascinating ways. The site is now simultaneously: the Alexander family home; a working sheep farm; a

relic of a movie set; a carefully preserved artefact from the historic The Lord of the Rings film production; an international tourist destination; a remote and guarded location you must pay to enter; a well-known neighbourhood farm; a source of considerable revenue for the Alexander family; dismissively regarded as "holes in the ground" by some local people; a source of employment; an income source for Matamata; and is known as Hinuera, Waikato, Hobbiton and Matamata (not all the same place but used interchangeably). Yet being all these identities and meanings is part of the new version of landscape being created in the area.

There were also strong connections made between Matamata as Hobbiton and 'New Zealand: home of Middle-earth'. These connections position the location and landscape as important within this alternative framework, as they had not been important to mainstream New Zealand previously. There was a great deal of work going on to position the farm, Hobbiton and Matamata within the larger The Lord of the Rings success discourse.

Physically this was done with the continual use of photoboards to remind the visitor again and again, that this is where wonderful things happened, that as a tour participant you are part of the magic. That this *is* Hobbiton. This was a very strong theme, the equating of the site with Hobbiton, not just in the past, or in the film (which is ever-present), but here and now beneath your feet. I further explore the work film-landscape does through glimpses afforded in photoboards and their display in section 4.2.3.

Yet talk of copyright restrictions and agreements with New Line Cinema that limit them to mediaeval enactments only, were also a part of the conversation. The relationship between New Line and the tour is a good example of the way legal restrictions and financial elements constrained development. These tensions are a critical part of the way the landscape is being developed around Matamata. However, I gained the impression from the guide that these were merely restrictions, that could not erase the obvious reality that this *was and is Hobbiton.*

On the Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour, The Lord Of The Rings film (The Fellowship of the Ring) was continually mentioned and specifics given about which exact sections appeared in which scenes, as the site did not correspond exactly to Hobbiton on film and interior scenes were shot 600 km away in Wellington. My tour

guide cheerfully informed us that he was sure we would watch The Fellowship of the Ring again soon, and appreciate it more after the tour. Film plays an important role in the re-imagination of places. Its representation of Hobbiton and Middle-earth are ever-present in this and other tours. The film encourages tourists to visit New Zealand and sites otherwise ignored.

The landscape has been, and still is, being altered considerably by the filming of The Lord of the Rings at the Alexander farm. Physically, the farm has changed from its previous incarnation as the only sheep farm in a dairying region. It is now the only Hobbiton site and sheep farm in a dairying region! The Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour has not erased the farming aspect but incorporated it into the tour and stories recounted.

More than 83,000 pairs of feet have walked across the Hobbiton site since the tour was opened (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05). If landscape is always becoming and what we do and how we react/respond/behave/feel in the landscape is a crucial part of this, as I argue, then the sheer number of feet tramping over the farm, impacting the paths, the inquisitive eyes that come with these feet, the ears that absorb the stories told and mouths that soon repeat all or parts of the experience to others, constitute a powerful force in the creation of the Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour landscape. Hobbiton is not merely the filmmakers and their large-scale (re)construction (and partial destruction) nor the Alexander decision to run the tour, but the mechanics of visiting, showing and making something of the experience, combined with the ever-present film world, which is truly creating Hobbiton as a site to be remembered.

The geographical imaginations at work here are powerful, and are enacted at site-specific and local levels, as well as supported at the larger scale by campaigns in advertising. The Hobbiton site in fact contains very little of Hobbiton any more. The publicised vegetable gardens and flowers and buildings are gone, the frontages have been removed and half the hobbit holes bulldozed. The tour is a clever and engaging re-enactment of Hobbiton as alive, when in fact little remains. This is a powerful re-imagination of the landscape.

This account is celebratory, and encourages believing in several things at once (Hobbiton and farm). There is no attempt to demystify the location, quite the opposite,

the fantasy element is encouraged, with participants urged to "have a party" on the Party Field. The mystification is continued as you are invited to step inside hobbit holes (see me doing this in Figure 4.8). Hobbiton is a classic example of what MacCannell (1976) describes as 'constructed authenticity'. After all, nowhere else can claim to be the filming location. However, equally obviously it is not Hobbiton. That place only exists in the book and on film (which however, was only possible because of the filming location). Perhaps here, it is less about whether or not Hobbiton is authentic, and about who is saying it is (Smith 2002). Here, farm owners, tourist operators and tour participants claim it as authentic because they wish to make money or because they wish the enjoyment of the story to continue. Locals are less likely to easily accept Hobbiton as authentic because they knew the place before its current complex incarnation.

The residents of Matamata and surrounding areas remember the Alexander farm when that was all it was, and seem reluctant to incorporate its new elements into their thinking. They seek to demystify and sometimes belittle it. They reject the blend of sheep farm, business and tourism destination by reducing the film site to its bare essentials in their description. Hobbiton is often referred to dismissively as "holes in the ground" (and if I repeat this phrase it is only appropriate as every resident I met used it when referring to Hobbiton, either in expressing their own views or relaying the opinions of others. The phrase therefore deserves attention). And yet this phrasing does not work to erase the imagining known as Hobbiton. Tourists continue to visit and understand the farm/Hobbiton only in its new conceptualisation, having been introduced to it as Hobbiton and been previously unaware of its existence. Moreover those locals who *have* visited the film site report (somewhat defensively) that they enjoyed the tour.
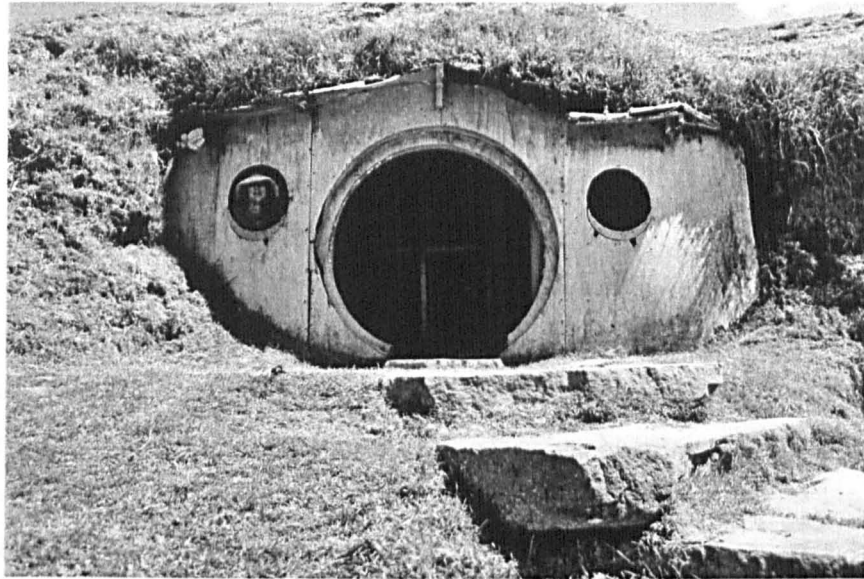
Figure 4.8: Being a hobbit. Inside and outside Bag End. (Photograph on behalf of author)

The tour skilfully combines the physical transformations with powerful stories -- the stories of the Alexander experience, the story of The Lord of the Rings, and the narrative of its production -- to create a new understanding of place. This journey is undertaken each time by all participants, the tour guides (essential), the tourist, the films and the landscape (green hills, party tree, lake and hobbit hole facades). This follows Law's assertion (2004) that all participants, (animate and inanimate), together create new versions of things. It would be possible to go on the tour and participate by being sceptical of all these claims to being Hobbiton. Yet this too is part of the new enactment. Whether or not one agrees, The Lord of the Rings is a powerful presence in this particular landscape and will remain so for some time.

4.2.2 Multiple landscapes being made in Whangara

Whangara is being repositioned and reimagined at a distance, rather than on the tour as in Hobbiton. Few people go on the Whale Rider tour (60-70 people in two years, about a third of whom were tour industry people) but it features more heavily in newspaper 'letters to the editor' than The Lord of the Rings tours. I argue that repositioning of Whangara as more than a tiny (30 people) settlement does not happen on the tour. The Whale Rider tour itself does not attempt to rewrite and add to the story of the area as the Hobbiton tour does. The Whale Rider tour focuses on Whangara's legend and history. The reporting and reimagining work, which *is* occurring, happens off the site, when the impacts of the filming are discussed. The work is mostly done by local people, with interjections by other New Zealanders and international tourists.

The Whale Rider tour is not celebratory of the film and does not focus on clever filming tricks as is often stressed in The Lord of the Rings tours. Instead the film presents Whangara as a real place with real stories (despite Whale Rider being a fictional tale), and the tour also takes this stance: that Whangara is a real community that allowed filming in it. There are assumptions of authenticity here that I believe impact on the decision for people to visit Whangara, an 'authentic' Maori community as seen on screen. The tour however, is not really about the film. Hone Taumaunu focuses on his preference, which is to impart local histories and culture to visitors. The Whale Rider tour is a small-scale enterprise. During the two-hour tour visitors are shown around the marae, beach, the exterior of houses used in filming and told a lot of interesting Ngati Konohi history.

However, tourism in Whangara has been hotly contested. The Whangara community were not interested in exploiting the film for its economic tourist spin-offs.

> "Tourism New Zealand ... came and wanted the marae to really cash in on it and the marae was quite hesitant, very hesitant, extremely hesitant. They could have cashed in I think. One of the things they were saying was 'well we don't really don't want a lot of people coming in here'. And then they started coming up with a number of reasons 'aw we can't cater to them' at that bargaining table they could have basically said 'we want $150,000' and I think those two agencies [Tourism New Zealand and Tourism Eastland] at that time would have come forward ... they didn't want people coming in" (Rick Mansell, economic development unit manager Gisborne District Council pers comm. 17/10/05).

While this decision has been accepted by the interested institutions and the Gisborne public at large, it is largely unknown by visitors prior to an encounter at Whangara. This ignorance of a decision, surprising in the Pakeha framework, is probably what has

provoked many of the incidents in which people felt unwelcome. Before I discuss these, I wish to return to the point just made -- that the decision to eschew major economic benefits of Whale Rider is a surprising one for many outside observers. Certainly it is in direct contrast to Matamata where the Hobbiton tour was accepted as the logical capitalisation of the luck of being a film site.

I did not talk to anyone from Whangara other than Hone Taumaunu (the self-designated tour guide). It seems the tour is the only acceptable way to visit the settlement without an invitation. Hone acts as a cultural broker who controls access to his community. He is an elder in the community and so has cultural and community power to operate the tours in face of dislike, but keeps them small. In The Lord of the Rings, the broker is New Line Cinema working with legal issues, copyright and contracts, not with communities and cultural issues.

Kaarin Gaukrodger of Tourism Eastland recounted her frustration and acceptance of Whangara's refusal to allow Whale Rider tours on the scale that Tourism Eastland would like. She saw Whale Rider as an opportunity to add an extra interesting element to Eastland's tourism portfolio, and would have been delighted to add Whangara/Whale Rider as a tourism destination. She did stress to me however that it was the marae/elder decision and that this must be respected. This was said with such an air of accepting the inevitable that I was struck by the cultural frameworks coexisting in Gisborne[8]. She also commented wryly that

> "it would have been absolutely ridiculous and stupid of us to actually promote the region with Whale Rider without the support of the Whangara people because if we'd just gone ahead and done that ... the backlash would have only been negative ... you only really want to promote what you can actually sell" (pers comm. 20/10/05).

This position was probably hard won as in January 2003 when the movie was about to open around the country, Kaarin had this to say,

> "We hope this is the beginning of a relationship in which we will work closer with the people of Whangara in the future ... we are keen to see them reap ongoing benefits from the movie ... there will be lots of visitors coming into the region looking to see where Whale Rider was filmed and interested in learning more about the people involved" (Kaarin Gaukrodger in The Gisborne Herald 17/01/03).

The situation is somewhat muddy however, because in July 2003 Hone Taumaunu also

---

[8] When I was in Whangara and Gisborne, the impression that struck me was the pressures and compromises of a society which embraces two distinct cultural frameworks -- Maori and Pakeha. There is much to be said on this issue, and I delve into the complexities of identity in relation to the film in chapter 6. Here, I want to note that the landscape of Whangara is being reinscribed as a result of the film Whale Rider, and that this reinscription and remaking of meanings is a contested one.

expressed an interest in having structured tours.

> "Both Mr Taumaunu and Tourism Eastland chief executive Graham Breckell are keen to see structured tours available 'so Ngati Konohi can control the situation'. 'We want to be able to offer the visitor something, to satisfy their curiosity about where the film was made and to help them learn more about Maori culture and the legend of Paikea' Hone Taumaunu said. He and his family were committed to hosting visitors on a very small scale -- 'to avoid disrupting the marae and the people of Whangara'" (The Gisborne Herald 02/07/03a).

In effect, this is what has happened, as Hone took over the Whale Rider tours from his son and his daughter-in-law (see appendix 8.3 for further information on this and details of my tour experience). However it is all on a much smaller scale and less structured than implied in this quote.

The film Whale Rider has produced multiple versions of Whangara. There is the obvious version of Whangara offered by the film -- a version of anxieties about old and new, gender and traditions which are explored in the context of the close-knit community and a small bay rich with stories and Maori meaning. It was this Whangara that became known to the world at large (New Zealand and beyond) through the film. However, there are other versions of Whangara that exist such as that lived in by residents, experienced by those on the Whale Rider tour or experienced by those visiting independently. Unlike in the Matamata context, where the version of New Zealand and Hobbiton offered by The Lord of the Rings was eagerly embraced by some and ignored by the rest, the Gisborne and Whangara community have come into conflict with themselves and visitors regarding the meanings of Whale Rider ascribed to the landscape. (See Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 for images of Whangara as seen on the tour).

How is landscape being reinscribed? At first glance it appears that little has changed. The idea of large-scale Whale Rider tourism was rejected by Whangara elders, and a great deal of tension exists between Whangara residents and unsought visitors to the village. However, filming does not leave an area unchanged. At the very least, there is now a movie available about the way of life on the East Coast (fictional but drawn from reality) and this movie heavily involved the locals in its filmmaking.
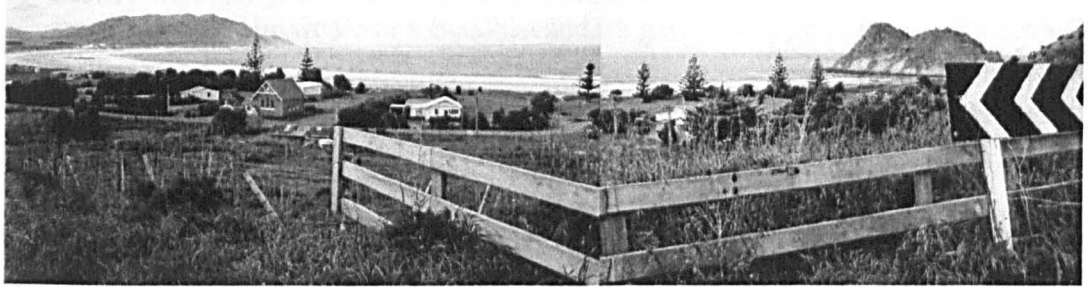
Figure 4.9: Looking down on Whangara. (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.10: Paikea on the whale atop Whangara's wharenui/meeting house.
(Photograph by author)

When I begin talking about the meanings inscribed in landscape, I am reminded that
there are strong stories already embedded in the Whangara landscape. Law describes
Australian aboriginal stories in a way that is useful to the Maori understanding.
Narratives are "intimately and indissolubly related to those places ... joins narrative and
land form together in a way that cannot be dissolved" (2004, 128). The story on which
Whale Rider is based comes from the founding legend of the Ngati Konohi. As

Gisborne resident Rick Mansell reports,

> "there was apprehension all the time about whether it's going to be told properly or not, there is always that component of it, because a lot of the western world looks at a lot of these things as a sort of primitive site and yet the local people see it just as much as a Catholic would or a Buddhist and it's part of that, part of the ... It's not a myth" (pers comm. 17/10/05).

Whales are a key feature of the history of the area, one informant told me that Whale Rider had reminded the people of the area of their stories. The film provided them with a symbol to group around (Bex gift store owner pers comm. 19/10/05).

The island seen in the background of many shots is called Whale Island and in legend is a fossilised beached whale (Figure 4.11). This knowledge is only available to those of the area, confirming Law's assertion that there are "multiple narratives covering the same territories ..... [that] are likely to be only known to those with appropriate social affiliations " (2004, 128). Alternative narratives exist but not everyone may be making use of all of them. Some versions of landscape are not available for everybody to access.

Figure 4.11: Island in background is Whale Island. Waka and Hone Taumaunu in foreground. (Photograph by author)

Any reinscription and remaking of landscape therefore incorporates this wealth and diversity of knowledge/understanding. However, Whale Rider *does* alter the imaginaries of Whangara, though not everyone agrees on the resulting imaginary.

Contestation of meanings does not occur on the Whale Rider tour, instead contesting the tours and contesting new versions of Whangara is a public issue.

The most revealing series of interactions on the right to visit Whangara/right to keep it private, is found in the letters to the editor of The Gisborne Herald, the regional newspaper. This debate was sparked by an editorial (reproduced in The Gisborne Herald) by a Bay of Plenty journalist on holiday with his family.

> "Since we were on the East Coast, in the neighbourhood of Whale Rider country, we decided to search out the beautiful seaside village of Whangara, the setting of the hit New Zealand movie. But a piece of advice -- I get a very strong impression that visitors are not welcome in this village. ... Wanting a closer look at this beautiful part of New Zealand, we made our way down toward the village. At the entrance to the town we were stopped in our tracks by a sign at the entrance to the main road into town 'PRIVATE ROAD', it read[9]. We were dumbfounded. We felt instantly that we were not welcome in this village. We contemplated our options but decided against pushing our luck by wandering into the village. Returning to our spot at the top of the hill overlooking Whangara, we were passed by several cars emerging from the village. The sneering looks we received from locals suggested we were right in not making our way any further. I must say I wasn't too impressed that here was a part of New Zealand that wasn't open to all New Zealanders, only to certain New Zealanders. Does that mean if I talk to my neighbours down our street and we all agree, can we put PRIVATE ROAD up at the entrance? I found the whole Whangara visit quite disturbing and I certainly hope this is not a sign of the future where people can take parts of the country and restrict the rest of us from visiting there. There's a very real apartheid smell about such a situation" (Craig Nicholson quoted in The Gisborne Herald 29/01/05a).

Craig Nicholson uses classic rhetoric in saying "here was a part of New Zealand that wasn't open to all New Zealanders", drawing on the idea of 'one New Zealand', a narrative that seeks to ignore and assimilate difference. His phrasing is far from unique, and the article is not really about failing to visit Whangara, but about the larger issue of land access. This is a significant and ongoing debate between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand. Bell (1996) has linked the narrative of New Zealanders' love of nature to ideas of equality of access. Both parts of this narrative are at work here.

On the same page, below this piece, Hone Taumaunu defended his community's decision.

> "Saddened elder says comments unwarranted ... 'Those who have wanted access to the beach or to the marae have asked permission and, in most circumstances have

---

[9] I was made aware of the private road sign mentioned in the newspapers by several people before I went out to Whangara, and the reaction from those I spoke to in Gisborne was mostly sympathetic to Whangara. Apparently, the private road sign predated the filming of Whale Rider , but has only come to attention as a result of the interest generated by the film. It is being repositioned as a symbol to represent the 'unwelcoming attitudes' in Whangara (Figure 4.12).

been allowed the opportunity. Others, like motorcycle convoys, have been asked to leave, especially when the marae is in use. I will not condone your unwarranted and ill-founded comments about my people. Rather, come to Whangara, knock on a door and see what happens' " (The Gisborne Herald 29/01/05b).

Implicit in Hone's comments is the idea that permission must be asked to access the beach, a sticking point for (Pakeha) New Zealanders in the letters to the editor.

Figure 4.12: Private road sign on Whangara road. (Photograph by author)

The letter below stresses how unwelcoming Whangara residents were to visitors and that access was denied both to the settlement and the beach.

> "Yes, Whangara is an unwelcoming place! Not once but twice, in October and December I had overseas visitors and a visit to the Whale Rider settlement was high on their priority list. The first time, I found it hard to believe there was no sign indicating Whangara. Then we stopped on the hill overlooking the village and admired the view. Three or more cars went towards Whangara and we got the glares, verbal abuse and even the middle finger from several drivers. So much for making people feel welcome! The second time, in December I tried again with two overseas friends as I believed the first encounter was too rude to happen again. The marae was in use and I know not to proceed there then. We did ask for access to the beach which was flatly refused ... J. B." (The Gisborne Herald 02/02/05a).

Overseas visitors however have felt welcome and have been treated with respect. The writer below feels that Whangara residents have made the right choice in not commercialising in response to the film. For him, issues of access are not a concern .

> "First of all, I'm a foreign tourist on a long (working) holiday from Germany. ... Whangara is a good example of not selling yourselves out to us tourists. We went there last August. We parked our car by the 'Private Road' sign and walked down the road to the marae. A local came by on a scooter to admittedly check out what we were up to. We then had a bit of a chat and then he showed us around a little bit. I was treated with respect. I don't think the people of Whangara are unfriendly or

intimidating in any way. I think that they are just aware and also very proud. <u>Too proud to build a parking lot and visitor centre with hangi hole, or performing hourly kapa haka shows for Japanese tourists on a tight schedule.</u> Not to forget the original whale-ride tour of course. <u>In a world of commerce in which money is becoming the most important value of all, I find the attitude of the people of Whangara honourable and impressive.</u> They deserve deep respect. This village, movie set or not, is a jewel among many others along the magnificent East Coast and its inhabitants are doing the right thing trying to keep it that way. After all, the site only says 'Private Road', it does not say 'Keep out'! Martin Paukner" (The Gisborne Herald 02/02/05b).

Previous Whangara residents also wrote in to complain about visitors.

"Until the movie Whale Rider was released, Whangara was known only to those from there and most Maori communities. I was recently there for the Christmas period with my family, who live on that Private Road, and found that <u>what used to be home was now a lot of hustle and bustle.</u> While home, there were buses, motor homes, endless cars driving past, people taking photos of our marae while the marae was occupied, people parking by our cemetery a place that is absolutely tapu (sacred) in our culture, and people walking through land that has trespassing notices on the fences. Now if people like yourself had knocked on the door and asked about these things you would have been lucky enough to meet a descendant of Paikea, probably invited in for a cup of tea, or just told some of our local history. <u>But you didn't so you missed out, your loss.</u> Mereana Whanarere, Brisbane" (The Gisborne Herald 03/02/05).

It seems to me that as well as objection to people trespassing and breaking cultural rules, there is disgruntlement at having a previously quiet place now full of "hustle and bustle". It is a somewhat antagonistic reply and a little contradictory when claiming that knocking on the door would have solved these problems. Another previous Whangara resident had this to say,

"We are a people of love, accommodation and welcoming. <u>We gave our village and marae to Pakeha for a short time so a film about our ancestor could be made,</u> allowing the global community an insight into our world. <u>Yes, I say, our world because that is exactly what Whangara is ... our world.</u> The marae and village of Whangara are not a social club or church. It is not a place we go to get drunk or spiritually uplifted once a week. <u>It is our home.</u> We get tourists and all sorts of people turning up even to our tangi [Maori funeral] and unveilings, expecting to be allowed to take photos. Just this New Year's Day my Aunty had to ask a man to leave because he was taking rocks from the island because he wanted a piece of the Whale Rider set to take home. <u>This island is no more part of a movie set than I am Michael Jackson's long lost Maori cousin. It is a burial site for at least three of our most notable chiefs, and therefore extremely tapu.</u> Now, I ask you, if we allowed everyone who wanted a piece of that island to take some, how much island would we have left. <u>It is with a heavy heart that I write this because I would have thought that Pakeha would have by now (it's been a while since Captain Cook landed here in 1769) figured out how we as Maori live.</u> Our marae and village are like our mothers and grandmothers. They aren't just buildings. <u>The road isn't just there for anyone.</u> They are a lifeline. They are special. ... Te Hamua Nikora" (The Gisborne Herald 11/02/05).

Nikora makes several interesting points here. First, he raises the issue that Whangara

allowed a film crew in to make Whale Rider and that this did not come with responsibility to accept tourists. In saying that "this island is no more part of a movie set…" he nicely highlights the contradictions between usual expectations of filming locations and Whangara. This is the exact opposite of how The Lord of the Rings filming locations are promoted, people are encouraged to consider landscape in The Lord of the Rings as a set. It is unsurprising that this mis-cueing of expectations leads to misunderstandings. The letter ends by saying that Maori do things differently and that this should be respected, a theme running through this interaction. But his very last sentences highlight what I think is the issue at the heart of this debate. "The road isn't just there for anyone". This brings up issues about where is public and where is private. What is meant by public? Is it a road that is public for everyone or only public for the community? The Whangara response clearly indicates they feel the latter applies. Other writers believe roads and beaches should be accessible to all.

> "In response to one Whangara correspondent who had questioned how Mr Nicholson would feel 'if I'd turned up to your house with all my family and just walked in and helped myself', the editor said there was a 'slight difference'. 'I did not want to enter his house, only walk down what I thought might be a public road, just as he can do next time he visits Tauranga'" (The Gisborne Herald 07/02/05).

These letters to the editor resonate with wider New Zealand issues. Public access to land, particularly where claimed by Maori, is always a contentious issue, and in my opinion a general sensitivity to this on both sides underlies the extreme reaction generated. Particularly, as the animosity seems to be between New Zealanders. International tourists were largely said to be respectful and respected.

> "I lived in Whangara from the beginning of the filming of the Whale Rider to the accolades the movie received, then the results. … I was sick of how all of a sudden, because of the movie's success, it was everybody's right to tramp where they wanted when they wanted, and of course the worst ones were the Kiwis. They would argue and get mad with us because we would not allow them into the marae. Yeah, I guess we just got a bit sick of it. We did not put ourselves on the map to become a tourist highlight. … I met many Germans at Whangara and they are very good friends of ours today. All they did was ask. They never assumed they had a right. They just asked. … To all of you who have been let down, hard luck! Whangara is not there to provide for you when you feel like it … Denise Reid, Germany" (The Gisborne Herald 18/02/05).

There is no simple summation possible here: views of Whangara are complex and contradictory. The intertwining of Maori and Pakeha history and framework results in a version of landscape that is contested, full of compromises and difficult to tell (I return to these issues of identity and ownership in chapter 6).

As I have outlined above, the landscape of Whangara is being remade in reaction to and in conjunction with the film Whale Rider and the tourist interest it has generated. The version thus created is not as clear cut and easy to define as Hobbiton/Matamata, because rather than being generally agreed upon and enacted, Whangara/Whale Rider is contested at a basic level by those who want nothing to change after Whale Rider's success. But the location was used *because* of its history, rather than ignoring it and writing an alien history in its place. I believe this closeness between the onscreen landscape narrative and landscape stories from the filming location contribute to the tensions around the Whale Rider film site/Whangara settlement. This continual clash of expectation surrounding a film site between tourists and residents has led Whangara and its landscape to gain new meanings -- different for each person that experiences it, generating a multiplicity of experience and landscapes.

4.2.3 Framing, presencing and remaking landscape through photoboards

In this section, I discuss the use of photoboards (film images or production images) in The Lord of the Rings tours to explore how landscape is in-the-making in relation to film. Specific practices, such as using photoboards (Figure 4.13), are an integral part of making film-landscapes.

Figure 4.13: Dart River tour guide holds photoboard showing Isengard. (Photograph by author)

Photoboards are a popular device used in every The Lord of the Rings tour that I am aware of (this includes: Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour; Dart River Safaris; Nomad Safaris; Hassle-free Tours; Info and Track's Paradise Found; and Wanaka

Sightseeing[10]). They are not however, used in Whale Rider[11]. The use of photoboards is an interesting technique in which tour participants are asked to engage with the film and the landscape. The tours employed photoboards to make their connection with New Zealand landscape explicit, as tour guides held up images from the film when discussing landscape/scenery in front of them. This serves several functions: memory jogging; film becomes landscape; it makes films more real and present; landscape is remade through enactments; the photoboards offer a framed vision of the sublime; and they highlight absent presences.

At a basic level, photoboards are a memory jogging device. The tour guides are reminding us (the tour participants) of what happened in the film and which scene they are talking about in case we either are not familiar with the films, or are not sufficient fans of the film to have memorised every detail. The Lord of the Rings trilogy comprised three complex movies that used many different locations around New Zealand, and mixed them together in a seamless blend using computer effects. There is a lot to remember when on any film site. A representative of one tour, Paradise Found, reported that they had not originally used photoboards but found that people had trouble remembering exact scenes without them (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

Photoboards are not used in the Whale Rider tour, and my brief speculation here is that the simplicity of one movie and one location does not need such a visual support device. The location was very easy to understand and does not need the mediation of photoboards on the tour. I wish to avoid however, reducing Whale Rider to such simple terms and I discuss Whale Rider in more depth later in this section.

The photoboards are also doing other things. When the story of the film is reduced to a series of scenes, film becomes landscape. A sense of story vanishes and all that becomes important is the landscape that featured in the film. In a way this is the goal of tours (and Tourism New Zealand) who are interested in promoting the landscape. Film is a way of holding and generating interest in the New Zealand landscape/scenery, and tour guides are quick to make use of such devices. Chapter 6 discusses how Tourism New Zealand used this relationship between the film and New Zealand landscape to

[10] See table 3.1 for details on these tours or appendix 8.3 for my tour experiences. I went on the first four tours and so relate this section as a tour participant. All the tours just mentioned are discussed in this section.
[11] One of the benefits of a loosely comparative technique is that aspects may be highlighted by their absence in the other situation.

132

promote New Zealand as Middle-earth.

By holding a still from the film, tour guides help make the film more real and present to us. The film may have been in the back of our minds during the tour (as not all these tours have The Lord of the Rings as their focus), but by explicitly discussing it, and then having elements of the film present (not only in the landscape you are looking at, but also film stills), the film is made more present and more real. This taps into a common desire, which is the desire to be part of the movie through visiting a place. Tour operators are aware of this presencing work and the credibility that photoboards provide.

> "David: It's a <u>useful endorsement</u> to say that it's not us saying it. We are interpreting what's here. ...
> Amanda: there might even be a picture of the elves, to know that they [tour participants] have actually seen a Lord of the Rings film location
> ...David: what do some people want to do? They want to touch it. It's just human beings. They all want to touch it.
> Erena: right, so the digital still [photoboard] is that touch point?
> David: yeah. It's just human beings. <u>We are not psychologists, but it's just bloody obvious.</u>" (David and Amanda Gatward-Ferguson, Nomad Safaris owner operators, pers comm. 21/06/06).

The Lord of the Rings Location Guidebook also satisfies this desire, and is used by some of the tour guides for the photos it contains. Many independent travellers also choose to use the guidebook themselves for this purpose rather than go on an expensive tour (Wanaka information centre worker pers comm. 28/10/05). A similar effect is probably gained, though without the anecdotes and knowledge of the tour guides.

Another way the film and Middle-earth is brought forward to greater attention in New Zealand landscape is through the use of maps. Tourist brochures feature sections of New Zealand with Middle-earth locations pinpointed for interest and to generate tourism. The reverse is only occasionally seen, where New Zealand locations are shown on a map of Middle-earth. Through these devices, Middle-earth is literally mapped on to New Zealand. New Zealand is being reimagined as Middle-earth.

Photoboards, guided tour commentaries, The Lord of the Rings Location Guidebook and maps of New Zealand featuring Middle-earth locations are all means by which imaginations associated with The Lord of the Rings films and fantasy world Middle-earth are enacted many times in many specific places.

The desire to be part of the movie is taken a step further through mimicking scenes from the films. On the Hassle-free tour visiting Mt Sunday, the location of Edoras, we were given replica items from the film to play with (Aragorn's sword and flag of Edoras) – much to the satisfaction of the other members of our party, one gentleman commented that it was just the same as the replica sword he had at home! (Figure 4.14).
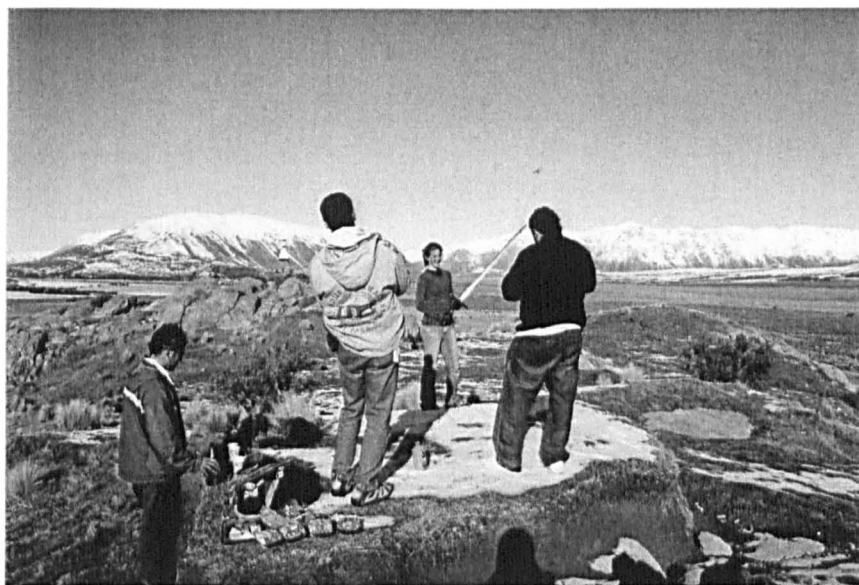
Figure 4.14: Hassle-free Edoras tour, playing with replica sword on Edoras site.
(Photograph by author)

The Wanaka Sightseeing tour, a day tour around Queenstown that visits many The Lord of the Rings locations, also offers items from the film to entice tourists. Owner operator Melissa Heath said she worked hard at collecting all the items and had spent $15,000 on them (pers comm. 26/06/06). She was particularly proud at having "a genuine cape, a cape from the movie".

> "We also have time looking at the weapons and the script and talking. We've got lots and lots of stuff given to us by people who worked in the movies...
>
> It was me who started it, that's a terrible thing to say, but we started off in the very beginning by purchasing Evenstar, Aragorn's ring, that's what we started off with, and when I saw the response to that, people just wet their pants, if you'll excuse me saying. So as I could afford it... got the proper replicas that we imported from the States" (Melissa Heath pers comm. 26/06/06).

On the Edoras tour, we also acted out scenes. This was done *in relation to* images from the film which our tour guide showed us, and was entirely prompted and orchestrated by him[12]. First he showed us an image from a Lord of the Rings film book that he had with

---

[12] Fervent fans have been known to act out scenes unprompted (Melissa Heath pers comm. 6/06/06).

him. Then he showed a still where Eowyn stands in front of the hall, and asked one member of our party to mimic it for us. We could see how she lined up with the image, and thus 'prove' to ourselves that the filming really did occur here, and that we really were standing on the location of Edoras (see Figure 4.15).

Figure 4.15: Tour participant acts out the part of Eowyn, encouraged by the tour guide who used the image of Eowyn shown here for comparison. Note the crevice above both heads. The tour guide pointed this out to consolidate a feeling of presence.
(Top photograph by author, bottom image appears courtesy of New Line Productions, Inc [13])

The Edoras site is different from most others in The Lord of the Rings as it is one of the few not re-jigged significantly by computer editing. The location was filmed without

stitching multiple sites together, so we could more conceivably act out parts. We went around the hill comprehensively, were shown where lots of different parts of the village had been built, and had explained to us what was built and what was computer-generated. The guide checked with us several times whether we were satisfied that we understood what everything had been. It was important to the tour narrative that we could experience this hill as Edoras.

On these tours participants share a narrative, but also create it. We were performing and creating narratives collectively, in the group situation. The role of talk between people on the tour, about the landscape, is also important. It brings landscape into being for people in a way that complements the work the tour guide and photoboards are doing. This imaginary/verbal landscape gets transported and translated as discussion ranges from the location to the film to the book, and as people continue speaking about it when they are no longer on the tours.

On the South Island The Lord of the Rings tours, photoboards are used in the context of a sublime environment. That is to say, that the mountainous regions near Queenstown and Christchurch lend themselves easily to a feeling of awe and sublimity and could be considered in this frame.

The sublime is a notion with a long history, moving from ideas of savage, deserted wilderness, to a romantic sublime where nature is not only powerful, supernatural and terrible, but increasingly considered as a desirable thing to experience. Cronon (1995) has written on the sublime and its relation to national park creation, and he highlights the contradictory idea of an unpeopled wilderness that people wish to enjoy by being there. Shields (1991) also discussed the sublime, in relation to Niagara Falls, and focused on the legacy that sublime discourse could have on an experience. "Visitors continue to measure their experience against the expectation of the sublime, blaming themselves for the inability to appreciate the Falls" (Shields 1991, 125). He noted the increasing commercialisation of the sublime (which led to it being only a kind of performance of this notion). This can be linked to Bell and Lyall's (2002) consideration of the 'accelerated sublime' in New Zealand's (tourist) landscape as they discuss new ways of experiencing and knowing New Zealand's 'beautiful' landscape through adventure tourism.

"The commodified vista is a form of salable experience of nature. Where once

commercialisation offered the vista, or the view translated into a painting or photograph to sell, people now expect to interact with nature in exciting new ways. All over the world there is beautiful nature to look at; but the experience is mediated for the paying tourist" (Bell and Lyall 2002, 58).

I argue that photoboards are part of this commodification of the vista and mediation of landscape experience for the tourist. Through the use of photoboards, a 'sublime' landscape is represented in a smaller, shrunken, *framed* version that is held up for simultaneous viewing (with the material landscape) by the tour guide (Figure 4.16).

Figure 4.16: A framed vision of the sublime? (Photograph by author)

The impressive mountains in front of us are remembered for their role in the film, and then explicitly framed and captured by the innocuous photoboard, shown in order to compare, contrast and make sense of the surrounding view. Through this gesture (holding the film still in front of the 'set'), which is repeated at many locations, we are offered a new understanding of sublime landscapes. It is saying that the sublime landscape can be best understood through the framings The Lord of the Rings filmmakers have selected. What we will find inspiring and impressive is almost predetermined as we remember being impressed when first seeing these landscapes at the theatre. And now when amongst them, we remember and refer back to that emotion, or -- if we have not seen the film -- the virtual/expected emotion we create. The photoboards offer a way of understanding that which we do not understand -- giving a framed version of the wild landscape around us. It captures the view into a small, knowable and memorable piece. The effect of The Lord of the Rings here then, is to

view the surrounding area with an emotion generated by the film that we may not otherwise feel. This return is an emotional element to our relationship with mountains (a key part of the notion of the sublime) -- and it is a version many can participate in[14].

Effectively, The Lord of the Rings and its story offer a way to understand the New Zealand landscape to those unfamiliar with it, but who know The Lord of the Rings story. It also re-presents New Zealand landscape as worthy of awe and mystery, not only because the landscapes are mountainous and spectacular (which has a long association with the sublime), but also because of the fantasy element and filmic 'magic' involved in creating the photoboards/film stills. Photoboards on film tours are a 'tamer' but no less powerful re-framing of the (sublime) landscape.

On the one hand photoboards frame a view, on the other they present an absence for examination. On the Hobbiton tour, coloured pegs and photoboards were used to show where important places *had been.* They mark an absent presence. People are visiting a place that is no longer there. It is a vestige, a trace (just as Middle-earth is a fictional place in the books), but the imagining of it as Middle-earth is powerful. My favourite example of absent presence is Figure 4.17. Here a tourist is truly embracing the absence of a presence as she photographs a mound of dirt where a hobbit hole *has been removed.* There is a photo board in front of it, which marks the site as significant. Absent presences are an important part of the new landscapes-in-the-making, for without it, she may not know or consider it an important pile of dirt. Photoboards exemplify this making-significant as a tour guide holds up a still, points to it and says 'see, here is where Edoras was on top of this hill' (Figure 4.18). As he is doing this, he is bringing the movie version of Edoras into the present moment. The destroyed building, that lives on in film, is once again made present through marking out its absence.

The photoboards make present something which is now gone in one sense, but still exists in another within the film. This recalls Baudrillard's (1988) idea of simulacra, where a copy of a copy becomes more important than the thing itself, where the signifier exists without reference to the original signified. This is not quite the case on film tours as photoboards use a mixture of signifiers and presence. Film stills (which

---

[14] New Zealand landscape is frequently discussed through Maori legends, The Lord of the Rings is a Pakeha story that can be offered to facilitate consumption of the New Zealand landscape.

refer to the now absent or signified film reel), the photos of film sets at locations (partly absent, partly present), and also photos of production (mostly here). All photoboards refer to the location participants are currently in, which is definitely still present but which no longer contains all its filmic elements (parts of the original signified remain to be compared with the signifier). These are brought into the moment by the photos which are acting as signifiers of the film production time. The film tours are therefore not offering simulations or hyper reality, even though they are themeing places. It is a complex situation in which many versions, both present and absent, are involved.
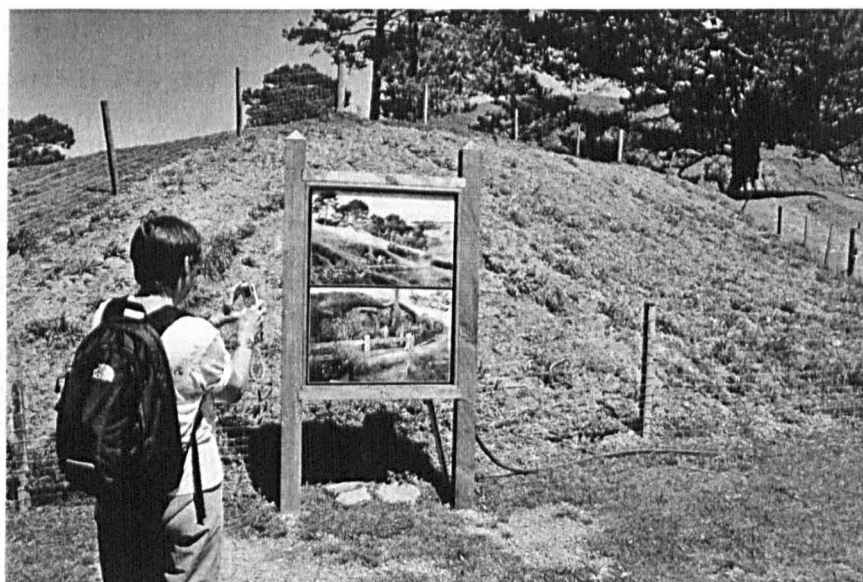
Figure 4.17: An absent hobbit hole captures attention. (Photograph by author)
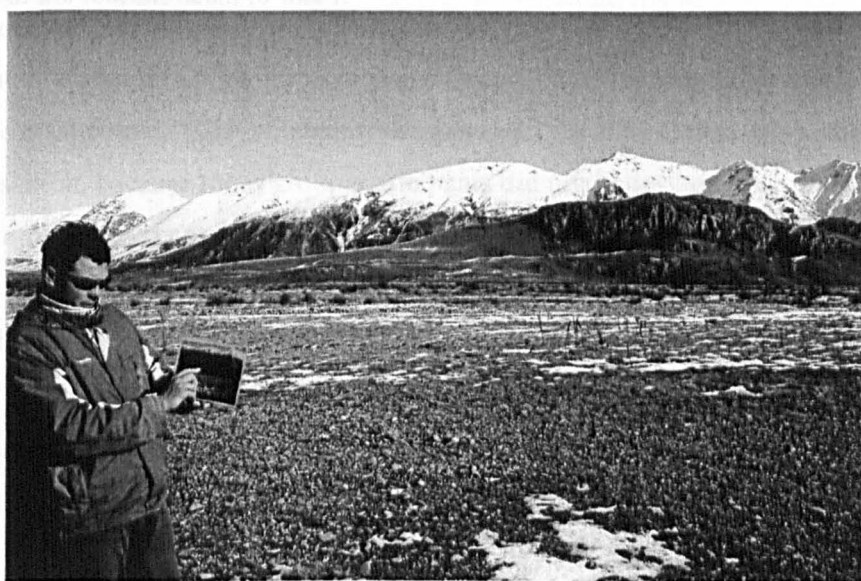
Figure 4.18: 'Edoras used to be here, on top of the hill'. (Photograph by author)

Tourists largely accept this framework for seeing New Zealand as Middle-earth landscapes. Contrary to what might be expected, I did not witness or hear about anyone on a tour contesting any part of the tours or how they were run. Passive resistance may explain this to some degree, people may not be that concerned about the film one way or another, and so do not go on tours, or if they do go on them do not disrupt the narrative. The only form of resistance I came across was verbal, from locals, not people on the tours.

In Matamata, high school students spoke of 'some holes in the ground' that were expensive to visit,

> "Erena: have you guys been out to the farm?
> F (Female): no
> M (Male): no
> F: no
> M: it's like ...
> F: yeah fifty dollars
> F: fifty dollars
> ...
> M: yeah it's right on our backs doorstep really, I could go to the back of our farm and you're pretty much there, but not there. I could get in for free. It just doesn't interest me that much
> M: yeah it's just like little holes in the [ground] ...
> (massive laughter and agreement)
> F: yeah there's a hole ... great
> F: whoa not seen those before
> M: (whispers) cow
> (laughter)
> M: but the tourists seem to like it"
> (Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05).

Christchurch focus group participants also expressed a worry that tour participants would be disappointed (Christchurch focus group 25/06/06). This shows some degree of contestation, because focus group participants did not believe the tour narratives and worried others would not enjoy the story or believe them either.

Generally, New Zealanders believed the tours were for other people, "for me it's just for international tourists, not for an actual New Zealander" (female, Auckland focus group 2, 16/11/05). Although, while in general people were disparaging of tours in their local area, some focus groups participants were interested in tours in areas they were not familiar with. Gisborne focus group participants thought that The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider made them curious to visit the film locations.

"I think it's a lot more prettier and it's kind of made me want to go to the South

Island and go see the Southern Alps and Queenstown and that"

"Just different places like the hobbits, where the hobbits live, was that on someone's farm and you go visit that now, it'd be pretty cool"

"Erena: and what about Whale Rider, did that change how you feel about anything or...
F.: it made me go to Whangara and go have a look
F.: yeah I went and had a look at it"
(Gisborne Girls High School focus group 1, 20/10/05).

An alternative way the tour framework is being contested is through people doing their own tours. As mentioned previously there is anecdotal evidence to suggest people are using The Lord of the Rings Location Guidebook to do self guided tours of New Zealand in relation to Middle-earth. I am not sure whether this is breaking away from the pattern set by guided tours where film images are compared to landscape, or if the same behaviours are being reproduced individually. I suspect tourists use the book in much the same way, directly comparing guidebook images to locations they are in. In any event, Christchurch focus group participants recounted their contestation of the tour framework, which was appreciated by others in the group.

"Erena: would you guys go on a tour like that?
F: I'd go to hobbit town (laughter)
M: we drove for 20 minutes and saw the same scenery anyway, though not exactly
M: I've done the Otago highland stuff, we just followed one of the tours. We had a four-wheel-drive and were driving up there and just stopped where they stopped (laughter)
F: they probably get that all the time"
(Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

There is a strong desire to be part of a movie through visiting a place, which all tours draw on, whether official or unofficial.

The Whale Rider tour does not use visual referents as employed by The Lord of the Rings tour guides. Remembrance of the story and relating the film context to the Whangara location is largely left to the participant. Photoboards or other visual reminders of how Whangara looked at the time of filming are not used. I did not discuss this difference with Hone Taumaunu (tour guide) as at the time of my visit I had not noticed the significance of photoboards. I speculate however, that it may be for several reasons.

Firstly, the tour is run on an ad hoc basis, only when there is enough demand (and only on certain days if Hone is available). Tour growth is further restricted by Hone not

having (or planning to get) a licence that would enable him to transport people to Whangara for the tours. Currently, tour participants must make their own way to Whangara (not readily signposted, not on a public transport route and 20 minutes drive from Gisborne). Indeed, it is difficult to compare and contrast Whale Rider tours with The Lord of the Rings tours. All The Lord of the Rings tours mentioned are commercial operations, operating tourism ventures for their livelihood (even if The Lord of the Rings is not their main focus) but the Whale Rider tour is a part-time venture that is tolerated by the community. As such, devices such as photoboards could cause the tours' presence (allowed in its existing form) to be rejected by the community.

Secondly, it is an easier site to remember. The film was made almost all in one location and was filmed without the technological splicing that makes The Lord of the Rings locations difficult to identify. Thirdly, Maori tradition prioritises oral accounts over the visual, and their artistic traditions feature carvings which depict people and events, not visual landscapes. Therefore there may not be an automatic connection between showing a film site and the need to reference the film visually, instead the main content of the tour is rich oral histories.

Enactment still occurs at the Whale Rider site. Tour guide Hone reported that like The Lord of the Rings situation, huge fans of Whale Rider have been on the tour. They knew where everything occurred and many lines from the film (pers comm. 18/10/05). In Whangara too, tour participants are offered a little bit of participation by entering the marae and wharenui (not usually permitted without formal welcome), and getting to wear the reiputa (whale tooth pendant) that played such a significant role in the film, (Hone was gifted it by the filmmakers). The fibreglass waka and whales used in the movie are also on display *and can potentially be interacted with by tour visitors and locals*. Unfortunately, I did the tour on my own and when I visited the settlement, it was deserted. Whangara is a commuter settlement with less than 30 residents and in the two hours I was there on a weekday afternoon, I saw only one other lady, briefly in the distance. I therefore do not know if any interaction, in which the items are incorporated in play or speech, occurs.

The Lord of the Rings tours use photoboards that frame and control the landscape and how we respond to it. There are elements of authentication here, of tying down responses to the landscape. The tours offer both different ways of seeing and ways of

142

performing the landscape to create new altered landscapes. The Whale Rider tour is predominantly an oral tour, about listening to the stories (which occurs on all tours) and about being in a particular community. It is much less about framing the landscape for new and exciting views, but is a way of performing landscape in relation to the film, and of performing landscape in relation to the repercussions of the film's popularity.

Photoboards do important work in the guided tours, helping to remake landscape through offering new visions of it. Literally the tour guides frame the landscape. Whale Rider reminds us that sometimes what is *not* happening is just as important, as visual and transportable pieces of film are *not used* to remind of the film narrative and emotion. At Whangara there is a multiplicity of experiences and landscapes. Whale Rider participates in the always-becoming landscape, just as much as in the more obvious The Lord of the Rings examples.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the role of film tours in making and re-making landscapes. It has highlighted some of the processes involved in the film-landscape interactions and argues that multiple new versions of landscapes are now being performed in relation to the films.

Where almost no sets remain in New Zealand, other than the landscape, The Lord of the Rings tours still manage to recreate and re-enact places as if they truly existed. This is most successful in the Hobbiton case, where the sense of a settlement combines with sets to make a strong impression. As I have demonstrated, New Zealand sites are visited with The Lord of the Rings in mind, and are performed as The Lord of the Rings locations on a variety of levels.

The role of the film should not be underestimated here. On all The Lord of the Rings tours, The Lord of the Rings films were continually referred to when walking around. We were asked to match our physical location with elements in the film, and saw how space was compressed and altered in the film versions, as disparate locations are juxtaposed. This comparison is assisted by the extensive use of photoboards. The film landscape is thus repeatedly intertwined with the New Zealand landscape -- new landscapes and geographical imaginations of place result. Perhaps these imaginations existed previously. It is true that English settlers openly attempted to remake New

Zealand in the image of their homeland (just as New Zealand stands in for Europe in the films), but these visions were restricted. Now the imagining of New Zealand as exotic, other, Middle-earth, is widespread and also enacted at specific sites.

In The Lord of the Rings films, New Zealand landscape is shown without reference to its actual history. The history of Middle-earth replaces New Zealand history. So if onscreen New Zealand landscape is presented without history, what might this lead to on the tours? Should we expect that tours will focus on the plot, dynamics and motivations of the characters in the sites 'where they happened'? This does occur, although it also depends on the makeup of the group. (Tour operators told me that most 'ringdons' (those who dress up and speak Elvish) have been and gone). But because of the history of the area, the net effect instead is that Lord of the Rings tours tell *multiple* stories. Each tour is a mixture of The Lord of the Rings stories (this happened here, this is where such and such was), next to Maori histories and legends, glacial history of the area, goldmining history, and stories about the production of the film itself (and other filming since). The Lord of the Rings film production and film plot has been *added* to New Zealand history. The South Island Lord of the Rings tours are in well-established tourist destinations that have plenty to offer any visitor. Most tours existed prior to The Lord of the Rings and responded to demand by offering The Lord of the Rings themed tours or adding Rings information to their tours. Here, sets have been removed and The Lord of the Rings is one of many layers available. Despite the various locations having different histories, all The Lord of the Rings tours have elements of similarity in their approaches.

However, The Lord of the Rings is the only tourism drawcard for Matamata and Hobbiton. The Waikato is not a place of spectacular landscapes and Matamata has no history of tourism. In this case, The Lord of the Rings is not just another layer, it is the only layer of significance (tourism)[15]. Yet, despite this, the farm is not erased, but incorporated in the tour at a low-level (its official name is Hobbiton Movie Set and *Farm* Tour), as is the production experience of the Alexander family. There are also low-level contestations by local residents who refer to Hobbiton as 'holes in the ground'. There are therefore similar intertwinings and multiple stories, but with different content than the South Island tours.

---

[15] I explore the role of context in film resonances further in chapter 5.

144

In comparison to the Lord of the Rings, Whangara was used in Whale Rider *for* its history and cultural meanings. It is the place from which the whale rider originates. Rather than adding a new story into narratives of the area, the Whangara story is the story of Whale Rider (or at least a small portion of the Whangara story). It is not as clear-cut or as easy to see dramatic remakings of landscape in Whangara as it is in Hobbiton. Yet new meanings have been associated with this landscape. The ways people experience and make landscape are now at least partly a response to the Whale Rider film. It is being remade from an unnoticed settlement to a reluctant tourist destination. The site as a tourist destination is strongly contested: this is not how the residents wish Whangara to be viewed or enacted. Yet, perhaps because of the positive discourse surrounding film production and collaboration with iwi, and perhaps because its 'sets' still exist, it is a drawcard for those who have seen or heard of Whale Rider.

The chapter also explored the specific practices through which film locations were authenticated and absences made present (hobbit holes, pegs in the ground, photoboards and so on) -- all of which raise questions about 'constructed authenticity', and are part of exploring film-landscape interactions in the making of new versions of landscapes.

The films also centre imaginaries and the re-imagining of landscapes. Again Law's work is helpful:

> "Imaginary: a 'repertoire by which the world can be re-imagined and in being re-imagined be remade'" (Verran in Law 2004, 160).

Film is part of the re-imagining and remaking that Verran refers to. Landscapes are multiple, layered and contain many experiences and meanings, which continue to evolve, adding and reshaping landscapes. Landscape is always-in-the-making. In the chapter I have explored how this happens in relation to film: film is made present and as part of imaginings; the landscape is framed to be understood in terms of the film; and these new imaginings are contested. It is the performance of new imaginaries that gives them power. I have explored the ways film-landscape interactions produce new and multiple landscapes in different audiences: raising tensions between Maori and Pakeha 'ways of seeing/being'; expectations clashing between commercial exploitation and respect for a lived-in community; New Zealand locals and visitors versus international visitors; issues of rights to private ownership versus popular imaginations and their wider circulation (I return to these questions in chapter 6).

New stories and multiple versions coexist as a result of the films and film-tours. In The Lord of the Rings' case this multiplicity of stories occur *on* the tours, in the Whale Rider case it occurs at a distance through community discussion. The Lord of the Rings tours explicitly focus on the spectacular beauty of landscape they visit, show pictures of the films and film locations during production, and encourage consumption of both landscape and the film. This is all mediated through production anecdotes, technical information about site splicing, and other relevant New Zealand history and information. Whale Rider tours focus on Whangara history and Maori culture, rather than gazing into the distance at spectacular views. All tours encouraged re-enactment, which makes the films more present and real. The legacy of the film imagination is strong and has altered landscapes involved with it. Films have a strong presence and underline all the stories and experiences on the tours. The tours are a strong facilitator in film-landscape interactions. Through them we can see ideas of landscape as a way of seeing, and landscape being performed, in action simultaneously. As I have demonstrated, applying Law's (2004) work on multiplicity produces a space in which landscape as representation and landscape as performed coexist in unique and meaningful ways. There is a physical, emotional and imaginative component to this. The examples here are *moments* -- meanings and experiences will continue to evolve, adding and reshaping the landscapes.

The next chapter explores the impact of film-related tourism on two particular places. It takes the perspective of residents and tour operators, addressing 'what are the social and cultural resonances of film' by exploring the effects The Lord of the Rings has had on those living there. Chapter 5, like this chapter, takes into account the history of a place and the ways this influences film resonances.

5 Placing *The Lord of the Rings*

By 'placing' The Lord of the Rings in this chapter, I explore how the trilogy plays out differently in different places. More specifically, this chapter is an in-depth exploration of how residents respond to tourism generated by the trilogy, particularly focusing on how tour operators have responded to the films and constructed their product. The views gathered are sometimes contradictory and confusing. As Massey puts it, "This is place as open and as internally multiple" (2005, 141). I show in this chapter that place is constituted in multiple ways, that many opinions, happenings and viewpoints make the "the event of place ... [which is] not intrinsically coherent" (Massey 2005, 141).

The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider are often talked about as *New Zealand* films (a concept I explore in chapter 6). But are they also Matamata, Queenstown, Wellington, Whangara, Gisborne, Christchurch and South Island films? In this chapter I examine the popular and commercial responses to filming locations in or near these towns and cities. The two case study locations selected -- Matamata (with the Hobbiton filming site nearby) and Queenstown (with many The Lord of the Rings locations accessible) -- show different responses to the same films.

We know that The Lord of the Rings has circulated as a film and that as a popular movie it has the potential to influence imaginaries about places. We know that the film production moved around New Zealand and filmed in many different areas. Tourists are also moving (in part) in response to the film, and film tours are a form of movement closely tied to the film. What effects does all this circulation of film-landscape have?

This chapter looks at certain sites, and asks how these places are being experienced as a result of the powerful movement of film tourism (movement generated by film). I examine how tour operators and residents (overlapping categories) encounter and deal with the effects of circulation, how film tours are made, and how The Lord of the Rings

phenomenon (as it interacts with their town) is perceived.

This chapter demonstrates that the same film, The Lord of the Rings, can have very different resonances in different places. The films' effects are highly situated and need further unpacking to more fully understand the interesting relationship of the making of these films and their impacts on the local communities. Moreover, the films play out differently *within* places – individuals hold contradictory and conflicting views to others (and sometimes themselves). In chapter 4 I discussed the different experiences between The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider but exploring *only* The Lord of the Rings trilogy here gives a constant by which to examine the different places and very different experiences. (Whale Rider is not part of the discussion here, though I return to it in chapter 6.)

Considering Matamata and Queenstown as places rather than destinations shifts the focus away from the tourist. The tourism concept of place tends to be at-a-distance, as places to visit then leave, or as places where we are not (Tzanelli 2004, Crang 2006). Crang argues that the conceptualisation of destination is currently too simple and bounded, "places are made but they are not bounded, fixed entities but are relationally linked to other places" (2006, 54). I agree with the spirit of this but I believe that his (and others e.g. Baerenholdt et al. 2004) conceptualisation of place is still of 'place as destination'. He therefore sees a 'wider' destination as linked to the ways in which tourists begin to make places before they arrive and continue after they leave. This is to prioritise the tourist as the centre of an experience of place. Instead, I seek to explore Matamata and Queenstown as lived-in places. In doing this I need to be wary of "privileging of 'real' places as in some ways immobile places populated by 'insiders' or locals" (Crang 2006, 55). I offer the perspectives of residents in their own words to illustrate how they perceive The Lord of the Rings has affected their place. I also acknowledge that places are neither fixed or bound and are about more than residents – tourists equally make/perform the places they visit (Baerenholdt et al. 2004). However the experience *in* place is the focus here.

The Lord of the Rings means different things to people living in or visiting different places. The argument set out by Massey (1984) on spatial divisions of labour is appropriate here as it gives insight into why Queenstown's reaction was different to Matamata's. In Massey's analysis of Britain's industrial geography, she uses a

sedimentary analogy to show that successive rounds of economic investment have had several different impacts in different places because of their different histories. So too, with The Lord of the Rings. An apparently 'national' (or international) film has had different resonances in different places.

The responses of Queenstown and Matamata to the films are "in combination with and embedded in particular conditions producing the uniqueness of local economic and social structures" (Massey 1984, 195). While Massey is concerned with economic policy and the impact of investment on a place, her insistence that places are not a blank canvas and that previous histories matter to current developments is a useful frame to apply to the analysis in this chapter. Places are a palimpsest, and new events interact with old.

However, as I demonstrate, The Lord of the Rings shows that it is not only spatial context that makes a difference but also social differences. Jackson (1991) critiques Massey's spatial divisions of labour arguing towards the greater inclusion of social and cultural characteristics. These matter as much to the workings of a place and its interaction with other places as its economic history. The experience of The Lord of the Rings phenomenon is different between tour operators and others involved in the tourism industry, and other residents less involved. It is however also different amongst tourist operators themselves. Responses to and plans for the future vary. There is no single 'Lord of the Rings experience' as this chapter illustrates.

5.1 Matamata

5.1.1 General resonances: "too hobbitised"

How has The Lord of the Rings played out in Matamata? What resonances did the filming, and later circulation of films, have on this place? In what ways do the new film-landscape interactions impact? This section explores how The Lord of the Rings is experienced in Matamata.

Matamata is a small North Island town, and described as,

"a rural Waikato town with a total population of around 12,000 (6,000 rural - 6,000 township). Nestled at the base of the scenic Kaimai Ranges, it is the centre of a

thriving farming area. Matamata is noted as an important bloodstock region"[1].

Hobbiton is one of the few North Island Lord of the Rings locations[2] and the *only* site

which retains any The Lord of the Rings sets other than natural features. There *were* 58

other Lord of the Rings sets. Now there is just Hobbiton[3] (Henry Horne pers comm.

25/10/05). As a unique site, Hobbiton is a significant feature in The Lord of the Rings

tourism. Matamata has reacted in a variety of ways to this new interest.

The filming of Hobbiton in the Waikato was unexpected, as was tourist interest in it.

For Sue Whiting, whose job it is to promote Matamata's businesses, "It was a miracle

which dropped from the sky" (pers comm. 27/10/05). There are differences in how

Hobbiton is regarded, and this can be first glimpsed in the varying ways it is referred to.

The Lord of the Rings rhetoric refers to Hobbiton and Matamata interchangeably, a

fusion which is encouraged to attract tourism. The local newspaper on the other hand

(Matamata Chronicle), usually refers to Hobbiton as 'the Hinuera site', a more precise

location drawing on local knowledge of the area. It is also known as the Alexander

farm, and 'holes in the ground'.

Views on the impact Hobbiton has made on Matamata vary widely. There is a

connection between involvement and viewpoint. Those that see the Hobbiton tour and

its success positively are also heavily involved. Sue Whiting[4] firmly believed that it has

had a positive impact and that there are significant economic spin-offs.

> "If we didn't have that [a Lord of the Rings site] we would be in decline like other
> rural towns, creating one off events. <u>We are in a privileged position</u> ... the town is
> growing fast economically" (pers comm. 27/10/05)

The marketing manager for Rings Scenic Tours, Henry Horne, also believed there was

> "spin off for a larger portion of town, even hairdressers, cafes are a big winner ... it's
> great for Waikato too, we're struggling to find more activities... now we have
> Hobbiton to add to this, it gives Waikato another shot in the arm, make it a
> destination not a passing through area" (pers comm. 25/10/05).

The tour guide with whom I did my tour, known as JR, also sees Hobbiton as a positive.

---

[1] www.matamata-info.co.nz/information.htm, 'Information, maps, events listing, Matamata-New Zealand'
accessed 23/10/07.
[2] See figure 3.1 for other North Island Lord of the Rings locations.
[3] "17 of the original 37 hobbit holes remain" (www.hobbitontours.com/abouthobbits.htm, 'About hobbits'
accessed 23/10/07).
[4] Sue Whiting has a range of roles. She is the public relations manager and manager of Matamata's i-Site
(Tourism New Zealand's official information network). The Matamata i-Site acts as Rings Scenic Tours'
ticketing office and collects a commission on tickets sold , "profit must go back to the town". She is also
involved in the Matamata Tourism Action Group (Sue Whiting pers comm. 27/10/05).

150

"It's good for the local economy, brings lots of money in" (pers comm. 25/10/05). His close involvement probably makes it easier to see benefits.

While for those directly involved the interest and impact of Hobbiton is obvious and significant, others believe Hobbiton has made no particular difference to Matamata.

"A one off event, if it stopped tomorrow it would be a shame, but it would not make a big difference ... [the Melbourne Cup is] just as powerful [an advertisement], more so for Matamata than Hobbiton itself." (Dennis Bellamy, environmental services manager, Matamata-Piako District Council pers comm. 26/10/05)

Dennis Bellamy's reaction reflects his lack of involvement in the tour, and also his position on a council concerned with the regional picture. There was some conflict evident in the two interviews I had with Sue Whiting and Dennis Bellamy, although I interviewed them separately, they were aware of each other's opinions and fundamentally disagreed with each other on the impact Hobbiton has on Matamata.

Generally, the town is noted to be busier, with many tourists, and an increase in presentation. "We get a lot of tourists taking photos outside the shop [where I work]" (female, Matamata College focus group 2, 27/10/05). "The whole town's gone flash, like they've torn pavements up ... and they've redone all the gardens and stuff, so cause it used to be full of weeds" (Matamata College focus group 2, 27/10/05). Matamata students thought that they "used to be such a small town" and that it has given them "a lot of business" (Matamata College focus group 2, 27/10/05). Most discussion around the benefits/disadvantages of Hobbiton focused on small changes in everyday life. For example, not being able to find parking, "now you just can't find a parking space" (male, Matamata College focus group 2, 27/10/05), "just made it busier" (female, Matamata College focus group 2, 27/10/05) and an increased number of food outlets to cater for tourism demand, "before we were lucky to have a KFC mate" (JR pers comm. 25/10/05), "Subway opening ... that wouldn't happen probably like before" (female, Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05). There are more cafes, and motel owners have more business, "two to three extra units a week hired ... there is more impact for those on the main street [and the] number of food places has increased" (Matamata Broadway motel owner pers comm. 26/10/05). Although these changes noted are small, they are significant to those involved.

Overall however, Matamata residents accept that Hobbiton as a tourism site has changed what visitors want from Matamata. Although they see it as the same to live in,

they were aware of and frustrated by the dominance of Hobbiton rhetoric to describe Matamata.

> "When you say Matamata people say Hobbiton – they make the connection ... [but] some believe <u>Matamata is too hobbitised</u>" (Sandra Hunter, Matamata Chronicle pers comm. 26/10/05).

> "F: it's just all ...
> F: <u>it's just too much</u>
> F: like they went through a phase of painting every window
> F: yeah they painted all the windows of hobbit holes and stuff
> F: and like renamed the shops
> F: yeah that hair feet place is stupid ..."
> (Matamata College focus group 2, 27/10/05)

One business owner expressed the conflicting opinions held by many people. He viewed it, as did others, as both a good and bad influence.

> "Matamata is a major stop off now. Personally it's <u>good to see the town going ahead</u>, like it should be. Some people say <u>they are sick of it. It does get to that stage</u>. Business-wise it's great, always need more money spent. But it's <u>hard to find lunch, tourists have eaten it all</u>! There's no bacon and egg pie, very annoying! Be alright if they came and spent $200 [in my store] (laughter)" (pers comm. 26/10/05).

There is also tension around the incredible success of Hobbiton and it being a private venture, owned by the Alexander family on whose farm filming occurred. There is some envy of the Alexander success.

> "Some are thinking everything is to put money in the Alexander pocket, a bit of this is envy" (Dennis Bellamy pers comm. 26/10/05).

> "There is an evolving reaction ... only a small section benefits" (Sandra Hunter pers comm. 26/10/05).

Along with an acknowledgement of the changes, those not involved in Hobbiton business think that Hobbiton is in the past and should no longer be affecting everyday life.

> "<u>We're over it, move on</u>. It's been done and trashed. <u>The Lord of the Rings is no longer here and not coming back</u>. We're sick of the movies ... [it was] great when it started, but can't drum it anymore. The movies are completed. Put the effort somewhere else" (Rexine Harman, Matamata Chronicle pers comm. 26/10/05).

This illustrates a general weariness of the theme. As Dennis Bellamy put it, which coincided with my own judgement, there is "worn-out-ness from locals ... there is weariness but nothing negative" (pers comm. 26/10/05).

Sue Whiting was obviously frustrated by the town's inability to see positive benefits.

> "We encourage the town to celebrate, put up the Hobbiton sign, [but the town] couldn't see any benefit, not anti, but takes a little while to see the benefit ... in the

second year, Business Association members decorated windows [with paintings of hobbit holes], but the businesses tired of it before visitors did, and took them down" (pers comm. 27/10/05) (see Figure 5.1).
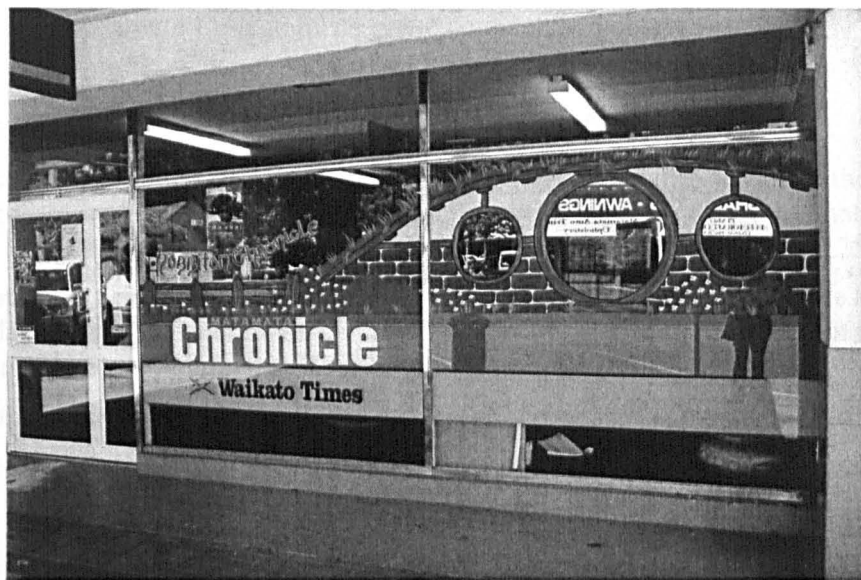
Figure 5.1: Some of the decorated windows remained in October 2005. See also Figure 4.4
(Photograph by author)

There is however, general consensus that Hobbiton has added to Matamata's profile, "it put Matamata on the map" (Sandra Hunter pers comm. 26/10/05). This is a great concern of rural towns and rhetoric that underlies all considerations of The Lord of the Rings (explored in chapter 6).

> "Amazed and thrilled now on the map. Media coverage from all over the world ... people say they don't see the benefit, then complain that they can't get a park ... [it is] publicity worldwide that New Zealand couldn't buy. The town has prospered, not just Hobbiton, for every one on the tour, three others are in town" (Sue Whiting pers comm. 27/10/05).

Sue Whiting sees through the lens of promoting Matamata and sees Hobbiton as a way to do this, although she says she is "careful not to talk about just Hobbiton, to balance it, to promote the area" nevertheless the Matamata Tourism Action Group, "want[s] to brand the town Hobbiton" (pers comm. 27/10/05). But although "the council paid for the Hobbiton sign" (Dennis Bellamy pers comm. 26/10/05), there is no council money planned to be spent in the future, as the council does not see tourism as a high priority. (Sue Whiting pers comm. 27/10/05).

Local responses to the Hobbiton tour and site itself focus around the issue of cost.

> "New Zealanders aren't prepared to pay $50 to see the farm. It's okay for you and

me, but a whole family would be $250" (Broadway motel owner pers comm. 26/10/05).

"There is anti-ness about the price - $50 is ludicrous, but for overseas visitors it's cheap" (Dennis Bellamy pers comm. 26/10/05).

(See also Matamata College focus group comments in chapter 4)

Those involved with the Hobbiton tour are well aware of this reaction,

"[locals] can't understand the theory of $50 to see holes in the ground ... they struggle to understand the logic behind it, they're brought up with the countryside. New Zealanders don't understand the beauty" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

"In our own country we're reluctant to pay. Reluctant tourists. Not in the holiday mindset. Why pay in our own country? ... they're holes in the ground, but they haven't been out there" (Sue Whiting pers comm. 27/10/05)

Despite this unenthusiastic attitude towards Hobbiton, those I spoke to assured me there were no negative opinions. JR (tour guide) believed that most of the town were neither negative nor resentful of the tour's success.

"Local reaction? Mostly 'what do you want to go out and see bits of plywood for?' but if you're into how movies are made, then you're into it ... most people don't care what goes on out here mate, just think lucky buggers" (pers comm. 25/10/05).

This nicely sums up both the strange mixture of ambivalence and indignation, as well as illustrating the dominant narrative that capitalising on the film location is to be expected (as compared with Whale Rider).

There are two particular nuclei around which varying views on Hobbiton were articulated. Firstly, the potential of a Hobbiton mural being part of newly constructed public toilets was causing contention during my visit. Many people mentioned it to me, and their diverse opinions reflect the wider views on the Hobbiton site and its effect on the town.

"We have built new toilets. Some believe it's because of Hobbiton, but we are on the Rotorua triangle, lots of Asian buses come through" (Dennis Bellamy pers comm. 26/10/05).

"The toilets were opened two weeks ago, with images from around Matamata. Nothing Hobbiton" (Rexine Harman pers comm. 26/10/05).

Rexine considered this the end of the matter, but Sue Whiting insisted that

"The [Hobbiton] façade will happen... clean, tidy and not offensive, keep it simple on the way into town" (pers comm. 27/10/05).

While these comments are about the fairly insignificant matter of public toilets, the debate had a reasonable longevity – I spoke to people in October 2005, and the local newspaper carried both a Letter to the Editor in March 2005 and a story 'What shape the

toilet façade?' in April 2005. In this short article, four people were polled, two saying Hobbiton should be on the façade, one against, saying "something that's more Matamata" and one holding a middle ground, "we should have a mural to do with the farming community and maybe a little something to do with Hobbiton put in too". (Matamata Chronicle 07/04/05). This sums up the equivocation and disagreement felt towards Hobbiton and its dominance in current narratives of what it means to be in Matamata.

The second notable thing around which opinion coalesced is the Hobbiton sign in the centre of town (see figure 4.3). There were reports that it had been stolen several times and the 'spin' given to these reports differed. Tour guide JR mentioned it as part of his humorous tour narrative "the Hobbiton sign was stolen three times". He gave the strong impression that people wanted the sign as a souvenir. This was not how others saw the events. "The sign was stolen once, got it back. It was confirmed it was a high school prank" (Sandra Hunter pers comm. 26/10/05). Others believed it was a reaction to being too Hobbitonised. "[They] stole the sign – to get rid of it, sick of Hobbiton things" (Rexine Harman pers comm. 26/10/05). High school students thought it was amusing that people would steal it (Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05).

Perhaps a more obvious reflection on the Hobbiton sign is that many tourists pose in front of it when in town. "I hate driving through town and then foreigners running across the road in front of cars [to get to the Hobbiton sign]" (Matamata focus group 2, 27/10/05). Many examples of people in front of the sign can be found on the internet, and as if to reinforce this, when I was interviewed by Matamata Chronicle, I was asked to pose in front of the sign for their photo (Figure 5.2). Thus neatly adding myself to the category 'tourist' and joining the circulation of images that becomes iconic through repetition.

The two examples explored above show how the infiltration of Hobbiton into daily thought. It impacts on people's views of the town. Hobbiton as a large tourist destination is a significant development and the people of Matamata are still dealing with this. "There has been a revolution on thinking of Matamata" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05). This revolution of thinking is influencing people's visiting habits to Matamata and how those locals feel about it. This all originates from the fact that The Lord of the Rings was filmed there.

Movies set scene for PHD

The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider has brought an English student all the way to New Zealand.

New Zealander Erena LeHeron has been studying a PHD in geography at the University of Sheffield in England for the past year.

She is doing a paper on New Zealand movies and how they influence peoples' ideas about places.

She has visited Gisborne for Whale Rider and Matamata for the Lord of the Rings, two New Zealand-made movies which have become very popular around the world.

"Everyone has been really helpful. It was just hard at first, talking to complete strangers."

Erena's masters is on New Zealand film and how film-makers use geographical imagination.

"[For this paper] I wanted to do less about production, focus on after the film got out and the impact films can have on how we imagine places."

Erena was going to stay in the United Kingdom but wanted to continue the interest from her masters, which is

why she chose New Zealand.

She also said it gave her an excuse to come home and see her family and friends. She has been back in New Zealand for three weeks out of her planned seven-week stay.

The visiting won't be over though, she will be back in New Zealand in June next year to visit destinations in the

South Island that are connected to the movies.

For now, Erena is having a great time talking to people and doing the tours.

"It's been interesting with the tours, and hearing different reactions from different people. It's what I love most."

This is the first time Erena has visited Matamata properly.

She stopped here several years ago for some food while on her way to Rotorua.

She said, from what she remembered, it had changed.

"There are more food places and the information centre seems quite cool. Some people have embraced it [Hobbiton] others seem to do their own thing."

The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider movie propaganda has brought student Erena LeHeron all the way from The University of Sheffield in England to study the influences on people and places.

Figure 5.2: I pose in front of the Hobbiton sign, as many have done before (Matamata Chronicle undated c. 26/10/05-09/11/05)

I have outlined Matamata's response to Hobbiton and have shown that although generally there is ambivalence and weariness, those involved in the Hobbiton tour are excited by its possibilities. The section has highlighted that there are multiple contradictory responses to The Lord of the Rings *within* a place.

5.1.2 Tour operator response: "wonderful opportunity"

Section 5.1.1 gives the impression that those involved with the Hobbiton tour were always enthusiastic and positive towards it. However, as this section demonstrates this was not the case. The Matamata response to tourism is very different from Queenstown's (explained in section 5.2). In Matamata there was an evolving response that represents their coming to terms with the new connections The Lord of the Rings brings. Matamata, and in this section the Alexander family, came around to these new links and saw the opportunity they provided over time. There was not immediate acceptance (as in Queenstown) or rejection (as in Whangara), but a gradual response.

The Lord of the Rings' filming, success and tourism demand took all of Matamata by

surprise, including those involved with Hobbiton. "We got 18 people on the first day, we'd anticipated 30 for the first week ... people want to go in the rain, never ceases to amaze me" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05). The Hobbiton tour now runs seven times daily in summer and five times daily in winter.

There is an accepted version of how Hobbiton became a tourist destination, and this is recounted on the tour. (Also, interestingly, it was remarkably consistent across a range of people, including those outside the tour. I believe that over time a simplified 'official' version developed which all use on first telling). But, looking closer it is apparent that not all the stories match. The 'official' version is that Ring Scenic Tours is just incredibly lucky to have any sets remaining and that they treasure this.

> "wonderful opportunity. It was luck. Yep, if it hadn't rained ... otherwise it would be like the rest of the country, 'over there, there was a hobbit hole'. This gives something for people to touch" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

However Henry Horne himself offers more than one version. To begin with, he stated that the original New Line contract specified sets must be removed (as with all others in New Zealand), "New Line wanted things removed, not interested in follow on events" (pers comm. 25/10/05).

It would seem that the Alexander family agreed with this. In October 2001,

> "It was revealed last week that the site may be declared off-limits. The owner of the farm used for Hobbiton announced: 'One thing you can be sure of, I certainly won't be letting people willy-nilly on to the farm'.

> Ian Alexander was responding to Auckland-based tourism operator Red Carpet Tours' plans to organise bus tours of Middle-earth hotspots ... Without Mr Alexander's cooperation, visiting Matamata will be a waste of time, because Hobbiton's remains can't be seen from the roadside" (Waikato Times 29/10/01).

In December 2001, Ian Alexander had let Red Carpet Tours onto the farm, but still was reluctant for tourism generally.

> "The town is being hampered in what it can do by Ian Alexander's reluctance to let visitors onto his farm where the mythical village was built and filmed. The only tourists he is allowing are those booked on Vic James' Red Carpet Tours ... There's no way Whiting is going to point tourists in the direction of Alexander's farm, though. 'They're busy sheep farmers,' she says. 'They're entitled to their privacy '" (Waikato Times 13/12/01).

There are echoes of the Whale Rider experience in Ian Alexander's reluctance to have visitors and in Sue Whiting's defence of this. Here, there is a different eventual resolution, as in December 2002 the Alexanders began their own tours (Rings Scenic Tours).

Henry Horne claims that combined with this reluctance were legal restrictions.

> "People couldn't understand why it had to be secret ... when people started travelling to Matamata to see it, they couldn't take people up [to the farm], 'why don't you open that?' 'Don't want to and can't'" (pers comm. 25/10/05).

Part of Matamata's complicated response to Hobbiton may be because it was not utilised as early as residents wanted (i.e. after the release of the first film). The 'welcome to Hobbiton' sign was installed very early and Henry Horne reported "animosity [at lack of utilising Hobbiton], not understanding the restrictions on the family" (pers comm. 25/10/05).

The tour narrative excludes both family reluctance to have a Hobbiton tourism site and contained a different version of the story of development. The tour story is that although all sets were to be removed, a wet winter prevented the digger from demolishing all the hobbit holes on steep sections. This gave the Alexander family time to negotiate with New Line Cinema regarding the tour.

> "Change in the weather gave them something to work with, Russell [Alexander] tried to re-negotiate ... can use what's there" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

The tour claims that there was no intention of breaking contract by not removing hobbit holes, but that the weather gave time to reassess options. It reportedly took two years to negotiate a deal and The Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour started 2 December 2002, "launched on the second movie" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05). (Most Lord of the Rings tours did not start until the release of second movie in December 2002.) Henry Horne says this is because contract details did not allow people on the set earlier. Other tour operators around the country believed it just took this long for people to realise the tourism power The Lord of the Rings was having.

Apparently, in the interlude provided by the halt in set demolition the Alexanders were approached by many people wanting to see the film site. This may have provided an impetus to seeking rights for a tour, though the story becomes more confused. In contrast to his earlier comments Henry claimed that the Alexander family always had an eye to converting Hobbiton to tourism, (was the digger a convenient story?), "there had always been some plan [for what happens to the set]" (pers comm. 25/10/05). This conflicts with both earlier newspaper reports and the tour narrative. The discourse around the film site being desirable as a tourism destination obviously changes over time.

Complicated legal restrictions involved with Hobbiton and New Line Cinema's requirements also affected the way Matamata responded to The Lord of the Rings. This does not appear to have been such a major concern in Queenstown as there most tours are on public land and do not involve sets that New Line has jurisdiction over.

The nature of the relationship between New Line Cinema and Rings Scenic Tours is important to the tour operators and emphasised during discussion. They treasure the set and their New Line contract and ask questions about copyright issues frequently, although sometimes they get a "blunt answer" to their requests/queries (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05). Ring Scenic Tours operate under a "24 hour notice for removal, there is no stability" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05). Maintaining favourable relations is a major concern for Ring Scenic Tours. As Henry Horne said, "they [Alexanders] treasure their contract with New Line as it gives them rights that others do not have". Even the utilisation of words and phrases is copyright. Ring Scenic Tours have been very careful, it is "not Hobbiton, it is the 'Hobbiton Movie Set'"[5]. The relationship with New Line was openly discussed by the marketing manager and on the tour itself. The constraints imposed were acknowledged as part of the narrative, such as not being able to recreate what the hobbit holes looked like in the movies, or using anything that resembles The Lord of the Rings characters.

Because of the New Line concern with copyright issues and Rings Scenic Tours' precarious position, Rings Scenic Tours were quick to inform New Line that various signs around Matamata that breach copyright are not part of their operation. This includes the 'famous' welcome to Hobbiton sign (see figure 4.3), as calling Matamata Hobbiton breaches copyright.

> "Welcome to Hobbiton Matamata New Zealand, we let New Line know it wasn't us, want to protect what we have" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

Henry Horne believed that the flexibility of the Alexander family during filming (for example allowing extra locations at no extra cost (Henry Horne pers comm. and JR tour guide pers comm. 25/10/05), greatly contributed to current positive relations.

---

[5] Copyright infringement is a real issue. New Line have issued 18 letters to people around the country, only four of whom have contracts with New Line (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

"[There is] bond between the Alexander family and New Line people ... [the Alexander family] didn't force regulations [during filming] gave them extra leverage [in negotiations] ... strong relations [with New Line] ... didn't feel obligated ... wouldn't get used and abused ... they've tried hard to get more rights but New Line can't give them" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

The tour guide and marketing manager were adamant that this approach, combined with the secrecy maintained during filming, is what enabled the Alexander family to gain permission from New Line to run a Hobbiton tour.

"complete secrecy, absolutely positive that's why New Line was so good to them" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

In such a small town, I suspect the secrecy was collaborative (Sue Whiting and Dennis Bellamy confirmed that people definitely knew something was happening), but the narrative includes the stoic tight-lippedness of the Alexander family, "I played rugby with him every week, and he never said a word!" (JR pers comm. 25/10/05).

5.1.3 Longevity? "It has it's own life"

As I have illustrated Hobbiton is a currently large influence in Matamata. Opinions differ on how long this will last. The tour owners and operators have a very positive outlook and believe their Lord of the Rings tours have a long life. They regularly maintain and upgrade their site and have expansion plans for adding things such as skydiving into the property (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05). For them The Lord of the Rings is not only present, but huge.

"When I first came to the product I thought it was a 10 year opportunity – now, I think if it doesn't last 20 years there is something wrong with it." (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

Both he and Russell Alexander (owner of the company) think there is potential for a long time. Henry goes on to make the comparison to the success of the book and mentions that they have bookings for 2008 already.

"As long as we give a high quality service and a good story, word of mouth will keep us alive for a long time ... it has its own life" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

This comment echoes those made by other operators. Henry also made the first mention of The Sound of Music – but not the last. This comparison reoccurred with every tourist operator and also some regional tourism organisation representatives, public relations people and even an international adviser at a high school. Henry, like the others who made this link, believed that if The Sound of Music could still be offering landscape tours 40 years after the movie, then there was no reason The Lord of the Rings could not follow the same pattern. (I discuss this link with The Sound of Music further in section 5.2.3) It seemed to me this reflection was a combination of having

160

looked for and found a successful model to replicate, and hope that by making the comparison it could become true. It also seems to be a way those involved can explain the success in understandable terms, after all, it *has* happened elsewhere.

> "I thought it would disappear in two years, but now I think it will be like The Sound of Music, it will never go away " (Sue Whiting pers comm. 27/10/05).

There is, however, awareness from the tourist operators that The Lord of the Rings peak has already occurred and that Hobbiton needs to be marketed now, "We've run the wave of the movies, we're now in a standalone opportunity" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05). They are trying to link into the North Island tourism route (which traditionally centres in Rotorua only 40 minutes away), "It's all about geographic positioning" (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05), thus demonstrating that the tour operators are now more comfortable with the new connections to place that The Lord of the Rings provides.

Sue Whiting is so confident, that the Hobbiton tourist market is here to stay, that she says "a Hobbiton convention will come" (pers comm. 27/10/05). While those involved believe in its longevity, others are more ambivalent.

> "I'm trying to jump on the bandwagon [having renamed his business Hobbiton Backpackers]. It has been good for the town, people getting to know Matamata better as a name. It hasn't taken off really for other shops. I suppose eventually it will be a Hobbiton town like an old gold town" (backpacker owner pers comm. 26/10/05).

Matamata is struggling to understand the effects of The Lord of the Rings' popularity. As a Queenstown tourism operator pertinently commented on the Whangara and Matamata reactions to tourism,

> "I've heard some amazing stories about <u>the way they're trying to interpret that attention</u> ... they've got people coming up to the fence and they're so annoyed that that they had full barriers put around the whole area to stop people from coming onto the land. That kind of mentality. They couldn't, <u>it's difficult to make that kind of leap. ... they feel that they'd have to change who they are</u> " (David and Amanda Gatward-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06).

Massey (1984) argues that there are spatial divisions in how places will respond to investment. The impact of approximately 35,000 tourists a year is completely outside Matamata's experience and is not part of the way residents know Matamata. The community is struggling to come to terms with this change in the imaginary of Matamata that visitors now have, "the town is wary and neutral, not anti ... they don't

know what is happening around them" (Sue Whiting pers comm. 27/10/05). The previous (and ongoing) history of Matamata as a racehorse and dairy town means that The Lord of the Rings tourism is unexpected and foreign. As I have demonstrated there is not a single view on what Hobbiton means to Matamata, unlike in Queenstown where tourism familiarity leads to a consensus on the general attitude, although personal responses differ.

This illustrates that as well as there being considerable spatial differences, the social context also matters. The experience of residents and tourism workers gives a completely different viewpoint on the benefits, longevity and potential of The Lord of the Rings tourism. Even when the tourism experience appears starkly evident in contrast to all previous histories, there are still multiple narratives occurring. Following Jackson's (1991) expansion of Massey's idea, I have demonstrated that it matters not just where you are in terms of place, but the social and cultural context from which your experience derives.

5.2 Queenstown

5.2.1 General resonances: "it hasn't really rocked Queenstown's world"

This section addresses how The Lord of the Rings has affected Queenstown. Tourism from film production is more familiar to Queenstown residents. Queenstown is a well-established tourist town and also has a history of filming in the area. Residents do not have the same struggle to understand the films' resonances as Matamata residents did. However, the experience is not singular, there is as much diversity between Queenstown tour operators as there is between Queenstown and Matamata.

The lower South Island provided most of The Lord of the Rings location sites in New Zealand. Lothlorien, forest of Fangorn, Isengard, mountains of Mordor[6] and other scenes were all filmed very close to Queenstown (see figure 3.1). As in all research I had an opinion about how important Queenstown and other South Island sites[7] would be

---

[6] Although Mount Doom was Mt Ngaruahoe in Tongariro National Park, North Island.
[7] This discussion focuses on Queenstown. All tours mentioned (apart from Hassle-free Tours' Edoras tour) began in Queenstown. Hassle-free Tours and Wanaka Sightseeing both have their offices in Christchurch. Christchurch is not discussed, but Hassle-free Tours is included because the tour operator experience is sufficiently similar to warrant comparison (even if the experience of Christchurch is very different from Queenstown's). This illustrates my point that similarities and differences occur not just around place but also along social lines.

162

to The Lord of the Rings, and how important The Lord of the Rings was to them. I felt that the centre of the South Island story would be in Queenstown. Already firmly established on the New Zealand tourist route, I was confident that there would be a large Lord of the Rings presence. This opinion was gained from newspapers, anecdotal reports and from collecting brochures during North Island fieldwork. The impression I held did not tally with what I found. The swirl and coalescence of The Lord of the Rings images around Queenstown region apparent from further away, diminishes when in the town. I expected The Lord of the Rings to be significant in the lives of Queenstown residents (as it was in Matamata and also Whale Rider in Whangara). Instead I found that The Lord of the Rings had not changed Queenstown's business. Although it is of great importance to a few, for the remainder it is business as usual.

> "We didn't want to go down a narrow track to <u>say, well we're really nuts here because all we're really into is Lord of the Rings ... you would if you were Matamata</u> [pursue The Lord of the Rings]. But Queenstown's got a kind of more established reputation. Like Lord of the Rings, it's just another layer on top. It's not going to change our world. It's great, we all love it, it's good, but <u>it's not going to add to our bottomline</u>" (David Kennedy, CEO Destination Queenstown, pers comm. 19/06/06).

He estimated that only one percent of tourists come for The Lord of the Rings.

It is tricky to categorically state whether The Lord of the Rings films (and film production) has had an impact on Queenstown. This difficulty arises not only from the contradictory opinions offered, but also because while it is definitely a tourist town, it is much less influenced by The Lord of the Rings than I expected. I attribute this contradiction to the lens through which I was viewing Queenstown. I was positioning Queenstown in relation to The Lord of the Rings, which is to say, that in The Lord of the Rings circles, Queenstown *is* very important. The most concentrated areas of filming were in the Queenstown region, and thus, in any examination of the film, Queenstown will occupy an important position. Wellington also had concentrated filming, but mostly in inaccessible studios, and while Edoras and Hobbiton both offer spectacular tours, they are isolated rather than being in range of 34 sites[8]. So from this perspective Queenstown is a natural stopover on any The Lord of the Rings fan's list. However, this viewpoint neglects the fact that there are lots of other things going on in Queenstown.

---

[8] Wanaka Sightseeing is a day tour from Queenstown that visits 24 sites in a day. Melissa Heath reports there are 34 locations that could have been included (pers comm. 26/06/06).

From a visual perspective, The Lord of the Rings presence in Queenstown is under-whelming. Tourism is obviously Queenstown's business with plenty of winter outdoor clothing shops, ski gear, souvenir shops, wine stores, jade/greenstone stores, activity purchase places (e.g. bungy) on display, and supported by many backpackers and hotels. It did *not* jump out at me as a Lord of the Rings based town, instead it was a ski town (I visited in winter). A small number of Lord of the Rings connections were visible. Nomad Safaris advertise their presence and their Lord of the Rings connections. They have a sign on the footpath saying 'Nomad Safari of the Rings'. They also have film posters, location guidebook posters outside their shop, and they sell a great variety of The Lord of the Rings merchandise. Nomad Safaris is also one of the first companies everyone suggests as being a specialist in The Lord of the Rings (Figure 5.3 shows one of their four-wheel-drive vehicles with a themed licence plate). It is also almost the only one to have visual inclusion of The Lord of the Rings in their advertising.

Figure 5.3: Nomad Safaris vehicle with themed licence plate B1LB0S. (Photograph by author)

On my walking tour of Queenstown, there was hardly anything *to be seen*. The lack of visual clues to The Lord of the Rings matches the opinion of regional tourism organisation, Destination Queenstown, that it is not what most Queenstown businesses are interested in, although this contradicts both my expectations and the effects of The Lord of the Rings in Matamata. Movement is happening on other registers, it is clearly not a visual phenomenon. It seems more about people asking about it and experiencing places, possibly because they've heard of The Lord of the Rings. The Lord of the Rings

may not be a visual phenomenon in terms of advertising around Queenstown, but is obviously mentioned significantly often in conversations[9]. The visual aspect of The Lord of the Rings is the mountains themselves (which feature prominently in the movies) as Queenstown is in a valley surrounded by mountains. When guides make connections with photoboards from the films, (or when tourists make the connection themselves using the location guidebook, or when others make the connection using knowledge they have had from being involved with filming), then there is a visual link between the landscape of The Lord of the Rings and the Queenstown landscape. Otherwise, it seems to be more of a conversation level of activity. It is about the talk, the narratives around The Lord of the Rings. There is not much to link The Lord of the Rings to Queenstown unless you *hear* about it.

In keeping with the low visual profile of The Lord of the Rings, is the general opinion that the films have not greatly changed Queenstown. "It hasn't really rocked Queenstown's world" (David Kennedy, Destination Queenstown pers comm. 19/06/06). He maintained that The Lord of the Rings was merely an additional layer to add to Queenstown's complexity.

> "Lots of people come for all sorts of reasons, including The Lord of the Rings. So it's not the sort of thing that, yeah, that we would kind of put up there as our top three reasons to come to Queenstown. It doesn't go scenery, adventure, Lord of the Rings ... it goes scenery, adventure, relaxed activities, including food and wine, golf, hiking and then sort of niche areas like The Lord of the Rings ... it's not seen as, it didn't change the way things were done in any way. You don't walk around talking about The Lord of the Rings all the time here" (David Kennedy pers comm. 19/06/06).

As might be expected, opinions from others around town, not involved with destination marketing, were more ambivalent, but they were still positive. As an example, Goldfield Jewellers advertise UV (ultraviolet) Lord of the Rings rings in their window, and this draws in two to three people a day to have a look (they come to look at the UV rings, but usually buy a plain one) according to the shop workers. There's been a "steady interest, it hasn't declined". Their visitors were usually, "very big fans, or people buying them [the rings] as gifts for others" (pers comm. 18/06/06). One curious effect of The Lord of the Rings fame is that there are reports of people going on tours

---

[9] This conclusion is drawn from talking to people and collecting anecdotal evidence that interest in the movies is still medium to high.

(or buying items) because others expect it of them.

> "I think some of them actually don't even have that mental image [that springs up when you mention the movie]. Their grandchildren have the image don't they? And they say, I'd never be forgiven if I came here and didn't go on it" (Amanda Gatwood-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06).

According to Rebecca Cochrane of Info and Track (their The Lord of the Rings product is called Paradise Found) the locals were hugely excited at the time of production and release but have now moved on.

> "Now, they're over it, but before it was huge, you know, it really was. It was a buzz word, it was just something exciting ... there had been movies filmed prior, in Queenstown, prior to that obviously, but nothing of that sort of calibre ... Lord of the Rings was huge, everyone got the movie, the cinemas had it here for ages and ages. But now it's just something that happened. It really is... Queenstown before Lord of the Rings, and after Lord of the Rings, is a very transient town ... we didn't need Lord of the Rings to remind us of that. ... Lord of the Rings is just a fad that's come and going, still here enough to justify maintaining that element of interest there you know, like in the product" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

Other tourism operators agreed that The Lord of the Rings has not changed Queenstown's modus operandi.

> "We don't think films have much effect on Queenstown, in fact it's been very, very minor and the effect of film is much more apparent on a place like Whale Rider, because it takes community way outside of what it was before. Whereas, Queenstown, the first known tourists were in the 19th century and it was quite a well-known place in the world to come here on the tourist beat ... The Lord of the Rings is one of many movies and The Lord of the Rings has had to fight for filming time on the surrounding mountains with Vertical Limit, which was being filmed at the same time. And you actually had to book the mountain to actually film it, because otherwise you would find someone else had planned to be there ... there's almost always commercials going on in this area, and there's now a lot of people in the movie area who have made a 20 year plus career in Queenstown, just in the moving picture industry. So this is why I say I don't believe that The Lord of the Rings made that big an impact in this town, because it was already here" (David Gatward-Ferguson, owner operator Nomad Safaris pers comm. 21/06/06).

But of all the movies made in New Zealand, The Lord of the Rings has been the only one to generate this kind of spin-off.

> "I think the other thing about The Lord of the Rings is that it affected so many areas. You can imagine, there's been lots of movies shot in New Zealand, but they might come and use one location, they come and they go. ... Whereas, you know, I think The Lord of the Rings was the first movie in that well, series of movies, that provided an ongoing spin-off. It's still providing an ongoing spin-off" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

Local reaction also includes elements of pride in the area and a different relationship to the film because it was so recognizable.

"It's quite weird for the locals, because you know a lot of the locations in the movies. So you go to the movie, and it's <u>actually the view from your house</u>, which is weird ... so it's quite hard for some of them to take it seriously ... they've sort of been <u>quite proud of the fact they're in one of the most scenic locations</u>" (David Kennedy pers comm. 19/06/06).

"M: <u>Being in Queenstown you could relate to it</u>.
F: The reason people could relate to it was because either they were involved in it, because a lot of the extras were Kiwis, but also because the scenery was from the area.
M: <u>My house</u>
(laughter)"
(Wakatipu High School focus group 21/06/06).

This sense of familiarity and involvement has evolved into a series of ongoing jokes.

"The biggest joke I've heard is that everywhere you go, someone says, you <u>see that horse over there? That was in Lord of the Rings</u>. And everyone goes really? Yeah, not really. So it's a bit of a joke like that. See that stick over there? It was in Lord of the Rings". (David Kennedy pers comm. 19/06/06).

I also experienced this, as my tour with Dart River Safaris to Glenorchy included similar jokes, to the effect that every white horse we saw was named Shadowfax, Gandalf's horse.

The high school focus group showed an awareness that tourism is Queenstown's business and did not believe that The Lord of the Rings had changed anything.

"F: Made a lot more tourists come to Queenstown, on top of the heaps we have already".
"F: In Queenstown everything is based on tourism. Most of the money comes from tourists"
(Wakatipu High School focus group 21/06/06).

They saw both the positive and negative side to the dominance of tourism and Queenstown, but did not see The Lord of the Rings as crucial to this role.

However, The Lord of the Rings did have an economic impact in Queenstown. Whether there was an economic impact is questioned in Matamata (and Whangara), but taken for granted in Queenstown.

"It certainly added a lot of income, I think, you know, to local business, not just in the tourism industry. But I mean every business here is really connected in some way to tourism, just by the location really, by way of geography" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

"Obviously the filming had a big effect on our local economy, because the Queenstown economy is a lot of the South Island's economy" (David Kennedy pers comm. 19/06/06).

David Kennedy explained that a tourist town such as Queenstown soon realises it relies

on the money tourists bring. But he expressed an understanding as to why Whangara has been inhospitable to tourists.

> "I mean it's only because the community, they hadn't seen tourism before, they're very wary of them [referring to Whangara]. It's sort of like, it's our place, what are you doing here? And even a tourism town like this can be a bit like that sometimes. It's like, oh bloody tourists. Once you realise that it feeds your children, you start to like tourists and then you're asking for more. Yeah, so different to this place, we've been doing tourism for 100 years" (pers comm. 19/06/06).

Kennedy highlights the difference alternative histories can make to the reception of the same event (The Lord of the Rings filming).

A dual mentality is at work in Queenstown as residents are highly aware of tourism and The Lord of the Rings, but do not readily acknowledge it. An i-Site employee (Tourism New Zealand's official information centre network), who gets asked questions about local activities as her job, said "Many people come in and ask where Lord of the Rings locations are, and we have to explain that they are all over the area" (pers comm. 19/06/06). She did not believe that it had affected tourism numbers (although interest has peaked and waned). When asked whether The Lord of the Rings had made any difference to Queenstown she replied, "I don't think it's made much difference to Queenstown at all". But then went on to say, "They should make another one!" This was an interesting comment given that she said she personally was not interested in the films and reflects a certain level of excitement which the film (and its production) generated in the area. It also perhaps indicates that the movies have had some impact after all. Another information centre worker said, "People don't even care about The Lord of the Rings, why do you want to know about that?" when I asked her whether people were still interested in the films in July 2006. Then she added, "People are coming in four to five times a week asking about The Lord of the Rings" (Station Information Centre counter worker 1 pers comm. 19/06/06). This nicely illustrates the tension between 'not caring' about The Lord of the Rings as a resident and acknowledging the impact The Lord of the Rings has had.

> "And you get to meet Queenstowners and it's, the actual Lord of the Rings connection is played down hugely" (David Gatward-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06).

However, it is clear that unlike in Matamata, Queenstowners understand the resonances The Lord of the Rings is generating and can articulate their experiences well. Tourists and tourist activities are 'every day' for Queenstown residents. In Matamata tourists are still too new to be 'part of the scenery' (and Whangara also 'notices' its tourists).

I have outlined the general reaction to The Lord of the Rings in Queenstown, which is that it has created interest in The Lord of the Rings locations but not changed Queenstown's style of economic activity. But while The Lord of the Rings has not altered 'business as usual', I believe that the subtle shades of impact in Queenstown are just as fascinating as the more stark responses to it in Matamata.

5.2.2 Tour operator response: "just another layer"

This section explores the tour operator responses to The Lord of the Rings in terms of how they adjusted their business to deal with The Lord of the Rings resonances. As already demonstrated, Queenstown residents (including tour operators) are well equipped to deal with The Lord of the Rings resonances that manifest as tourism. However, opinions on the impact of The Lord of the Rings differs within the tour operators' group and consequently their reactions to the films differs as well.

All but one of the tourism businesses mentioned *predate* The Lord of the Rings. Existing tourism operators responded to the demand the films generated by altering their tours or creating a new tour product. Only Wanaka Sightseeing started in direct response to The Lord of the Rings. Of the others, some made changes or alterations early and willingly, and some only added The Lord of the Rings when they saw the necessity to do so.

The public demand for knowledge about The Lord of the Rings locations drove most decisions to include The Lord of the Rings content.

> "There was every second person going, oh can you point out a few of The Lord of the Rings sights? ...now it's kind of part of the commentary that you get, the general commentary. You know, 'I don't know if any of you have seen The Lord of the Rings movie, but if you have down there next to the -'". (David Kennedy pers comm. 21/06/06).

Nomad Safaris altered their product because of demand, and now their The Lord of the Rings trips are the most popular of the tours they offer.

> "I mean a lot of that drove us [interest from people]. ...we were getting calls as to 'which bit of the movie do you see on your Skippers trip?', from the booking agents out of town. So they had hundreds of people going, 'I want to see something from The Lord of the Rings'. And around town people knew what we did, because we were already in place." (David Gatward-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06).

Dart River Safaris incorporated The Lord of the Rings into their product range in a minor way.

"[The Lord of the Rings was] added to existing product ... the decision to include Lord of the Rings in its material was made during the peak of interest in the films when Tourism New Zealand was advertising New Zealand in conjunction with the film off-shore ... The Lord of the Rings has a few key sites that were filmed in the area where we already operate our trips. Initially, the commentary was simply updated to highlight these areas of interest ... we never 'specialised' in The Lord of the Rings, it just so happened that the filming was done in our backyard. However, as with any of the topics we cover in our commentary, if the group being hosted has no interest in Lord of the Rings, we will minimise the amount of time spent on it" (Kerry Walker pers comm. 21/06/06).

So while there is consensus that The Lord of the Rings did not make much difference to Queenstown, it has made a large difference to particular businesses. Nomad Safaris for instance, admit that their business has benefited hugely.

"So it's growth, and we're not trying to say that it hasn't had an effect, it has had a huge effect. I mean we had five vehicles and now we've got 16. So huge" (David Gatward-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06).

However, for some The Lord of the Rings difference was something they felt they needed to adopt to capture attention in the market, rather than a phenomenon that has transformed their business turnover. Info and Track's Paradise Found Tour was *not* originally launched as a Lord of the Rings product.

"[In the first brochure] we mentioned it in our brochure, our product write up, but ... we didn't try outwardly to jump on The Lord of the Rings bandwagon ... It was still a new tour and we still visited Lord of the Rings locations, but we didn't advertise it as a Lord of the Rings trip, you see what I mean? ...it didn't sit well in a market looking for Lord of the Rings products. So within two months of launching the product we redid the brochure. ...And it went off, took off." (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

Although Rebecca stressed that they want to be *more* than The Lord of the Rings (their product is Paradise Found: Scenes of the Rings and More) and resisted marketing it as such, The Lord of the Rings was an important component for them at the outset.

"We thought we're not going to outrightly advertise it as Lord of the Rings though, because that would just be too much, and what if it falls on its face...But we were wrong in that thinking, because at that time you needed to advertise Lord of the Rings in order for people to book it" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

It was a very powerful force in terms of activating tourist interest in areas.

Info and Track (Paradise Found) were reluctant to include The Lord of the Rings and only did so when people sought it. In contrast, Nomad Safaris saw the opportunity early on and eagerly followed it up. This is because at the small-scale (smaller scale than Massey refers to) the particular contexts are different. Personal interests affected how

tour operators responded to The Lord of the Rings. David Gatward-Ferguson reported that "a couple of us were Lord of the Rings fans" and that this influenced which companies actively pursued The Lord of the Rings. According to him a key person at Dart River Safaris was also a fan – which may explain why Dart River Safaris used to prioritise The Lord of the Rings more than it currently does (pers comm. 21/06/06). This interest of David's led to him including his own opinion of what is The Lord of the Rings landscape into Nomad Safaris Lord of the Rings tour, *even though no filming occurred there*. He insists on including areas that he feels have the right atmosphere.

> "I included Skippers Canyon Road and there's a bit where I always thought, well Lord of the Rings... it really works, and we've managed to make that connection of the best part of the area. I've put it into The Lord of the Rings tour" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

Whether or not the business was struggling to market themselves also affected the uptake of The Lord of the Rings, another small scale difference in context. Nomad Safaris use The Lord of the Rings as an understandable 'hook' and have overcome their lack of visibility to international promoters.

> "We've taken an existing tour and given it some international polish... we were having great difficulty in getting our message across... And what The Lord of the Rings has done, it's put us, we've used it deliberately, put it in front of these people who have taken it seriously, mainly because we were the first in doing this [including The Lord of the Rings] ... found that their clients really liked what we do. Which is quite simple, in that we take a small group of people without microphones, into an interesting area and have a chat to them. So we have used Lord of the Rings to our gain to advertise what we are doing and we're very pleased with what that's achieved for us". (David Gatward-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06).

The power of movies to influence tourism is generally acknowledged, (though it is not such a simple cause and effect process), and New Zealand as a whole used The Lord of the Rings as a kind of 'hook'.

> "I think it's just put us on the wider, or further reaching global map... you didn't just have to travel the world to find out about us, you could actually go to the movies and find out" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

> "How does Tourism New Zealand put it? It was a nine hour television commercial for New Zealand. You know, some of the sweeping panoramas of the Southern Alps and you're quite proud when you see it because it's on a big screen and it's beautiful, and it's not digitally enhanced.

> So I think that it's difficult to measure, but we all get our destination preferences triggered from a variety of sources, from movies, magazines, books. We all have a scroll in our heads of different destinations we want to go and see. They're all different. And the scroll moves depending on what movies you see ... you know, you might have New Zealand at number five in your head and then you see Lord of

171

the Rings and it goes to number two. So it's very hard to measure those scrolls because everyone – ...Well it's generally accepted in tourism circles that, I mean because <u>tourism's sort of an emotional purchase</u>. Everyone gets their feeders and their triggers, emotionally triggered by various sources" (David Kennedy pers comm. 19/06/06).

"All that helps New Zealand because it's such a good machine, if you can associate yourself with a movie" (David Gatward-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06).

Within the acceptance that film has the power to affect people's choice is the narrative that Queenstown is so spectacular that it could easily feature as Middle-earth. This is part of the different context of Queenstown and one of the reasons Queenstown responded differently to The Lord of the Rings. There is existing rhetoric that claims Queenstown as spectacular and worthy of visiting. The Lord of the Rings films, which strongly feature the area, only strengthens this link. This is in contrast to Matamata where farmland is usually thought of as mundane and everyday, rather than a tourist attraction. In Matamata therefore, the discussion about the surrounding environment does not celebrate it. The Queenstown tourism rhetoric *is* celebratory of its landscape, just as The Lord of the Rings was.

While David Kennedy is talking about New Zealand as a whole in the quote below it is clear that he sees Queenstown as an integral part of this.

"The fact that it <u>wasn't a set created Middle-earth, it was just New Zealand</u>. And <u>some of those panoramic views</u>, people just go, my God it's incredible, that's exactly the way I remember reading about it in my Tolkien book ... Yeah but the <u>fact that it actually exists</u>, well my God, Tolkien was supposed to be so out there and <u>this place that he wrote about was something you could only dream of. But in fact it does exist on the planet, and it's called New Zealand</u>. And I think <u>although the connection was made through marketing</u>, stronger and stronger, and that kind of helps because <u>people went, I've got to go and see this amazing place you know? It's actually a fantasyland on earth.</u> ...

I think that was clever both from Tourism New Zealand and Air New Zealand, because they're the guys that put the big bucks behind it... <u>we were shown that the fantasyland is New Zealand</u>" (David Kennedy pers comm. 19/06/06).

David Kennedy's description of this link captures nicely the narrative connection between the film, and visiting and talking about the landscape, which is also encompassed in Queenstown's tourism.

Not all films have a dramatic impact on imagination as The Lord of the Rings did,

"It was interesting because there was a lot of talk prior to that about the movie Vertical Limit that was shot here. And a lot of people said, oh it's going to be fantastic for tourism. And I went, well it's actually set in the Himalayas you know?

172

And the only time you would actually know it was shot in New Zealand was if you wait for the credits, at the end they have thanks to the people from Queenstown, Central Otago, New Zealand. But <u>you could say the same thing about The Lord of the Rings, because it's not set in New Zealand either. It's actually set in a fantasyland</u>" (David Kennedy).

Not many people make the distinction between New Zealand and The Lord of the Rings portrayal of a fantasyland as clearly as David Kennedy (in fact there are marketing campaigns to blur this). However, it is the fantasyland element that allows New Zealand to be Middle-earth, when clearly Middle-earth does not exist.

A quote prominently displayed on the front of Nomad Safaris brochure stresses the tie between New Zealand and Middle-earth.

"If you want to see Orcs, go and see the movie. If you want to see Middle-earth then go with Nomad Safaris".

Their brochure also uses the well-known quote from Elijah Wood.

"New Zealand IS Middle-earth. It has every geological formation and geographical landscape you can imagine ... and some you can't".

David Gatward-Ferguson describes this link himself.

"But we think what Peter and his team were trying to get across in the, <u>almost the excessive use of New Zealand, was trying to create that Middle-earth Aotearoa. And I think they did it so well, and that's why I wanted to keep that in our tours</u> because I think that they did just a wonderful job in doing that" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

However, tour operators and Queenstown still need to negotiate the common perception that New Zealand is Middle-earth and an acknowledgement that in fact it is not, and that the collective imaginary does not break down from a vague whole.

Figure 5.4: Nomad Safaris brochure. (Reproduced with permission)

What is important about this rhetoric is that Queenstown tourism operators and promoters see their area as fitting well with the broader The Lord of the Rings promotion that Tourism New Zealand was doing. That is, they were comfortable with the idea of New Zealand as Middle-earth and used it in marketing. In Matamata, while fantasy is encouraged, and every effort is made to make the farm *be* Hobbiton, there is a clear disjuncture. Rings Scenic Tours are careful not to over hype their set as this may lead to disappointment, because the sets do not appear as they do in the film. I believe that the issue of sets is at the heart of the different tour operators' responses. Queenstown has *no* sets and thus is free to excite the imagination in their advertising. Rings Scenic Tours (in Matamata) on the other hand must be careful in their advertising, ironically, because they do have set remnants.

The films generate many expectations about what New Zealand (or Middle-earth) will look like. Matamata deals with this by showing only pictures of the set remnants in advertising, not film images (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05) and by creating a strong tour narrative that explains this. The different issue that South Island Lord of the Rings tours deal with, is the expectation to see sets.

> "That's been a bit of a message, actually, getting that out, that there are no sets left... originally people thought that didn't they? We had quite a lot of people expecting to see sets and like when you go to Hollywood and you go around the studios and what have you, but there is nothing, it's purely the landscape" (Amanda Gatward-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06).

For Nomad Safaris operators, Amanda and David Gatward-Ferguson, there is a difference in expectations between fans of the movie and fans of the book.

> "Amanda: what you get at the beginning is those people who are really really into Lord of the Rings.
> David: the film, they were into the film. They wanted to see Legolas prancing around ...
> Amanda: that's why they came here. ...
> David: the out and out fans of the film would like to see props here. The out and out fans of the book were very pleased to see no props here" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

All the tours used the same accepted narratives to explain why there are no The Lord of the Rings sets: that Department of Conservation consents required sets to be removed and that badly maintained sets are unsightly.

> "Okay well Deer Park, there's like a Korean prison from a Disney movie from 1986. And it's the most derelict, ramshackle thing. It's just the most horrific thing in the landscape, and we just say to people, 'this is why there are no set things on Lord of the Rings'. And people go, yep, that's fine. They'd rather remember Edoras, you know, in all its glory in the movies than see it a broken thing with its wires and

174

<u>concrete all falling out</u>" (Melissa Heath, Wanaka Sightseeing pers comm. 26/06/06).

"So once you explain the reasons why, like the derelict set, conservation land, there's going to be a ticket office there, a gift shop, they completely understand. And I say to people too, you know, if there was a derelict set up there <u>you'd come</u> <u>with this memory of this amazing big set from in the movie, and you'd see a wreck,</u> <u>and you'd be disappointed</u>. Whereas you can stand on the top of Edoras, <u>see the</u> <u>scenery which is even better than it was in the movie in real life, and picture</u> yourself standing there with Eowyn around you. <u>It's far more powerful than</u> <u>standing next to a derelict set that would look terrible</u>. (Mark Gilbert, Hassle-free Tours pers comm. 26/06/06).

There is agreement that power of the landscapes combined with the imagination are more powerful than a set remnant would be. As in Matamata, tour operators are therefore careful that their marketing does not give false impressions, but for opposite reasons.

"We don't use photos of the set because we don't want people to think that there are sets up there" (Mark Gilbert pers comm. 26/06/06).

Nevertheless, owner operators of Hassle-free Tours, Nicky Marsh and Mark Gilbert, can still relate the story of one visitor who was wanting more.

"Nicky: We did have that guy up who wanted to see orcs running around.
Mark: Yeah, there was an interesting character one day who wanted to know what happened to all the orcs in the film at the finish of the movie.
Nicky: We say unfortunately all the orcs were killed in the making of the movie" (pers comm. 26/06/06).

For regional tourism promoter David Kennedy, however, removing the sets was about more than aesthetics or legalities. For him it was because Queenstown is about more than The Lord of the Rings. The lack of sets but presence of spectacular scenery reinforces what Queenstown has to offer,

"We could have left the set there but we didn't want to <u>because the area's not all</u> <u>about Lord of the Rings</u>. It may have been for a certain point of time, but the landscape is more timeless than that particular Hollywood blockbuster. So we don't care that much about it" (pers comm. 19/06/06).

If you recall, this is the opposite to Matamata's response. Sue Whiting, Matamata's equivalent to David Kennedy, said that they wanted to 'brand the town Hobbiton' and Hobbiton artwork has been added around Matamata to reinforce this impression. This once again illustrates that previous histories and opinions of places matter. Queenstown believes it has more to offer than The Lord of the Rings - many in Matamata believe The Lord of the Rings offers them their strongest hope for economic growth.

Queenstown is a firmly established tourist town, and all but one of The Lord of the Rings tours were pre-existing in other forms. This combines with a belief that

175

Queenstown has more to offer than just The Lord of the Rings, and is reflected in tour content. All the tours (with the exception of the very specialist Wanaka Sightseeing tour) are about more than The Lord of the Rings. They all include stories, such as the area's history, Maori legends, information about flora and fauna and so on. The Hobbiton tour, which relies on The Lord of the Rings for its existence, by contrast, only relates information related to The Lord of the Rings or its production. Queenstown The Lord of the Rings tours must therefore balance between being The Lord of the Rings specialists and satisfying fans, and being generalists and catering to the wider market. They have evolved a sort of hierarchy, where different tours are known to be more or less focused on The Lord of the Rings, but all report issues with balancing expectations.

> "We've had people who have been disappointed with the amount of knowledge our guides have been able to pass on. And they have been people who have been fanatical" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

Tour guides have a crucial role in customising each tour to satisfy that particular group's needs. The quote below illustrates the common approach among tour operators of assessing the group with a chat early on.

> "We're looking at tailoring the product for every trip, so every time a guide gets a group we go and pick everybody up, stop at the location we call the one mile, and get to know the people in a 5 minute little stop. They can then get a group photo and say hey guys, why did you come on this trip, and catering.

> Because we get photographers, we get bird watchers, we get Lord of the Rings fans. We just get people who are generally interested in the landscape and the scenery. So it's about finding out and being able to cater to the trip... So if they've got Lord of the Rings people on, they'll do these ones, and if they have people who don't give two hoots about that, then we can take them to different places. So it's just tailoring, the core products would remain the same, but it's tailoring it a little bit more, or making allowance for the fact that people are taking this option for different reasons. But the film location side of it will always remain a factor, because it's generally of interest. It might just not be specifically Lord of the Rings" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

All the operators struggle with the need to be both specialists and generalists, in line either with the expectation of Queenstown to be a general tourist attraction, or the expectation of The Lord of the Rings fans to be focused on the film. Whereas some (for example Info & Track: Paradise Found and Dart River Safaris) have decided to be only generalist, the majority (and those who see The Lord of the Rings as key to their future success) provide a real mixture. David and Amanda Gatward-Ferguson comment on the decision that Nomad Safaris made,

> "David: We think that's absolutely fantastic [that there are more specialist tours

176

around], because then we don't get that kind of fan, because we don't want to do that kind of tour. And if those kind of people came on *our* tour, they *are* disappointed. But we don't try and claim anything like doing the dialogue and reliving the past or anything like that. It's visiting those places that were used so well by Peter Jackson and his team, to remake Middle-earth here ...

Amanda: We deliberately didn't make it just a Lord of the Rings tour, we incorporated that with the rest of the history and geography and the geology and all the goldmining and all that side of things" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

Mark Gilbert relates Hassle-free Tours' approach stressing that they try and cope with multiple interests of one trip.

"I suppose it gets back to the reason why our tour has done well is because we've had that real focus on offering a great service at what we do. Making sure it caters for the ones who aren't The Lord of the Rings fans, but at the same time catering for the ones that are The Lord of the Rings fans. And for those that aren't that fanatical about the movie, when we're at the top of Mt Sunday doing the big talk about how the set was, they can wander off and grab some photos. The ones that want to know everything, well they can stand around the guide and listen to them ...

So I suppose for us, The Lord of the Rings tour, it was trying to educate people that it's not, for our tour anyway, it's not just Lord of the Rings. ... the whole day is a scenic tour. So we kind of think of our tour as being the 4-wheel drive, high country, scenic, Lord of the Rings location tour, all blended into one" (pers comm. 26/06/06).

Wanaka Sightseeing caters for a more 'fanatical' end of the market, but most tours are generalists as Rebecca Cochrane relates,

"Yeah, well there's not that many options to be honest. ... There's probably only one company that goes the whole hog, and gets you dressed up, and that's Wanaka Sightseeing" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

Interestingly, Wanaka Sightseeing is the only tour that started in direct response to The Lord of the Rings (not a pre-existing company in any form). Also, the name of the company hints that the owner operator is from nearby Wanaka, rather than Queenstown, which does not have the same tourist background (though still a significant tourist destination). Therefore, while Wanaka Sightseeing visits many The Lord of the Rings locations in the same area, it comes from a slightly different context than the others.

Hassle-free Tours and Nomad Safaris argue they are about more than The Lord of the Rings, but the film is clearly an important driver for them. In contrast both Info and Track and Dart River Safaris say they are moving away from marketing with it. They are scaling down the amount of The Lord of the Rings information they give when other more 'specialist' tours are continuing with strong business. This shows the diversity of response within a place and that other contexts also matter. Here it is about how the tour operators perceive The Lord of the Rings impact on their business. Info and Track

and Dart River Safaris believe that their role in the Queenstown market is sufficient to sustain them.

> "Initially it was all good – now I think people are a bit sick of hearing about it – they want to know interesting facts but certainly are not after Lord of the Rings 'tours' as such" (Kerry Walker pers comm. 21/06/06).

> "Our general consensus here when we talk about it is that it's, the novelty has worn off, you know. ... There's been, you know, all these, about six movies that have been passing through here recently ... but The Lord of the Rings was like the beginning of this whole film location thing, you know, hey New Zealand can do this, it was big stuff. And it was a Kiwi doing it[10]. Since we started in 2003, there has been a noticeable decline in the interest for Lord of the Rings locations ... up to 50% down on that particular product ... it's old news now. So while we still get visitors, international visitors down here that will ask about The Lord of the Rings, it's just not the priority in choosing a trip anymore" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

Info and Track want to broaden the appeal of their product as they perceive the time for The Lord of the Rings is over. Interestingly, this does not involve changing the product, just advertising it differently.

> "We are actually looking at reviewing the product. We don't want, it's a very popular product, there are still a lot of people, our agents around town who sell it for us, find it quite easy to sell. But we want to make it a little more generic, so that it appeals to a wider market. And in doing that we are considering changing the name of the product. The product itself will remain the same as far as what they do, but we would write it up differently. We will always mention film locations, but probably not specifically Lord of the Rings" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

Those that see future growth want to keep The Lord of the Rings and those who feel The Lord of the Rings boom is over want to minimise a Lord of the Rings focus. To draw out this contrast further, between Matamata and Queenstown (as well as within Queenstown) - it is hard to imagine the Hobbiton tour continuing in any form, if they decided 'people are sick of The Lord of the Rings' and diverged from this theme. There is nothing else on the Alexander farm, or indeed in Matamata, to sustain tourism interest.

5.2.3 Longevity? "They still do tours for the Sound of Music"

There is general consensus that The Lord of the Rings (although they may differ on much it affected Queenstown) is there to stay. This conviction is often linked to The Sound of Music comparison. What I found interesting about this rhetoric is that although it is mostly confined to tour operators, in every centre there were others also

---

[10] I discuss the presence of New Zealand pride in The Lord of the Rings rhetoric in chapter 6.

speaking this way showing its pervasiveness. I get the impression it originated with tour operators and is now being used more widely. In Queenstown, the comparison surfaced at the jewellers, who said, "I think there will be interest for a long time to come... [because] The Sound of Music is still an ongoing tourist attraction in Austria" (pers comm. 18/06/06). Destination promoter David Kennedy also mentions the famous movie,

> "I think it [The Lord of the Rings] will always be there to a certain extent. And it's sort of what level it settles to. You know, an example I used was The Sound of Music in Austria, or wherever it is. They still do tours for The Sound of Music" (pers comm. 19/06/06).

Many people raised The Sound of Music as a justification for why The Lord of the Rings has years of potential, but David Gatward-Ferguson was the only one who mentioned really looking into why this is a good analogy and asked what he could learn from their experience.

> "It's like those Sound of Music tours. It's that 'hook', because that part of the American culture machine is so effective and efficient... What I did was to look up The Sound of Music, and read up all about it ... And what I got out of The Sound of Music tours was that the ones that really lasted and developed, were the ones that took The Sound of Music as a way of creating more of a name for themselves" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

Talking about the longevity of The Lord of the Rings in this way is interesting, as if the analogy will have a positive impact. The Sound of Music rhetoric surprised me as it was mentioned so often and in so many different places in relation to The Lord of the Rings, but the simple answer is probably that tour operators talk to each other. It is a likely explanation for the similarities in how they describe their products, as they do not operate in isolation. Wanaka Sightseeing and Hassle-free Tours share an office in Christchurch and see each other as colleagues, not rivals. The tour operators obviously all knew of each other, or knew each other personally through tourism conferences, referring to each other and promoting other products where appropriate. In one conversation, after listing all the tours they were aware of, Melissa Heath and Mark Gilbert commented on the relationship with other tour operators.

> "Melissa: There seems to be a dedicated group now of about eight operators eh? So many fell by the way but that's good for us. And we all get on really well which is nice. ...
> Mark: we made contact with Jason from Rovers. He was recommending our tours in Christchurch, and he'd heard good things about us and vice versa and I'd heard good things about him, so
> Melissa: so at TRENZ [tourism conference] we all got together, it was quite nice
> Mark: yeah, a couple of times we got together, it was great" (pers comm. 26/06/06).

While all agree that The Lord of the Rings influence has considerable longevity (and point to The Sound of Music) there is significant variation in how important they believe The Lord of the Rings is and will be to their businesses. Some see it as key to their future, others as insignificant. The context of Queenstown as a tourism town allows these types of discussions. Matamata's discussions were about whether The Lord of the Rings interest would sustain the tour over time, and how the community felt about that longevity. In Queenstown, the longevity is assumed, but whether it will be capitalised on is a different decision.

David and Amanda Gatward-Ferguson are unequivocally positive about the benefits to their business and for them this is not just in the past, but a continuing opportunity.

> "We've certainly quietened down in our growth, but we're still growing. ... And we're looking at polishing up our Bollywood skills. ...we think without changing where the tours go, or the guides or anything, we can do something in that market too" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

Hassle-free Tours and Wanaka Sightseeing were equally confident of their tour's longevity.

> "Yeah we'll slow down this summer, but every year since we've started we've seen 100% increase in numbers from the year before... I suppose <u>one of the things that we teach</u> a little bit, not so much at the moment, but maybe a year ago, <u>people thought the whole phase was gone. And you talk to people and they go, 'oh are people still doing those tours? Are they still going on? That's crazy'</u>. And it took people a little bit, <u>I think we're starting to realise now, so much after the movie, that it's not just a phase</u>" (Mark Gilbert pers comm. 26/06/06).

> "Yeah it has slowed down from 100 [percent], but we've been maintaining 30% growth for the last 2 years and it's been great... It's a growth industry" (Melissa Heath pers comm. 26/06/06).

Although like all spoken to, Rebecca Cochrane believed in the *general* longevity of The Lord of the Rings. She was far less optimistic that without the help of a re-release to capture attention, this would be enough to sustain interest in a tour (which must be a lingering concern for Rings Scenic Tours in Matamata).

> "<u>It was a novelty and the novelty is wearing off</u>, it has been for some time now... We get further and further away from when they were released, until someone goes along and re-releases them in another 25 years time or whatever ... it will still form a part of what we do with that trip tour ... but it won't be what the main selling point is" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

Sales and marketing manager of Dart River Safaris, Kerry Walker, also does not believe that The Lord of the Rings on its own will be enough to bring people to Queenstown.

"I think there will always be a 'general interest' in Lord of the Rings in Queenstown. I believe it will always be an interesting fact that visitors learn about when they come here, but I don't think that people will specifically come here because of it. If you look at Austria (with The Sound of Music) and Tunisia (with Star Wars) – this is what happened there" (pers comm. 21/06/06).

Perhaps the Queenstown context of a strong tourist demand, allows tour operators to be lukewarm about The Lord of the Rings, unlike its very positive promotion by the tour operator in Matamata. On the other hand, Queenstown's existing role may mean that there is pressure not to be dated and always be relevant to a large market, whereas Matamata's only option to attract tourism is The Lord of the Rings and The Lord of the Rings fans.

The consensus is that The Lord of the Rings will now be part of what Queenstown offers, but " it's very much a little niche market area" (David Kennedy pers comm. 19/06/06). Generally, there is some surprise that interest from tourists has persisted this long,

"When you talk to people in the community, they're just gob-smacked that you're still going, and going so well" (Melissa Heath pers comm. 26/06/06).

"I honestly thought that The Lord of the Rings might well and truly have subsided by now. It keeps going ... it certainly amazes me to see how many people are still interested in all of this" (Dart River Safaris reservation staff pers comm. 16/06/06).

"Kind of like Lord of the Rings has become a franchise -- T-shirts, action figures, jewellery, tours, movies, DVDs, the Ring and that kind of stuff. It's sort of almost self-sustaining now. People are going to get out the DVDs and watch them for years to come" (male, Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

But this agreement on longevity is not straightforward. The Lord of the Rings sites are often actively recommended to tourists who are already in the area:

"When people are going up to Glenorchy I automatically add in, well the kind of scenery that you will see there is like stuff from Lord of the Rings, I just add it in not knowing whether people are interested in the film or not". (Station Information Centre counter worker 2 pers comm. 19/06/06).

This kind of pre-emptive recommendation blurs the lines between interest generated from the film, and interest created when a connection is made for them. No one knows of course how this will persist, though most do not admit this.

"You know in 20 years time you've got a whole new generation who won't care that there was a Lord of the Rings movie shot in New Zealand. Or will they... I suppose there could even be a publishing challenge or something to make sure that the link is always, in some way, established with New Zealand. At the back of The Lord of the Rings trilogy it's got, 'did you know there's a package to New Zealand?' Or not. There could just be a very simple effect that people in 20 years time read Lord of the Rings books and they know that there was a movie made in New Zealand. Or

181

maybe not. Maybe in 20 years time they'll have forgotten that" (David Kennedy pers comm. 19/06/06).

The Lord of the Rings has had a surprisingly large influence on imaginaries of the Queenstown area. I say surprising because I initially outlined that The Lord of the Rings had not changed Queenstown. This is still true, but the story is not that simple. There are multiple experiences and many subtle ways in which The Lord of the Rings has been incorporated into tourism operations. However, the ways The Lord of the Rings production and success played out in Queenstown is very different from how it resonated in Matamata. The Lord of the Rings put Matamata 'on the map'. In contrast, The Lord of the Rings production used Queenstown as a base for filming because it was *already* on the map for its spectacular landscapes and its history of film and TV commercial production. In addition, Queenstown is an acknowledged tourist town. These prior histories equipped Queenstown to understand what was happening to them and respond more easily (though in a variety of ways) than Matamata.

5.3 Conclusion

Films have the potential to change imaginaries about places. However, the ways in which film resonances play out in particular places is influenced by the histories and context of that area. The six Lord of the Rings tours researched give insight into the social and spatial dimensions of New Zealand's response to The Lord of the Rings. Is The Lord of the Rings present and active for people in all film locations? How are the films resonating in those places? The answer to this, as might be expected, is context specific. There are important differences between places, and also within places.

Matamata and Queenstown have quite different The Lord of the Rings experiences. I argue that this is because of their socio-spatial peculiarities. As is evident in this chapter the sites are dissimilar in terms of population, location and economic drivers. The two towns' responses to the filming of a successful film in the area were consequently quite different. For Matamata, The Lord of the Rings has involved changes in imaginaries and new patterns of activity. For Queenstown, The Lord of the Rings resonances have merely added to existing routines. It remains to be seen how long these resonances will endure (in this or other forms). Undoubtedly the traces and resonances of film will change over time.

This chapter has shown that the resonances of film are multiple, contradictory and

internally inconsistent. As well as the obvious spatial differences, there are variations within localities that have common ground across New Zealand because of their other social contexts. Tour operators experience The Lord of the Rings positively every day in all locations. For those directly involved in the marketing or operation of the tour, The Lord of the Rings is alive and well. They have daily contact with people interested in the film, book and New Zealand film locations, and themselves promote the connections. For the regional tourism organisations (Tourism Waikato and Destination Queenstown) their stance is that The Lord of the Rings is important, but a very small activity in their regional portfolio. It is present but not very significant. Local residents believe, on the whole, that it was great, but is now in the past and there are other things and other movies happening. For them the extent to which The Lord of the Rings resonances are relegated to the background does depend on location (it is more noticeable for Matamata residents) but there are still significant similarities across New Zealand. For residents not directly involved, current activities may be happening around them, but these are viewed as minor and not part of their daily activities.

People negotiate the resonances of The Lord of the Rings in small ways in their everyday lives. There is consensus that The Lord of the Rings is here, how much and how important it is, depends partly if you have everyday encounters with The Lord of the Rings (or not). Research in Wellington reveals a similar disjuncture between publicity and everyday life (Thornley 2006). Despite considerable attention to The Lord of the Rings in their city, everyday life for Wellingtonians continued as normal. So too, for Queenstowners.

> "It is true that The Lord of the Rings' presence had substantial impact on the respondents in an important area [Wellington]. For the majority of respondents, this impact necessitated a shift in the understanding of New Zealand's ideological location in relation to the rest of the world. However unlike media reports persisted in suggesting, The Lord of the Rings did not have the same impact on people at a personal, everyday level. People's lives continued on much as they would have, before production and after The Lord of the Rings wrapped, aside from the fun moments occasionally provided by glimpses of sets or stars" (Thornley 2006, 116).

I have demonstrated the unique ways in which the films are being accepted and rejected, and in doing so transforming people's relationship with specific places. Focusing on The Lord of the Rings shows more easily that there are differentiated responses. Placing The Lord of the Rings confirms that places matter. People's contexts (other than geographic) also matter. I have illustrated some of the resonances from the

circulation and production of film through this examination of Queenstown and Matamata. The *same film* has been playing out differently in different places.

Massey (1984, 1991) claims that spatial differences are about being in relation-to other areas and about previous layers of investment. How The Lord of the Rings resonated in Matamata and Queenstown is therefore a factor of previous histories (of tourism or lack of it) and of the relationship between each town and the rest of New Zealand. In Matamata, they are attempting to tie into tourism circuits and understand Matamata as a tourism town. Queenstown has no need to do this as their understanding of themselves and their relationship with the rest of New Zealand is as an established tourist town. Massey (1991) suggests that sense of place is as much about how we connect to the rest of the world as anything intrinsic to the place. This partly explains Matamata's response. Matamata is struggling to change as The Lord of the Rings brings new connections to it. It is connected in new ways to New Zealand and the rest of the world through the film and through Hobbiton. Its sense of place is being altered, because of the new connections forged. This is not happening in Queenstown because the connections remain the same, amplified in certain respects, but not significantly changed.

> "It certainly made us somewhere that people definitely have to include on their itineraries for visiting New Zealand, without a doubt, without a doubt.

> Although it's hard, you know, I think there are other places around New Zealand that it really did add them to people's itinerary where they otherwise would have been excluded, whereas Queenstown's always included you know. If you do a bus tour, or whatever, you're going to come through Queenstown. So it's kind of hard to say" (Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 21/06/06).

Previous history matters, and Queenstown tourist operators demonstrate a clear awareness of this, for both themselves and other regions.

> "There can be no assumption of pre-given coherence, or of community or collective identity [for place] ... we confront the challenge of the negotiation of multiplicity" (Massey 2005, 141).

Space and place do matter. I have demonstrated that the particularities of context make significant differences to how The Lord of the Rings phenomenon is responded to. Within these contexts, the story of place is complex and multiple.

The next chapter moves discussion of film resonances from how they are 'placed', to an analysis of the relationship between national identity narratives and responses to Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings, thus moving the exploration of film resonances into a national context.

184

6 Film resonances and national identities

> "A nation's image is a slippery object to grasp, and the extent to which a given event contributes to it is extraordinary hard to gauge.
>
> ... Voigt [Investment Manager (Screen Production) for Investment New Zealand] quotes cab-drivers in San Diego -- home of the last American defence of the America's Cup -- who had never heard of the yachting regatta but who, when he tells them he's from New Zealand, instantly say 'Lord of the Rings'.
>
> It's an indication all right, but it's hard to know how it stacks up against a conversation I had with Ed Harris, who played the string pulling Christof in The Truman show. I mentioned the excitement here about the upcoming opening of the Rings, part two.
>
> Why the excitement, he wondered. I explained that the films were made here. There was a long pause.
>
> 'They were made in Noo Zealand?' he whistled. 'Is that a fact?'
>
> It's only an indication, too, of course.
>
> ... But if the Guardian's review of the first Rings film says our 'stunning landscapes are the modest star', the New York Times and Chicago Sun-Times reviews don't contain the words 'New Zealand'. And it is worth wondering whether the throwaway comments of a couple of San Diego cabbies constitute a sound foundation on which to base an international marketing strategy." (New Zealand Herald 29/11/03).

This chapter focuses on New Zealand identities and the "nation's image" as revealed through film resonances. What can we learn about New Zealand identities through looking at The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider? As the introductory quote illustrates, there are contradictory rhetorics at work in response to The Lord of the Rings (and as I argue, with Whale Rider as well). Through examining the ways the films were leveraged and claimed for particular versions of New Zealandness, we can learn much about New Zealand's self-identity. This chapter uses film resonances to explore New Zealand identities as the response to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider that cannot be separated from New Zealand identity narratives. Jones and Smith (2005) argue that film has been employed to stand in for an 'authentic New Zealand culture' resolving the contested nationality of New Zealand identity. I contend in this chapter, that rather than

being an easy solution to 'what is New Zealand?', The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider resonances highlight the complexity and contested nature of New Zealand identity(s).

The chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly in 6.1, I outline the New Zealand identity narratives that were part of popular discourse in The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider film resonances. Section 6.2 outlines the ways The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were used to promote a unified version of New Zealand to an international audience. Business and government utilised The Lord of the Rings and associated narratives of New Zealand landscape to promote their specific goals. I examine how this 'branding' is critiqued by New Zealanders as partial but accepted as necessary to 'put New Zealand on the map' (a driving goal in New Zealand identity rhetoric). Section 6.3 explores New Zealand as seen by New Zealanders. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider popular discourse was strongly linked to existing New Zealand narratives. I illustrate the variety of narratives drawn on, firstly for The Lord of the Rings, then for Whale Rider. Although the films are quite different in character, funding and success, many of their film resonances and use of identity narratives overlap and interweave. In this chapter Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings come together, whereas in chapters 4 and 5, the focus was on their distinctive differences. These similarities, differences and ambiguities where identity narratives are upheld or questioned, form the focus of the chapter. Both sections draw on newspaper analysis, focus group information, interviews and Internet Movie Database message boards as appropriate.

One of the ways to illustrate the complexity of New Zealandness is to ask the apparently simple question, are The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider *New Zealand* films? What is brought into focus by this question? Does The Lord of the Rings count as it was made in New Zealand by New Zealanders? Is Whale Rider unproblematically New Zealand as it portrays only one kind of (Maori) New Zealandness? Whale Rider is assumed to be self evidently a New Zealand film as it is about a New Zealand topic. However, as the discussion in this chapter explores, the film was claimed by various interests and people, all wanting the film to do different work for them. Whale Rider's ownership is anything but straightforward despite it most easily being recognizable as a New Zealand film. The Lord of the Rings was also claimed quickly and without discussion by New Zealand as a whole. Its complex genealogy as a novel and film was sidelined in favour of the more interesting (to New Zealand newspapers) New

Zealandness of the film production. Jones and Smith's (2005) phrasing nicely points towards the role The Lord of the Rings played in New Zealand which this chapter explores:

> "We found it interesting that a film project based on an explicitly English text and financed by Hollywood, was seen as exemplary of the emerging New Zealand's national imaginary." (2005, 928).

At varying times and with varying intensities, both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider have been positioned as explicitly New Zealand or national films -- belonging to and representing an imagined all.

There is no consensus on what makes a New Zealand film. The New Zealand Film Commission does not have hard and fast rules on this (Ruth Harley pers comm. 07/11/05), and everyone I spoke to had a different opinion. This did not stop claims of ownership, pride and associated rhetoric from quickly surrounding the films. In the end, the discussion is not about whether the films are claimed, but rather why, in what ways, and for what intended effects. The Lord of the Rings is claimed for certain issues (and uses), Whale Rider for others. Many New Zealand narratives are being mobilised in relation to the films, either to support or to facilitate understanding in New Zealand's context.

I have positioned this chapter as being about New Zealand identities at a particular time. Identity is not fixed and stable, but always performed by people (with or without intentionality) in context (Butler 1990). The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider provided opportunities for the re-performance of New Zealand identities. Performance in this case is in relation to an imagined national community as Anderson (1983) suggests. Anderson (1983) and Billig (1995) both argue that everyone 'has' a nationality. And certainly, all the rhetoric on The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider assumes such a community exists, that there is such a thing as a national identity.

Anderson believes that reinforcing national identity is important to its continuation, and the commitment shown to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider is an example of staking national territory at work.

> "Renaming [of Wellington as Middle-earth] expressed the joy, pride and confidence that many Wellingtonians and New Zealanders felt for the local film industry" (Jones and Smith 2005, 924).

There are always things left out of a nation's shorthand identity (Billig 1995). However, with the acknowledgement that national identity contains many silences, there is still a lot to learn from investigating New Zealand's response to the films. The film resonance and film-landscape interactions allow exploration of New Zealand issues.

Billig's work (1995) on banal nationalism is extremely useful in understanding the daily work that goes into maintaining a sense of national identity, reinforcing ideas consistent with a nation-state identity. I argued that film-landscape interactions and film resonances can be a crucial part of this reinforcement. Through The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, banal nationalism was easily mobilised. The films were talked about in 'New Zealand' terms, but on an everyday, almost unnoticed level. This constant positioning can tell us a lot about New Zealand, New Zealand's self-defined identity and the ways in which 'the country' reacts to certain events. Billig describes deixis words such as 'we' and 'our' as playing a key role in continually reinforcing ideas of nationhood in small ways. It is "small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, [that] offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making 'our' national identity unforgettable" (1995, 93).[1] The New Zealand responses to both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider are full of such language. Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings were positioned and constructed in ways that had very little to do with them being films. As such, an understanding of how this was accomplished will be useful for anticipating or understanding future New Zealand responses to issues and events.

Ideas about identity and nationalism have not been the only strands to influence discussion in this chapter. Smith refers to the "uncontrollable nature of representational discourse" (2002, 112). By representational discourse I refer to the film and unexpected consequences, as well as the discourses, which are in effect 'representing' them, as well as performing the responses at the same time. In particular, I am interested in how film and film resonances, once represented, are available for further performance by others, in uncontrollable though often sympathetic as well as unintended ways.

In shaping this chapter, I have also been influenced by the insight that there has been, "The emergence over the past century, of 'a cinematic society' that 'came to know itself

---

[1] I found it difficult to write without employing 'our' and 'we'. However, the distance provided by working in the UK while writing this has made things a little easier to see and less 'unobtrusive for their familiarity' (Billig 1995).

through the cinematic apparatus'" (Nicholson 2002, 48 citing Denzin 1995). The quote suggests that society might know itself through film, an intriguing idea that has some relevance given the domination of visual media in contemporary society, particularly considering the surge of response that The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider received from the New Zealand public. Introduced earlier in chapter 2, the quote alludes to the prevalence of film in modern life and the ways in which society is interacting with it. Although amateur filming or the rise and popularity of reality television are other good examples of 'society knowing itself through cinematic apparatus', I explore the concept in relation to how New Zealand reacted to the unexpected success of both Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings. How did New Zealand respond to these made-in-New Zealand films? How apt is the concept that New Zealand knows itself through The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider? The films were self-consciously identified with particular attributes of New Zealandness. But it is more correct to say that the films are used to express particular versions of New Zealand identity. Common New Zealand narratives are integrated with the discourses circulating about these films. So it is possible to say that New Zealand can be seen through its response to film, as specific stories are told while others are absent. New versions of New Zealand (most probably idealised, certainly incomplete, and undoubtedly in line with popular tales) are created through New Zealanders' interaction with the films. In this chapter, I explore the embedded, localised and contemporary moment of New Zealand (as briefly outlined in section 1.4) through an analysis of the discourses coalescing around the films.

6.1 Introducing New Zealand identity narratives

Much has been written on New Zealand identity, highlighting particular aspects such as Pakeha-Maori relations, settler identities, role of masculine discourse, postcolonial (not yet postcolonial) issues (for example King (1985), Fairburn (1989), Claudia Bell (1996), Phillips (1996), Belich (2001), Avril Bell (2004)). For the purposes of this chapter I distinguish particular aspects as 'New Zealand narratives' drawing on this literature. I outline below several that have been brought to work in popular discourse in relation to the films. They are all intertwined and discussed as relevant to broader The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider themes.

New Zealand as a small country. This has two main permutations: firstly and positively, an idea of a small community (referring to the population of four million, not land size - New Zealand is larger than Britain), that knows others, and where there are

only three degrees of separation[2]; secondly and more negatively, an idea of New Zealand as insignificant, small and an underdog.

> "We/they are located in the Antipodes, at the proverbial end of the world. Generally speaking, recognition of this fact is not a source of national self-congratulation. Rather, it has operated as a tale of woe" (Elizabeth 2006, 57).

> "[This is] a major preoccupation ... the rest of the world ignores it, so it compensates by more and more frantic exercises of national belly button studying" (Austin Mitchell 1972 quoted in Bell 1996, 19).

Putting New Zealand on the map. This as an important drive and is strongly linked to both ideas of pride and of insignificance (New Zealand as a small country). Exposure for New Zealand is seen as positive. It is important to tell the world that New Zealand exists and where it is. Behind this desire is a belief that people do not know where New Zealand is or anything about it.

New Zealand landscape. There is pride in the variety of different landscapes in New Zealand, particularly the spectacular ones. New Zealanders often celebrate the country as being 'clean and green'

> "Our collective appreciation of nature... [has] a role in national identity formulation and patriotism" (Bell 1996, 29)[3].

> "Promotion of New Zealand to New Zealanders relies extensively on the image of... a barely populated 'land of plenty'" (Jutel 2004, 57)

> "The old idea that 'nature only, not culture' is the mark of New Zealand lingers powerfully in tourism rhetoric" (Jones and Smith, 2005, 938 citing Belich 2001)

New Zealand pride. This has several permutations: pride in a New Zealand achievement; pride in ingenuity and innovation; pride in working hard; and a tendency to claim local things/events as national, 'New Zealand' events. The other side of New Zealand pride is cultural cringe. New Zealanders have been reluctant to support New Zealand films and television in the past. This has changed.

> "For years Kiwis had turned their back on New Zealand films -- they were tired of being disappointed. They didn't trust Kiwi filmmakers anymore. But now we have something to be proud of -- a God-honest homegrown blockbuster [Once Were Warriors]" (Stuff/Sunday Star Times 20/06/04).

---

[2] Six degrees of separation is a popular term from the film of the same name that refers to the idea anyone can find a link to anyone else in the world via six people. The New Zealand version is 'three degrees of separation'.

[3] She states part of New Zealand's egalitarian tradition is a right to access nature which can be seen in the conflict reported in chapter 4's discussion of Whale Rider.

Tall poppy syndrome. I believe this phrase comes from a notion that most vegetation grows to one level as any sticking above this will be more obvious and more vulnerable. Certainly, in the New Zealand sense, it is partially a warning for successful people not to boast. It is used widely. There is also an old Maori proverb (whakatauaki) with the same warning,

> "I want you just to remember these are the things that your grand people taught you, don't show off, don't keep massaging your ego, be patient, listen' and he went through all these Maori values and he said ... 'every time you open your mouth you'll be saying to yourselves, am I only listening to myself? Am I only brushing my hair to see if I'm glowing?'" (Hone Taumaunu pers comm. 18/10/05).

New Zealand ingenuity and work ethic. This refers to the idea of 'Kiwi ingenuity'. The ability to find solutions to problems and to work hard to do so. Associated with this idea of ingenuity is that of 'number eight wire' mentality. Number eight wire is used in fencing and this refers to the ability to make things or come up with creative solutions with the materials at hand.

> "Innovation and ingenuity are an integral part of the Kiwi national culture. Blokes in the shed, agricultural Field Days, backyard contraptions: the conditions of New Zealand life have promoted a certain kind of eccentric experimentation that has led to Kiwis often being world class in the fields they choose to enter. Call it what you will: Kiwi ingenuity, that can-do attitude, give it a go, number eight wire, or black magic ... we are filled with it" (Frederick and Carswell 2001, 13 quoted in Elizabeth 2006, 58-59).

The narratives listed above are predominantly Pakeha narratives, although used and believed by others too. Bell's analysis of Pakeha identity confirms this, "symbols of Pakeha culture are the dominant icons for national identity" (1996, 13). While there is questioning of what it means to be Pakeha (such as the important book *Being Pakeha* by Michael King 1985), as it is not so clear as being Maori, Pakeha identity remains dominant in New Zealand. 1

> Bell "affirm[s] Pakeha identity as dominant in this country. The analysis of Pakeha values has increased since events of the 1980s. Simultaneously, the articulation of Pakeha values has multiplied with the growth of television, that claims and expresses (Pakeha!) identity values on behalf of all, for everyday consumption ... representations claimed for us, to convey what and who we are" (1996, 27).

The narratives are not only Pakeha but masculinised. As other New Zealand writers have pointed out narratives such as ingenuity "speak to widely circulating and thus well-known stereotypes about predominantly Pakeha New Zealand men" (Elizabeth 2006, 59, see also Bell 1996, Phillips 1996).

Films are a way that *pre-existing* New Zealand narratives are re-appropriated, re-emphasised and re-circulated. The themes that emerge through film resonance can be limited to these identity narratives, that is to say, ideas of New Zealandness, or of acceptable ways to talk about New Zealand. It is striking how consistent the discourses are about the films, and how easily they link to New Zealand narratives (also contested). Making this connection is important because it allows us to see at a broader level the way the country reacted to two successful films. This was very specific and interacted in particular ways with the understandings New Zealanders already had of themselves. This illustrates a particularly powerful component of film resonances at work. New Zealand reacted to Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings in very particular ways, uniquely tying the films and the characteristics associated with them to already available narratives of New Zealand identity.

Sections 6.2 and 6.3 draw out the dominant themes present in discourses circulating about the films (in newspapers, focus groups and IMDB message boards). As the films are different in nature and had differing levels of success and popularity, the ways they were talked about also differed. Some of the themes overlap, and some are specific to each film. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider both had significant presence in New Zealand newspapers around the time of their production, release, film awards and Oscar nominations.

Much that is mentioned or given significant coverage in the newspapers is omitted in this chapter, because the majority of the coverage is relatively banal. For example, Whale Rider reporting was dominated by lists or discussion of awards received, links to successful New Zealand films, funding information, collaboration with iwi, film infrastructure and funding, and international success. Not all of these are worth extended exploration in the present context. The Lord of the Rings reporting was dominated by mentions of tourism, landscape, naming of places used in the films, and a lot of coverage on the attention and awards given to the films. Other things were also reported in quantity, such as the state of the film industry. Newspapers contained many short reports on the ways in which Whale Rider or The Lord of the Rings were thought to impact the film industry. The quality of the films was also discussed, in terms of story, universal themes, technology, scope and new things tried and invented. There was also much background about the films, including funding, awards, history of the films' development, interest generated, and reporting on the stage shows resulting from

both films. I concentrate here on the ambiguities and contradictions of coverage, because it is this, rather than repetition of basic facts, which illuminates New Zealand identities and film resonances.

6.2 External promotion of 'New Zealand': Business and government response to The Lord of the Rings

The Lord of the Rings *was* a phenomenon in New Zealand. This chapter, and particularly this section, discusses the ways in which the film phenomenon was utilised by a wide range of actors. It describes how Air New Zealand, Tourism New Zealand and other government agencies mobilised The Lord of the Rings blockbuster success to draw on and cement particular narratives about New Zealand. The discourses were so powerful that they encouraged concrete response from the government and businesses, who further performed identity by using available discourses to their ends. Film-landscape was particularly active in this work of reimagining and repositioning New Zealand. I first discuss Air New Zealand's Lord of the Rings advertising campaign (section 6.2.1), then Tourism New Zealand's programme of promotion (section 6.2.2), moving on to other New Zealand government initiatives and effects on the New Zealand film industry (section 6.2.3). The Lord of the Rings is the predominant subject of this section as it was the commercial success of these films that was most amenable to political and economic appropriation.

6.2.1 Air New Zealand -- 'the official airline to Middle-earth'

Air New Zealand heavily promoted the link between The Lord of the Rings 'sets' and New Zealand scenery, proclaiming itself 'the official airline to Middle-earth'. This branding[4] utilised the narrative that spectacular landscape is one of New Zealand's best assets. This is not a new story, New Zealand has long promoted itself as a natural, sparsely populated, beautiful tourism destination (Bell 1996, Belich 2001). The Lord of the Rings provided an unusual but wide reaching mechanism for Air New Zealand to promote itself and New Zealand in relation to this narrative.

Air New Zealand worked in conjunction with New Line and Tourism New Zealand as it launched its slogan 'Airline to Middle-earth'. The campaign was significant financially,

"[vice-president of marketing and alliances, Ed Sims] will not say how much Air

---

[4] Cloke and Perkins (1998) discuss the launch of 'Brand New Zealand' in 1993, which included ideas of New Zealand as clean, green and fresh, to give tourism and exporters a recognisable New Zealand identity. More recently, Lury (2004) describes brands as relational and interactive with consumers. As I highlight later 'Brand New Zealand' is acknowledged as partial by New Zealanders.

New Zealand is paying New Line for the rights to use The Lord of the Rings imagery, but says this year's Middle-earth campaign has a multimillion-dollar budget and is about twice the level of last year spend" (New Zealand Herald 27/11/03).

There are obvious benefits to New Line in having a national airline promote its films and there were also benefits to Tourism New Zealand in having Air New Zealand with its campaign branding New Zealand as 'home of Middle-earth', making ties between the film and New Zealand.

"We do work together very closely, [Air New Zealand and Tourism New Zealand], particularly in the offshore markets. Yeah, it's totally sensible for us to work together and we find ourselves quite often both becoming involved as partners on the key projects such as The Lord of the Rings" (Jenny Simpson, sponsorship manager, marketing, Air New Zealand pers comm. 15/11/05).

But, Air New Zealand would not have entered into such a significant marketing campaign, which so clearly promotes New Line's Lord of the Rings and Tourism New Zealand's responsibility for New Zealand tourism, without benefits to themselves. When asked what the rationale behind the campaign was, Jenny Simpson replied,

"we saw an opportunity through our partnership with New Line Cinema to help generate greater awareness of New Zealand as a holiday destination, which is one of the things that we're very active in. ... it was clearly such a wonderful chance, a great opportunity. Because we've not only got fantastic New Zealand scenery, The Lord of the Rings is made in New Zealand, directed by a New Zealander, and is a really good opportunity to focus on, to use the interest in the movie and the locations in the movie to help stimulate demand in travel to New Zealand" (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05).

Simpson reported that Air New Zealand research revealed strong positive associations with the sponsorship campaign and the airline (pers comm. 15/11/05). Air New Zealand were pleased with the success of linking The Lord of the Rings to themselves, particularly in the New Zealand market, stating that it both met their objectives and they were really happy with the result, "it generated incremental business and had a very positive return on investment" (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05).

Air New Zealand took a wide range of approaches to their sponsorship including providing Lord of the Rings related material on board planes[5]. Air New Zealand also

---

[5] The contract covered the time period in which the second and third movies were released. Each movie was released in December, so from November to March someone flying internationally on Air New Zealand to New Zealand would receive a special edition of the in-flight magazine with a themed cover, containing articles about The Lord of the Rings from different angles, for example on costume designers. This was available for both of The Two Towers and The Return of the King. Unusually, they reprinted the magazine associated with The Return of the King because so many people were keeping them as souvenirs. The planes also screened a behind-the-scenes documentary of The Lord of the Rings, and if

integrated their marketing to have window displays in travel centres and took out online and newspaper ads in the United States (New Zealand Herald 03/03/04). The company sponsored food at The Lord of the Rings Oscar party (Sunday Star Times 24/03/02), and provided business class tickets for Academy award presenters' gift baskets (New Zealand Herald 03/03/04).

> "We want to ensure New Zealand's identification with the film is carried to the broadest audience during this critical period ... we saw it as a superb vehicle for positioning New Zealand, particularly in markets where New Zealand had relatively low awareness. And where we were positioning New Zealand clearly we wanted to position Air New Zealand directly alongside, given that we fly to and over more of the destinations where these films were filmed than any other airline" (Ed Sims quoted in New Zealand Herald 27/11/03).

The most high profile part of the Air New Zealand's campaign was to have aircraft 'billboards'. Over the period Air New Zealand had four aircraft flying with The Lord of the Rings decals (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05). The images on the sides of the planes required considerable technical innovation (Stuff 13/12/02) and featured characters from the films (Figure 6.1). As Jenny Simpson acknowledged, the planes were needed to effectively link Air New Zealand sponsorship with the company.

> "If you're trying to link the airlines, and by airlines I mean New Zealand airlines, with a movie that is set in Middle-earth, you have to create some degree of relevance or linkage between the two. And the most obvious thing is that it will fly to New Zealand because that's Middle-earth and that's where the movie was set, but how would you generate, I mean PR from then on?
>
> Because if we hadn't done the planes, would anyone have been aware of our support or our involvement? That's the really challenging thing, because while we are very keen to raise an increasing awareness of New Zealand as a visitor destination, which would have happened anyway without our involvement, we want to be seen to be part of, we want to help the airline be positioned strongly as the lead carrier to New Zealand
>
> ... we had to become involved in the project not only to create the awareness that New Zealand is a fantastic place to visit, but also to help create awareness that if you're going to New Zealand, fly Air New Zealand" (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05).

There was only one centralised ad campaign for the international markets (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05) including ads focusing on New Zealand landscape. One such ad used in the United States had a picture of Lake Wanaka in the background. The

---

you flew on a themed plane you would also get a themed head rest cover and a postcard. In addition, Air New Zealand did multiple media releases and press packs for the international media, trade giveaways like Lord of the Rings pens, books for both movies, book signings, photo shoots and so on (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05).

accompanying words were: 'You saw it for 3 hours, now see it for 3 weeks. Middle-earth is New Zealand', thus linking New Zealand landscape and the film, a strong film-landscape interaction that was employed many times. Air New Zealand promoted a single, simple version of New Zealand, that emphasises New Zealand's spectacular landscape and refrained from acknowledging the complex elements of New Zealandness. Air New Zealand were not alone in this. As section 6.2.2 discusses, Tourism New Zealand's campaign also draws on a severely restricted set of New Zealand identity narratives to promote the country in a simple, unified, uncontested way.

Figure 6.1: Two 747s, one A320 and one 767 featured characters from the films: Frodo Baggins and Samwise Gamgee; Aragorn and Arwen in front of the Remarkables near Queenstown; Aragorn and Legolas with a Central Otago backdrop; and Arwen and Eowyn. "This high flying quartet will carry the Middle-earth message globally, harnessing The Lord of the Rings publicity to lift awareness of New Zealand as a tourism destination" (Air New Zealand 27/11/03). (Image source: http://www.airnz.co.nz/resources/lotr_med_res.jpg)

Air New Zealand ran a different domestic campaign[6]. The "offshore [market] we were taking people on a tourism angle, just focusing on the scenery, and for New Zealand that wasn't really the key driver" (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05). The campaign was generic, aiming to link Air New Zealand to the movie, rather than trying to link specific New Zealand locations to where The Lord of the Rings locations were filmed (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05). "It's really just more to position Air New

---

[6] The domestic campaign involved posters and an e-mail campaign offering special domestic destinations with early fares. There were two ads which each featured a Lord of the Rings character and a slogan: one showed Sam and Frodo and the slogan 'The Dead Marshes to Mordor: 14 days by foot or 60 minutes by Air New Zealand'; the other featured Gollum and the slogan 'Osgiliagh to Mount Doom: 14 days by foot or 60 minutes by Air New Zealand'.

Zealand as a popular supporter, in a way that is humorous" (pers comm. 15/11/05). The external promotion of New Zealand as landscape and as Middle-earth that would work for an overseas market was too simplified for a New Zealand audience.

"Corporate advertisers are aware of the importance and power of ... national sense of identity, and exploit it in their campaigns" (Avril Bell quoted in Bell 1996, 16). Air New Zealand leveraged the rhetoric of Lord of the Rings as 'New Zealand' (discussed in section 6.3) for its own interests and did so very successfully and uncontestedly.

> "Over 70% of New Zealanders were aware of our Lord of the Rings sponsorship. ...customers approved of the association, its accessibility to all New Zealanders and strongly agree that it's excellent marketing for the airline or the country" (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05).

Whale Rider is notably absent from this discussion[7]. In many ways this is an obvious omission as The Lord of the Rings was not only a worldwide success, but had a large promotional budget attached to it, as well as the benefit of being a three-part story released over three years so that there was a prolonged exposure to the film. However it could also be argued that Whale Rider did not provide the level of national identity claiming that made The Lord of the Rings so useful to Air New Zealand:

> "There's not a policy that says we will support all New Zealand movies. Because, you know, we assess things on a commercial basis so it's really more like sponsorship opportunity. If they're offering us a range of benefits that are of interest to us and helping to meet our objectives, then it can evolve into a partnership with them." (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05).

The airline to Middle-earth campaign was only possible because of the particularities of The Lord of the Rings films. They were extremely high-profile, much mention was made of New Zealand in production, and they offered the opportunity to 'sell' one of New Zealand existing ideas about itself. New Zealand has promoted itself as a tourism destination for many years. This links to the narrative of New Zealand landscape as spectacular and is an important part of New Zealand identity. This external promotion of New Zealand exploited and easy New Zealand identity for marketing which The Lord of the Rings' strong link with New Zealand landscape provided. The Lord of the Rings profile and use of New Zealand landscapes could have been used differently by those involved, or not at all, but The Lord of the Rings films were mobilised, in this case, to distribute an existing narrative that contemporary New Zealand believes in. In

---

[7] Air New Zealand did provide limited sponsorship to Whale Rider, such as taking Keisha Castle-Hughes to London and helping distributors with their promotional tour (Jenny Simpson pers comm. 15/11/05).

this way, The Lord of the Rings helped 'New Zealand to know itself'. Or more precisely, to talk about itself in efficient shorthand to other parts of the world.

6.2.2 'Home of Middle-earth': Tourism New Zealand and The Lord of the Rings

As hinted earlier, Tourism New Zealand promoted New Zealand as 'home of Middle-earth'. Two particular identity narratives are at work in this association. Firstly, New Zealand's self-promotion as clean and green and spectacular is used to the full (linking to the pre-existing 100% Pure NZ campaign), and can be seen in the way New Zealand landscapes were strongly promoted as part of The Lord of the Rings campaign.

> "Full-page advertisements appeared yesterday in the Los Angeles and New York Times. The ads centre around a picture of the Southern Alps with the words 'Two years to film the trilogy, millions of years to build the sets'" (New Zealand Herald 03/03/04).

The strong linkage that Tourism New Zealand wanted to make between The Lord of the Rings and New Zealand were summed up in the marketing phrase 'Home of Middle-earth'[8]. Tourism New Zealand's pre-existing marketing slogan, 100% Pure New Zealand, in use since 1999 (The National Business Review 21/11/03) was extremely compatible with the kind of advertising of New Zealand that The Lord of the Rings allowed.

> "The Lord of the Rings reinforces the story of a very pretty place. The 100% campaign is four years old, there were others [campaigns] before, but marketing [on this] has worked" (John Rasmussen pers comm. 28/10/05).

Importantly for tourism, "The Lord of the Rings has been an exercise in two-way branding, where New Zealand is not only branded as Middle-earth, but the epic realisation of Middle-earth itself branded as New Zealand" (Turner and Kavka, forthcoming, 1).

Secondly, implicit in the Tourism New Zealand approach was the assumption that not many people have heard of New Zealand, and that The Lord of the Rings can help 'put New Zealand on the map'. This assumption aligns strongly with the mentality of New Zealand as a small country.

> "The movies had provided New Zealand with an unparalleled opportunity to raise its profile, Tourism New Zealand chief executive George Hickton said" (Stuff/The Dominion Post 28/11/03).

Tourism New Zealand's role was a significant part of the New Zealand government's

---

[8] The slogan 'home of Middle-earth' appears in advertising material not in newspapers. New Zealand newspapers talked about Tourism New Zealand promoting New Zealand overseas in other terms.

response to The Lord of the Rings phenomenon[9].

When The Fellowship of the Ring was released, international coverage of The Lord of the Rings' connection with New Zealand was reported in New Zealand newspapers and connected with tourism.

> "Figures released yesterday showed that in the last three months in Britain alone, 85 articles connecting The Lord of the Rings to New Zealand had been published reaching more than 76 million readers. Tourism New Zealand said 80 percent of the coverage in over 40 different publications including The Times, the Guardian and magazines such as GQ and Conde Nast Traveller, had rave reviews about New Zealand's scenic beauty" (Stuff/The Southland Times 15/01/02).

Typical coverage was congratulatory about the benefit this was seen to have on New Zealand's tourism.

> "The Guardian newspaper's travel pages this week heaped praise upon New Zealand's scenery ... ' ignore the fact that Tolkien dreamed up The Lord of the Rings from his imagination and Worcestershire — New Zealand's South Island is more fitting' [Matthew Brace] ... such praise would have warmed hearts at Tourism New Zealand, which is keen to push the country's virtues to tourists and filmmakers alike" (The Dominion 07/12/01).

> "Tourism looks set to outstrip dairy [10]... Tourism Board chief executive George Hickson said the continuing benefits from The Lord of the Rings movies and the unprecedented coverage gave him confidence the present growth would continue ... The Lord of the Rings had provided coverage 'beyond what our budget could achieve' and the board would continue to leverage promotion from it during the next few years" (The National Business Review 21/11/03).

Overall, The Lord of the Rings was seen as providing excellent free advertising of New Zealand overseas, and boosting tourism. I continue to stress the link between The Lord of the Rings and exposure of New Zealand as this was of major concern to New Zealand and is tied into New Zealand identity narratives.

All international exposure of New Zealand is assumed to be positive. The mindset of New Zealand as small and needing to self promote is behind this kind of rhetoric, the extract below is typical of newspapers at the time.

> "Tourism and investment agencies are hungrily counting imaginary dollars and predicting a boon to the economy as a legacy of New Zealand's historic night at the Oscars. But no one is yet able to pin a figure on the expected benefits. Peter Jackson's haul of awards in Los Angeles for The Lord of the Rings and the

---

[9] "Partners ... in the promotion of New Zealand as 'The Home of Middle-earth' are New Line Cinema, Film New Zealand, Tourism New Zealand, the New Zealand Film Commission, Creative New Zealand, and Investment New Zealand, Trade New Zealand, and the New Zealand Music Industry Commission." (Jones and Smith 2005, 942).

[10] The dairy industry is New Zealand's largest export earner. Reporting like this shows the seriousness with which The Lord of the Rings promotional effects were being taken.

recognition for Keisha Castle-Hughes and Whale Rider put New Zealand in a global spotlight. The country was mentioned 16 times during the Academy Awards ceremony. Tourism New Zealand chairman Wally Stone said the spin-offs for New Zealand from all the publicity would be huge. 'Oscars are about celebration and the best of the best. To have New Zealand referred to in that breath, it would relate directly to New Zealand'" (New Zealand Herald 03/03/04).

Not everyone believed that intensive promotion around Oscar success would mean lasting New Zealand exposure.

"The value of having all the world's press attention focused on us at once is at least debatable: having New Zealand on every newsstand, station and TV screen for a week may not rate the same EAV [equivalent advertising value] as a spread each month or so for a couple of years." (New Zealand Herald 29/11/03).

This quote, however, still assumes that New Zealand exposure is desirable, tying into the dominant rhetoric.

Tourism New Zealand and Film New Zealand worked together to promote New Zealand as a tourism and film destination and to link New Zealand landscape to the film in moviegoers' and filmmakers' minds. The following is a press release reported in full or part in many newspapers.

"Nationally Tourism New Zealand is pushing the country's case as a filmmaker's mecca with a $1.2 million advertising campaign. 'New Zealand's diversity and accessibility of landscape, together with strong government support for the film industry, are increasingly making the country a first choice for overseas film and advertisement production,' says spokeswoman Josie Brennan. 'The New Zealand landscape is unspoilt and diverse, offering filmmakers the world in one country[11]. New Zealand is quite possibly the only place in the world where, within a few hours, filmmakers can move from subtropical rainforests to snowy alps, to lush green farmland, sandy beaches, craggy coastlines, high country sheep and cattle stations, citrus groves or the steel and glass towers of major cities.'" (Waikato Times 13/12/01).

Tourism New Zealand also promotes The Lord of the Rings in its website. In December 2001, their website had a The Lord of the Rings area, and in 2007, their website still has a Lord of the Rings portal, introducing New Zealand as 'home of Middle-earth' and offering ways to explore the country through this medium (Figure 6.2). Once again, New Zealand landscape is promoted as the dominant 'way to know New Zealand', here with a film twist.

New Zealand as a pure and 'clean and green' country has long been a narrative that New Zealand has told about itself. In The Lord of the Rings case it is intertwined with

---

[11] The slogan 'the world in one country' is a Film New Zealand one.

narratives of technological ingenuity. Despite acknowledgement that New Zealand does not always live up to this ideal (Bell 1996), clean and green continues to be a strong New Zealand narrative. The Lord of the Rings was an excellent chance to continue this narrative, providing as it did essentially un-peopled landscapes for Tourism New Zealand to promote. Freed by the movie of any constraint to attempt to place people (either tourists or New Zealanders, whether Maori, Pakeha or other) in the frame, Tourism New Zealand no longer placed a token person in the advertisements. Tourism New Zealand's promotion of New Zealand as Middle-earth offers an unpeopled and un-problematic view of New Zealand, without attempting to deal with political, social or cultural overtones that living in New Zealand involves.

Figure 6.2: New Zealand Home of Middle-earth (Tourism New Zealand http://www.newzealand.com/travel/about-nz/features/lotr/nz-home-of-middle-earth-feature.cfm accessed 21 August 2007)

The Lord of the Rings is a British imaginary that has been repositioned as an explicitly New Zealand phenomenon. It is now part of imagining New Zealand, as in one sense The Lord of the Rings ties New Zealand landscape to a Western mythology (if it is enacted). In the case of Aotearoa/New Zealand we can convincingly argue that ideas about nature were imported by settlers from European traditions (Pound (1983) observed that landscape is a European notion not a Maori one) then mingled with locally held views on nature. European concepts of landscape have been used to 're-vision' New Zealand in the past. New Zealand farmland was modelled on recreating the pastoral homeland of England (Pawson and Brooking 2002 and Roche 1999). The New

201

Zealand Company painted New Zealand scenes in a British style without a Maori presence to advertise it to settlers in England. *The Lord of the Rings* marketing reassimilates New Zealand to British colonisation in the ways in which it unpeopled the landscape.

New Zealand today looks very little like pre-European Aotearoa, forest has been transformed into pasture. In some ways it is fitting then, that the fantasy by a very British Tolkien, set in a very British world, should be successfully filmed and made in a country physically changed in an attempt to be its image. Now, New Zealand officially repositioned itself *as* Middle-earth. It has come full circle. There is evidence that this was not contested, but seen to be appropriate.

> "[Number nine in 'ten good reasons to love our movie'] Because, despite what the cynics maintained, The Lord of the Rings couldn't have been made just anywhere. If Middle-earth is just another version of England, so were we for years." (New Zealand Herald 09/03/02).

The multiple constructions of Middle-earth as New Zealand very explicitly transplant one set of imaginaries and landscape onto another. But despite strong links being made, New Zealand and Middle-earth do not necessarily match neatly, even though this is successful within the film itself. It is an ambitious project, which effectively empties New Zealand of people (because we know the orcs and dwarves are not really there) but the advertising imagery does not replace this lost population with New Zealanders, instead it provides an empty landscape ready for exploration.

The Tourism New Zealand campaign was not uncritically accepted, as newspaper commentators questioned economic benefits and focus groups acknowledged the partial view it portrayed of New Zealand.

> "Everybody took it for granted that once the world's moviegoers had firmly located Middle-earth in the Shaky Isles, we could brace ourselves for the tourist flood that would swamp us with wealth. Three years on, as Wellington prepares to host the world premiere of the trilogy's final part, The Return of the King, the reality is a little less spectacular. Or may be. Who knows? No one. ... For the fact is that no one has satisfactorily quantified the benefits to New Zealand that have flowed from The Lord of the Rings" (New Zealand Herald 29/11/03).

The columnist raises a couple of significant points. Firstly that no one really knows that *The Lord of the Rings* had any economic benefits overall to New Zealand (after expenses), and secondly that a 'flood of tourists' was considered a positive thing. He raises the ambiguity around this assumption as he says otherwise positive things in a

negative tone. Other commentators also revealed the complexities of New Zealand's response to this promotion. The comment below, written shortly before the release of the first film, contemplates the possible success of New Zealand using The Lord of the Rings for tourism and expecting large economic benefits. These are couched in terms that understand the techniques that Tourism New Zealand employs and accepts them.

> "This film <u>does not show a New Zealand inhabited by New Zealanders</u>, but Middle-earth, the realm of Frodo Baggins, Gollum, and weird company, and the setting of a primal conflict between good and evil. <u>No worry. Kiwis can take it. We are used to having our landscape thought of as magically beautiful but devoid of human life</u>, as the realm of a departed race foolish enough to vacate a paradise. <u>The Lord of the Rings movie merely entrenches the myth</u>. But, <u>with traditional ingenuity, New Zealand is making the best of the deal. The nation has gone into overdrive to link its present reality with Middle-earth's ancient unreality</u> -- to brag to the world that Baggins and companions have left the scene, but the mountains and plains they quested through are there for all travellers to visit and marvel over" (Stuff/The Press 15/12/01).

The article nicely sums up the intensity with which New Zealand links its pride in landscape to The Lord of the Rings, together with an acknowledgement that New Zealanders do not feature in this exposure of New Zealand.

Some believe that Whale Rider provides an appropriate critique to the 100% Pure Campaign that focuses on New Zealand's natural features. The following comments by a New Zealand tour operator contests Tourism New Zealand's failure to include Maori culture in any nuanced way in its marketing.

> "International marketing body Tourism NZ had run its 100 Percent Pure campaign well. But Mr Tamaki [tour operator] believed <u>it had for some time struggled to understand how to integrate Maori culture into that</u>. He said a creative approach was needed to 'find the essence' of Maori culture and place it as an added value over the whole campaign. ... He said the potential for Maori culture to add value to 100 Percent Pure was that mountains, lakes and forests could be found in many countries. '<u>What you can't find is a spiritual interpretation that Maori give to the land</u>,' Mr Tamaki said" (The Gisborne Herald 17/06/05).

However, Maori have traditionally been used as the 'cultural element' of New Zealand when promoting overseas. Maori Affairs Minister Parekura Horomia has expressed his opinion on this, "Maori are sick of being the welcome party of New Zealand Tourism" (Mansvelt 2005, 142). The 100% Pure campaign has been criticised "for cultural insensitivity over the use of images involving Maori to promote the country overseas and for its under-representation of Maori" (Mansvelt 2005, 143). This reveals the past and continuing difficulties New Zealand has had in promoting Aotearoa/New Zealand's cultures, and the ways in which national tourism promotion fails to promote a complex or nuanced New Zealand, in favour of a simplified story.

Focus groups revealed that New Zealanders are aware of the narrow picture tourism promotion offers, particularly in relation to The Lord of the Rings. They discuss whether or not portraying New Zealand as Middle-earth is appropriate and link The Lord of the Rings' portrayal of New Zealand as a wild place to adventure tourism promotion (discussed by Cloke and Perkins 1998 and Bell and Lyall 2002). There was some ambivalence around the way New Zealand is portrayed in the films generally, and the assumptions that are made because of this, (for example they acknowledge that New Zealand land is shown as beautiful but without its urban settings, and that films such as Whale Rider which show only a small portion of New Zealand, might be taken as a wider truth). Together with this ambivalence is an awareness that The Lord of the Rings films fit the narrative of New Zealand's overseas promotion.

> "F: I reckon the landscape was better than the actors [in The Lord of the Rings]
> (laughter and agreement)
> M: it's like the, we went all out to show this is New Zealand, so
> M: it doesn't look anything like New Zealand, well in some places they do but some it's just like ... a bit too dark and scary for it ..."
> (Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05).

> "So what do you think about the way that New Zealand is portrayed in film?
> M: it seems artificial compared to what it is
> (agreement)
> M: it's not very like um, cause New Zealand isn't that pretty, it's pretty but ...
> F: aw
> M: I suppose that they portray New Zealand as more of a big like really beautiful and stuff because they only use its good spots but ...
> F: yeah
> F: yeah
> F: as if we all live in paddocks and ...
> (laughter)
> ...
> M: part of the whole film that you have to make New Zealand beautiful
> M: thank goodness overseas people appreciate that
> F: yeah
> M: well yeah, but, like,
> M: it's not a, it's not a bad thing
> F: yeah, it's good for the country"
> (Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05).

The students agreed that promoting New Zealand as beautiful is good overall even though they think "it seems artificial compared to what it is". The students are struggling with the stereotypes that they believe New Zealand is viewed through and rationalising them as "good for the country".

> "What do you think about the way New Zealand is portrayed in films?
> M: cutting edge

204

M: yeah, amazing
M: <u>outdoors</u>
M: yeah outdoors and stuff
M: and that we have <u>no cities</u> (laughter)
M: we are all hobbits (laughter)
F: you are not short enough
M: like <u>amazing scenery</u> and stuff
M: heaps of tourists come to see that sort of thing
(silence) ...
M: <u>clean and green</u>
M: <u>different style of acting</u>
M: <u>small</u>
M: <u>not normally portrayed by New Zealanders</u>. Most films are devised by directors from other countries and that's more how New Zealand is perceived by others. And that's mainly the whole environmental thing like Lord of the Rings -- it feels like New Zealand"
(Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

This discussion covers several points. It ranges from the perception that New Zealand is "cutting edge" (linking to narratives of New Zealand ingenuity and technological innovation), to ideas about New Zealand being about the "outdoors", "amazing scenery", "clean and green" and New Zealand as referred to as "small" (small country mentality). The stereotypes around New Zealand because of The Lord of the Rings are acknowledged, and they raise the issue of whether New Zealand's film presence is as constructed by those who aren't New Zealanders, thus subtly critiquing it. "Who really honestly believes this imagery is accurate?", Bell (1996, 195) expresses her frustration that New Zealand's symbols of national identity are so static. It seems little has changed.

The ambiguity of New Zealand's reception to the Tourism New Zealand and The Lord of the Rings promotion is highlighted by focus group discussions. The Lord of the Rings does not equal New Zealand, and New Zealanders know this. The narratives of pride and of putting New Zealand on the map are strong and argue for promoting New Zealand, but it is not a complete or complex picture that is advanced.

There is also a mild backlash amongst New Zealanders against having to experience The Lord of the Rings tours themselves (common to all focus groups). On the whole, New Zealanders did not want to go on tours or view New Zealand in this way themselves.

"M: we just went through Wellington airport and it said welcome to Middle-earth.
F: oh yeah.
F: that bother you then?

M: it did yeah,
(laughter)" (Auckland focus group 1, 28/10/05).

Aligned to the acknowledgement that The Lord of the Rings promotion of New Zealand landscape is partial, is a concern that New Zealand will be a disappointment to The Lord of the Rings visitors.

> "M.: I can, I can imagine some of the tourists that have gone there [on The Lord of the Rings tours] are seeing it as quite a let down compared to ...
> F.: yeah
> M.: it's like tacky New Zealand
> M.: yeah it's kind of a cheapskate country
> M.: trying to make money out of everything we've got
> F.: well it's gotta be good for us, getting money and stuff
> F.: yeah that's good
> M.: yet but if they come away with all bad ideas of what New Zealand is then it's not really that good"
> (Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05).

In contrast to this opinion, another focus group participant stated half jokingly "it's something I wouldn't go on myself [The Lord of the Rings tours] but I hope they succeeded fleecing a few rich overseas Americans" (male, Auckland focus group 2, 16/11/05).

Focus groups demonstrated complete awareness and some frustration at the tight links Tourism New Zealand made with The Lord of the Rings and typical New Zealand marketing.

> "F: The New Zealand landscape was dominant (in The Lord of the Rings) but it could have been filmed anywhere, like the story wasn't New Zealand and so to me the whole idea of having a Lord of the Rings trail around the country, it just seems like a marketing ploy to me because the story doesn't relate to the location, whereas with Whale Rider it does.
> ...
> F: so the movie has, has taken on a life of its own in a way.
> M: yeh it's like a whole secondary thing and that sort of spawned this whole industry of The Lord of the Rings tours and branding and ...like New Zealand was always going to cash in on it, ... look at the pure New Zealand ads and that they're always pushing that kind of scenery, ... it's how people brand New Zealand ...
> F: you're right, you're right it's erm, The Lord of the Rings just built on the way we've been promoting ourselves.
> M: ... so it kind of took that imagery that is used in ads and things already and put it in a place where millions of people saw it who would never otherwise have bothered to care less about New Zealand. And you know, I totally think that that industry of cashing in on it, is an incidental thing.
> F: yeh.
> M: and if The Lord of the Rings had never been made here no one would have tried to market New Zealand as Middle-earth, no one would have been saying that

Matamata could be Hobbiton, it'd be absolutely ridiculous."
(Auckland focus group 2, 16/11/05).

The campaign to link New Zealand with The Lord of the Rings success was simple and drew on older imaginaries and narratives of New Zealand. This was done clearly and from several angles. Tourism New Zealand and Air New Zealand both focused on promoting New Zealand through the linkage to the spectacular landscapes of the film. Characteristics associated with New Zealand's production of the films were absent from the big business approach to capitalising on The Lord of the Rings. A single New Zealand narrative was used effectively. It is at the imaginative level where I believe the most powerful changes have occurred. Due to a stunningly successful film, with the strong visual images a film can give us, there is an imaginary of New Zealand recirculation as Middle-earth. The strong images were supported by large-scale promotions by Air New Zealand, Tourism New Zealand, as well as newspaper articles and Oscar mentions three years in a row.

A note is needed here on Tourism New Zealand's treatment of Whale Rider, because the film was also used for promotion, though in a minor way. Tourism New Zealand included Whale Rider and the East Coast in its activities but only as part of existing approaches. Tourism Eastland worked hard to leverage Whale Rider to increase the area's exposure, working with Tourism New Zealand to bring international journalists to the region (The Gisborne Herald 15/03/04). In 2004, a 'Whale Rider experience' was included in the itinerary of an existing programme to teach travel agents about Maori (The Gisborne Herald 06/11/04). In 2005 Tourism New Zealand again brought travel industry workers, this time from the UK, to the East Coast and they visited Whangara for the Whale Rider tour as part of their New Zealand experience (The Gisborne Herald 21/04/05). Tourism New Zealand's wider response to Whale Rider included promoting New Zealand at US premieres of the film with "promotional films about Aotearoa and a Maori performing arts group in tow" and an "online media service [which] provides information about the film and directs visitors to the film's home page, as well as websites promoting New Zealand and Gisborne" (The Gisborne Herald 02/07/03a).

Tourism New Zealand believed Whale Rider would generate only a small amount of interest (The Gisborne Herald 02/07/03a) and considered it as part of the larger New Zealand package, not a specific focus in its own right. The following quote from Prime

Minister Helen Clark about Whale Rider nicely illustrates the discrepancy between the weight given the two movies,

> "We've had that long-running New Zealand tourism promotion Lord of the Rings running for two years and [now] it's good to see such a New Zealand story [Whale Rider] being made" (The Gisborne Herald 17/07-23/07/03).

However, Whale Rider bundled in with film generally, is credited with lifting New Zealand's profile, once again linking film success with New Zealand exposure and the importance of 'putting New Zealand on the map'.

> "'The film has already proved to be a <u>superb vehicle for promoting New Zealand</u> to discerning audiences around the world ... There can be no doubt that <u>Whale Rider is going to generate further interest and awareness of New Zealand</u> as a destination. ... Our unique culture, heritage, and environments have been <u>showcased to the world through several recent movies</u> ... <u>Films such as Whale Rider will continue to increase the profile of New Zealand</u> internationally and help develop a better understanding of New Zealand as a tourist destination'" (Minister of Tourism Mark Burton in The Gisborne Herald 30/08/03).

6.2.3 Government promotion of New Zealand as a filming destination

While the tourism sector singled out one particularly effective New Zealand narrative, other government sectors targeted characteristics that would publicise New Zealand's creative industry (to itself and the world). The Lord of the Rings was leveraged in multiple ways by the New Zealand government to tell positive stories about New Zealand and to reinforce the success and wisdom of Labour's economic policy (Lawn and Beatty 2006, Jones and Smith 2005). As many have noted, it was directed by a New Zealander, made in New Zealand and predominantly crewed and produced by New Zealanders. Despite it being a Hollywood film, with Hollywood money and distribution networks and the main roles being filled by foreign actors, The Lord of the Rings was claimed as a New Zealand film. As part of this claiming, The Lord of the Rings was put to work in service of New Zealand identity narratives. In many ways, the blockbuster success of The Lord of the Rings was seen as proof of New Zealand's world-class abilities.

The desire to be seen as a country that can compete in a world market and is proud of its technical ingenuity linked well with the way The Lord of the Rings was made. This was a key part of general government pitch to the international market of New Zealand's suitability for making other large-scale films. During the period of production and release of The Lord of the Rings (1998 to 2003), the Labour government was encouraging creative industries and promoting a knowledge economy. The Lord of the

Rings trilogy and Whale Rider were wonderful examples of creative industries success, and were quickly promoted by the government as such.

> "The Lord of the Rings demonstrates clearly the benefits of a creatively-driven film industry. The Lord of the Rings originated in New Zealand and was pre-produced, produced, filmed and post-produced here. It leaves a unique and lasting footprint. It leaves significant intellectual property and human capital gains. It has changed the way the film world views New Zealand, our capabilities and the risk of doing business here. It has given New Zealand a stunning new profile in our key tourism markets." (Harley 2002, iv).

> "Whale Rider is an outstanding movie which deserves the critical acclaim it is receiving, says Prime Minister Helen Clark" (The Gisborne Herald 28/01/03).

> "'Whale Rider's success lives up to the vision the Government had for New Zealand filmmaking when the Film Fund was established'" (The Gisborne Herald 13/02/03).

The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider are seen as proof of filmmaking capabilities. In The Lord of the Rings case, the films are proof that New Zealand has the technology, innovation, crew and the landscape for big budget Hollywood features.

> "The presence of New Zealanders amongst the nominees and on the awards stage was a reminder to the world that this country is home to world class creative talent." (Stuff 25/03/02).

> "New Zealand is the best country in the world to shoot this film because of the variety of locations we have . . . Landscapes are very important in the story, and New Zealand has all those landscapes" (Peter Jackson in The Dominion 26/08/98).

This ties into several narratives: the rhetoric of success, because success brings confidence of more success; New Zealand ingenuity and work ethic, as Peter Jackson and his crew found solutions to make a technically difficult film; and government attempts to promote New Zealand as a film and tourism destination specialising in spectacular landscape and a well-developed film infrastructure.

As the first recipient of the New Zealand Film Commission Film Fund, Whale Rider was a good showcase for the fund's stated objectives of funding established New Zealand directors and high New Zealand content (The Gisborne Herald 24/11/01). However, Whale Rider was predominantly held up as an example by filmmakers, who saw it as proof that 'telling our own stories' can be as successful as telling other people's. In contrast, The Lord of the Rings rhetoric is not about a New Zealand story, it is that New Zealanders can tell foreign stories if given the chance. This is tied up with fighting for world economic stakes, in particular for a part of the global tourism industry and a part of the big budget film industry.

The New Zealand government also subsidised the making of The Lord of the Rings and

was quick to encourage celebration of the movies' success. In later stages, one form of celebratory support was hosting the world premiere of The Return of the King in Wellington. In earlier stages, Peter Jackson's deal with New Line Cinema was aided by significant tax breaks ($200 million, Stuff/The Press 15/12/01).

> "Finance Minister Michael Cullen... remarked ruefully – and without hyperbole – that it would have been cheaper to buy every New Zealander a ticket to each film in the trilogy." (New Zealand Herald 29/11/03).

As is evidenced by newspapers of the time, the New Zealand government was quick to hype the benefits to the economy of The Lord of the Rings success, relating many possible avenues of benefit and providing funding to support these claims.

> "[The government] put millions of dollars into promotions in 14 cities around the world where The Lord of the Rings began showing last month. Almost $1 million has been allotted for projects that he [Pete Hodgson] said would 'follow up this initial burst of publicity with a sustained effort to promote New Zealand talent and innovation to the world'" (The Press 21/01/02).

In 2001 Pete Hodgson was made 'Minister of The Lord of the Rings' whose brief was "maximising the opportunities to New Zealand from The Lord of The Rings film project"[12]. Not only did the New Zealand government inject funding into its rhetoric of support for The Lord of the Rings, but it also appointed someone to be specifically in charge of it. The Lord of the Rings was used by government to enhance the New Zealand brand, enhance the image of New Zealand film industry, and to promote New Zealand as filming destination.

The New Zealand government supported The Lord of the Rings with tax breaks, rhetoric and financial investment to follow up avenues perceived to be opened. However, newspaper commentators questioned whether the promised economic spin-offs would appear.

> "The spin-offs from films, even blockbusters like The Lord of the Rings, usually fast decline in commercial value in a world hungry for the next entertainment spectacular. And millions of the audience that come to gasp at the stark beauty of Edoras would not give a piece of popcorn to learn that its foundations are deep in Rangitata greywacke. Neither are the economic consequences of the film so decisively beneficial for New Zealand. The profits that flow this way have to be set against the $200 million in tax revenue that has been foregone for the excitement of having the epic shot here. ... it is the film spin-offs, we are repeatedly told, that will substantially benefit the country, and well they might, to a degree. But some of the claims are far too optimistic. New Zealand is not about to become the second Hollywood, for instance."

---

[12] Pete Hodgson is a Cabinet Minister and in 2001 had several ministerial roles including Associate Minister of Economic, Industry and Regional Development. Quote also from http://www.beehive.govt.nz/Biography.aspx?MinisterID=36 'Biography: Hon Pete Hodgson', accessed 03/10/07.

However, the editorial concludes in support of the government approach to leveraging the film and showcasing New Zealand's landscapes.

> "The Government and the tourist industry is right to extract every ounce of publicity from the movie that it can. The Lord of the Rings shows our landscape to a wider audience than ever before, and the fact of the movie having been filmed here is made plain in the hype associated with its release. New Zealand would be a wastrel if it did not attempt to capture some of the specks of gold flaking off the ring. Spending something over a million dollars to do that is warranted, especially when the money is going to practical projects rather than to parties and champagne. Videos outlining the production facilities and human talent available here; a guide to locations, investment opportunities, and infrastructure; the expansion of the NZ film industry's website; workshops in the United States highlighting movie opportunities here. These activities are the right sort of follow-up to the big exposure the movie is bringing" (Stuff/The Press 15/12/01).

Despite the editorial warning against over-hyping The Lord of the Rings benefits, it does not question either the promotional stance taken, or the way New Zealand is being promoted within and in relation to the film.

The Lord of the Rings helped the New Zealand government project the kind of image it wanted, that is of a knowledge and creative industry and a clean and green environment. Films sometimes give an unwanted impression (in Malaysia, the film Entrapment contradicted the image the Malaysia government wanted the Petronas Towers featured to portray (Bunnell 2004)), but in the New Zealand case, The Lord of the Rings coincided with a strong positive narrative, and there was no such conflict.

> "The Lord of the Rings hype will die down of course, but the fame it has established, the reputation of New Zealand's environment is established, it will stay. Either way it's good." (male, Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

In contrast to The Lord of the Rings which was so heavily leveraged by government in various forms, Whale Rider was only lightly used in the circumstances, and usually at the same time as mentioning The Lord of the Rings. However, Whale Rider is taught as part of the school curriculum (Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05), which gives it a different level of access and attention.

Given the enormous coverage and hype of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider it could be expected that the impact on New Zealand's film industry was equally large. But, from the distance of a few years, neither The Lord of the Rings nor Whale Rider affected the modus operandi of the film industry. Newspaper coverage of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider highlighted issues at the time such as funding, New Zealand

content versus overseas material, tax loopholes, and also predictions in papers about the impact of the filming (lots of film will come to New Zealand, this is good/bad, hope for Maori films). But the film industry has moved on, and new films are now the focus of attention and promotion. To a certain extent, the New Zealand public has also moved on. Focus groups wanted to talk about recent New Zealand films before mentioning The Lord of the Rings or Whale Rider, with undertones of pride that they continue to be produced well.

Peter Jackson however, is hailed as a hero to the New Zealand film industry.

> "Peter Jackson has led the New Zealand film industry into a promising future ... [The Lord of the Rings in 2001] ushered in a torrent of attention on New Zealand and its film industry, kicking it into high gear and showing that the country was a viable place for Hollywood to make its movies. ... [four years later] the director's shadow still looms large over the film industry in the remote country of 4.1 million people." (New Zealand Herald 08/11/05).

Credit for raising awareness goes to Peter Jackson, though the small country narrative lurks with "remote country of 4.1 million people". Ruth Harley, chief executive New Zealand Film Commission, nicely sums up the prevailing view of Peter Jackson's role in the industry. He is seen as single-handedly having raised the profile of New Zealand filmmaking and increasing Wellington's film infrastructure.

> "He's important because of the films he makes himself, he's hugely important because of the infrastructure he's developed to enable him to make the films himself . ... And also because of the standard of the films he's made, people know it's possible for New Zealand to turn out that high quality of work. (New Zealand Herald 08/11/05).

The impact of The Lord of the Rings on the New Zealand film industry was mostly in terms of infrastructure built for The Lord of the Rings which remains in Wellington. Weta Workshop and Park Road Post (in both of which Peter Jackson holds significant stakes) are examples of small filmmaking companies which have benefited greatly from the project. Miett Fear of Wellington City Council believed Wellington's film community had positive spin-offs from The Lord of the Rings success (pers comm. 17/11/05).

During my visit the Wellington City Council was erecting a large sculpture of a film tripod in recognition of the importance of film to the Wellington economy. The sculpture was a joint initiative funded by Wellington City Council and Weta Workshop. Interviews (with Jean Johnston Manager of Film Wellington, Susan Ord of Film New

Zealand, Miett Fear from Wellington City Council and Ruth Harley CEO of the New Zealand Film Commission) all gave the impression of a vibrant industry. To them however, tourism was of less interest, being seen as a side effect, but one that had no bearing upon their work -- which is to promote Wellington and New Zealand as ideal locations for filming and to promote the film products themselves.

There were also personal impacts from The Lord of the Rings success. Production designer Grant Major and location scout Robin Murphy (pers comm. 10/11/05 and 10/11/05) both revealed that it had increased their profile and that they were getting work from overseas as a direct result of being involved with The Lord of the Rings. There has also been some impact on wages and expectations within the film industry. Local filmmakers are being priced out of the market as crew can often get higher pay from overseas productions, now that they have a higher personal profile (Grant Major pers comm. 09/11/05). The awareness profile of New Zealand filmmakers to overseas productions has been skewed by The Lord of the Rings. Whale Rider seems to have had little effect on this and made no difference to the film industry in the opinion of any of those I spoke to.

The film industry seems to have moved on, but The Lord of the Rings has left a legacy of expectation in the New Zealand public's eye.

> "Can we keep doing this? Sustain it? Everyone expects so much of New Zealand movies. All movies that come out now are rated against The Lord of the Rings, King Kong, World's Fastest Indian definitely. The first thing that someone asked me when I came out of King Kong was 'what do you think compared with the others?'" (Male, Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

6.3 New Zealand as seen by New Zealanders: popular response to Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings

In this section I discuss how New Zealanders reaffirmed and reworked identity narratives through their response to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. I explore the intertwining of these themes and narratives (first for The Lord of the Rings and secondly for Whale Rider) and by doing so reveal a new view of New Zealand, that cannot be reached by traditional film studies or even tourism studies analysis. The films are dealt with in turn because although the themes overlap, they generate discussion in different directions from the same narrative starting points. The discussion is again based on an analysis of newspaper reports, focus group interview material and the IMDB movie database

6.3.1 The Lord of the Rings

New Zealand's 'small country' success promoted

The Lord of the Rings films are mentioned in New Zealand newspapers in an almost overwhelmingly positive light. This is not perhaps remarkable in and of itself. However the positive coverage continues from preproduction (when it would have been easy to critique a film not yet made), until all three films had been released. Furthermore, the positive spin was not couched in tepid comments. The newspapers *raved* about The Lord of the Rings.

> "OUR PICK [for Best Director]: Peter Jackson - The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring
>
> WHY: How's this for confounding logic - the guy who makes the best film is the best director, isn't he? Or how about, of all the contenders, who took the biggest risk? Or who displayed the greatest imagination, got believable performances from actors playing make-believe characters and brought clarity to what on the page is a very complicated story? The Herald didn't name him New Zealander of the Year for 2001 for nothing, you know.
>
> OUR REVIEWER SAID: "Not only does Jackson's opening chapter show that a very fine movie has been made from the first third of an important, seemingly impossible-to-adapt book, it also shows what makes great films great."" (New Zealand Herald 23/03/02).

Perhaps more remarkably in a country that a decade ago was embarrassed about the 'cringe' factor of New Zealand films, there was no suggestion reported in newspapers (during The Lord of the Rings production period or after) that the films might be a failure. Research in 2005-2006 (which covers a period considerably after both production and release of the films) found no discussions other than a positive spin on the movies and their success. Only one interviewee mentioned the possibility that The Lord of the Rings might have been a flop. "There was nervousness before, but now people completely forget [just want to celebrate]. We were lucky that it was a success" (Miett Fear pers comm. 17/11/05). As this comment was couched in the middle of describing how great the exposure from The Lord of the Rings had been for New Zealand, how positive the Wellington film industry is as a result, how difficult a task it had been to adapt the book, and how appropriate a location New Zealand has been for the setting, it is difficult to see this realisation as a departure from the rhetoric of success. Indeed, The Lord of the Rings seems so strongly tied to positive New Zealand rhetoric and ideas about New Zealandness that to discredit the films is simultaneously to discredit some part of New Zealand's identity. (There are intriguing links between pride, New Zealandness and a feeling of obligation to watch that also speaks to this

issue of the film being tied by rhetoric into part of New Zealand's identity which I discuss more fully later).

New Zealand is cast as the underdog in The Lord of the Rings production tale, and there is pride as well as surprise that New Zealand is 'up with the big players', that a small country can attract Hollywood and compete. The positive rhetoric combines the pride (and belief) that the films were a success 'because New Zealand', an insistence that New Zealand is worth the attention and praise resulting from the film, and the fear that it is not. Actually, there is a long history of Hollywood filming in New Zealand, but that is not what this discourse is about. It is about the way that New Zealand's response to The Lord of the Rings attaches to a dominant narrative, that of the underdog, a small country that can achieve big things.

However, there was an unease behind the predominantly celebratory nature of newspaper coverage as this quote from a newspaper column illustrates.

> "It told us something about ourselves -- or so we told ourselves -- to see our own footing it with the best on the world stage. Yet did it, really? ... there is something self sabotaging about the way we are surprised when we succeed " (New Zealand Herald 29/11/03).

This comment shows the writer's awareness that the underlying narrative of New Zealand as a small country, as an underdog that is not expected to do well, is pervasive. I argue that this highlights that despite what seems to be unrelenting patriotic boosterism in discussion about The Lord of the Rings, there is a determination to this rhetoric that reveals an underlying lack of confidence in New Zealand's ability to do well. This attitude can be detrimental as the columnist points out, but is consistently present.

The reasons for the positive way The Lord of the Rings is portrayed can be found in these narratives. The film must succeed to prove the negative rhetoric wrong, but because there is fear, the film is pushed even harder as being a success. This is why, I argue, The Lord of the Rings received the density of positive newspaper coverage it did.

Throughout all discourse there is agreement that the exposure generated by successful films is good for New Zealand (as demonstrated by the Tourism New Zealand discussion). It is a very important part of the way that both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were positioned. Putting New Zealand on the map permeated all areas of

resonance. From small town residents who told me that the films had 'put their town on the map', to the underlying assumption inherent in Tourism New Zealand's campaign, the idea that the world will need to be alerted to New Zealand's existence and told its location, is a well-established one.

In New Zealand, The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider's presence at the Oscars was perceived as raising New Zealand's profile (coded as a good thing). Newspapers reported the general prominence of New Zealand's new high profile,

> "The number of NZ-related references at the Academy Awards: 34: Lord of the Rings, 20: Peter Jackson, 16: New Zealand, 3: Keisha Castle-Hughes" (New Zealand Herald 03/03/04).

Both films were considered great for New Zealand exposure. This assumption is strongly intertwined with how the films were leveraged and perceived as successes.

A closely related theme to the idea that exposure is good for New Zealand, is the idea that world recognition counts. "New Zealand has a history of seeking external validation" (Bell 1996, 19).

> "Recently, they [New Zealand films] have got real good <u>since they have got world recognition</u>" (male, Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

This quote also shows the importance of international recognition. The speaker believes that world recognition is partly responsible for New Zealand films' increasing quality. This resonates with the perspective of New Zealand as a small insignificant country.

Pride and ownership: a 'New Zealand' film

> "Reading your article regarding the response of the Brits after viewing Lord of The Rings has left me with tears in my eyes and a hugely proud feeling in my heart! I am so proud to be a New Zealander right now! I just can't wait to see the wonder with my own eyes! God Bless you Peter Jackson! - Stella Chadis" (Stuff/National Newsroom 12/12/01).

Pride and ownership are a complex interrelationship that is crucial to understanding New Zealand's response to The Lord of the Rings. I refer to pride that local people were involved and pride at a national level. This is inspired by recognition of the films' attributes and, I argue, about international recognition. In short, it is pride in a 'New Zealand' achievement. But in order to be proud of a New Zealand film, it must first be claimed as such. The Lord of the Rings was claimed in this manner early on and repeatedly.

> "It's hard to know what's weirder. To be genuinely excited about an Oscar race for the first time in years, or to find yourself regarding a certain movie as "ours" and already bracing yourself for possible disappointment come Monday" (New Zealand

Herald 23/03/02).

(A slightly cynical side to this is offered by one focus group participant, "if it's successful of course we claim [it]" (male, Auckland focus group 1, 28/10/05).

Press coverage of The Lord of the Rings does nothing to problemetise an idea of a 'New Zealand identity'. The film is claimed as a New Zealand film and there is no discussion about which sections of New Zealand might be claiming it. I argue that The Lord of the Rings is a Pakeha film (filmed in a Pakeha framework), but not ever recognized as such, as is common with dominant ethnicities. Whale Rider claims itself as Maori (not unproblematicly, see later discussion) and raises issues around Maori and Pakeha coexistence in New Zealand. The Lord of the Rings in contrast creates a simple uncontested New Zealand that claims the films.

A key part in The Lord of the Rings being so successfully embraced by New Zealand is the way in which a sense of community was established around it. Anderson's suggestion that the imagined community of a nation is strengthened by a simultaneous performance can be seen to be at work with The Lord of the Rings.

> "There is in this singing [of a national anthem] an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody ... If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound" (1983, 133).

The supporting and cheering of The Lord of the Rings is a similar enactment. People unknown to each other were all supporting the same films. The Lord of the Rings provided a way to share a sense of community. Focus groups support and reinforce the notion of New Zealand as a small community, with everyone knowing someone involved in the films. Of course, this is not true of everyone, but it is for a surprisingly large number of people, and the idea that everyone knows someone who was involved is common parlance[13].

> "Do you know anyone who worked on The Lord of the Rings?
> M: knew a couple of electricians
> M: a couple of people from dad's work were dressed in the Riders of Rohan gear and were involved in the second and third one
> F: my grandparents lived in Wellington, well out the country and out the back was a river that was one of the places they filmed"
> (Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

Matamata focus group participants recounted auditioning for "tiny little people" to be

---

[13] Just to reinforce this, I *do* personally know someone who worked at Weta Workshop.

hobbits. This was part of the process of having The Lord of the Rings filmed in a small community (Matamata College focus group 2, 27/10/05). Other Matamata focus group students said they knew people in the movie, and those involved in the Hobbiton tours (Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05). Aucklanders also felt involved because the film employed New Zealanders (Auckland focus group 2 16/11/05).

At a national level, the idea of New Zealand as a community was enhanced by Peter Jackson's activities. He recorded the black speech of orcs (for the battle of Helms Deep) at a cricket match, asking the crowd to chant the words that were displayed on the big screen (Sibley 2002). Thousands of members of the public were extras in the film, recruited through open casting calls, such as asking for anyone who could ride a horse, or for people under 4ft2in or over 6ft8in (The Evening Post 01/01/01). The extras involved in Helms Deep (which took three months to film and was apparently in terrible conditions of mud and rain) got T-shirts that said 'I survived Helms Deep', and recognized each other in the streets in Wellington[14].

The positive side to the 'New Zealand as a small community' narrative was at work during the production of The Lord of the Rings and contributed to a sense of community involvement and ownership of the film. Quite possibly this is responsible for the feeling of obligation to watch the films which research revealed. A sense of ownership and community brought with it a sense of responsibility.

> "M: you feel obligated to watch them because it's a big New Zealand film and you are a New Zealander.
> M: Such a big phase
> F: I agree"
> (Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

> "F.: I saw Lord of the Rings because they were New Zealand sort of ...
> M.: yeah
> F.: yeah"
> (Matamata College focus group 1, 26/10/05).

> "F.: I, in terms of The Lord of the Rings and this is probably in the minority but I felt like I had to watch it because I was a kiwi
> F.: yeah, I know what you mean
> F.: and I didn't actually enjoy the first one ... I think was the first one, I didn't like the second one at all, but I sort of felt like obliged to. It was such a big, big deal at the time as well, that's why I had to see it. Especially overseas too because that's where we were when it was launched, it was sort of ... and you had to go"
> (Auckland focus group 2, 16/11/05).

---

[14] http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0167261/trivia 'Trivia for The Lord of the Rings The Two Towers (2002)', accessed 08/12/07.

These comments were completely unsolicited, and somewhat of a surprise. They came from various ages and locations around the country. However, they show how strongly narratives of New Zealandness were intertwined with the promotion of The Lord of the Rings in New Zealand. One of the participants felt that she was "in the minority" to feel this way, as though it was not okay to say so, but she was clearly not alone in this feeling.

An older focus group (54-58-year-olds) that included British New Zealanders (residents of five years) brought up the links between nationalism and film and referred to the 'cringe' factor that used to accompany watching New Zealand films but now no longer does. In fact, the response to The Lord of the Rings would not have been possible if New Zealand films were still regarded as below average and embarrassing to watch because they were too recognizable. Indeed, recognizing New Zealand landscape and actors was a key part of The Lord of the Rings appeal (domestically), and a huge tourism drive was predicated on the assumption that people would make positive associations with New Zealand landscape seen on screen (internationally).

> "F: ...cause when I was younger you'd go to a New Zealand movie to sort of support the home team. But now I'd go to a New Zealand movie because I really want to ...
> ...
> F: and do you think we also like to go because it re-inforces our identity as New Zealanders? When we see ourselves on screen and <u>we see all those familiar things</u> and we hear the Kiwi accent that kind of makes us feel good about being New Zealanders.
> ...
> F: but maybe we only go support these movies now because we feel stronger about our own identity and our own culture anyway I mean I, they probably go hand in hand.
> F: <u>so I think that nationalism through films is a big, is a big deal</u> and it um, especially when there are a whole bunch of really strong New Zealand films that come together, it's a great, it's a great way of identify with one's nation and all the rest of it
> F: yeh but, yeh but you've arrived here at a time when that's, when we're relatively complacent about that, <u>we can all remember a time where you approached these things with some misgivings</u>...
> ...
> F: and you feel <u>a bit squirmy</u> watching them.
> F: yeh, yes.
> F: a bit squirmy and embarrassed."
> (54-58 year olds, Auckland focus group 1, 28/10/05).

The discussion illustrates the shift that has occurred and the mostly positive associations with New Zealand films now. The first speaker's comment also talks about 'support the home team', a sporting analogy that is not restricted to this group. There are clear links

here to ideas of New Zealand identity and supporting events constructed as 'New Zealand events', which The Lord of the Rings undoubtedly was. In fact, it has been treated as a national (sporting) event in which New Zealand has done well. This is very similar to how All Blacks rugby games and America's Cup challenges are conceptually New Zealand events. There are elements of pride at work in this, or as Bell puts it "collective egotism: national pride" (1996, 17). Film success seemed to become a national pastime during The Lord of the Rings hype.

> "M.: in fact <u>The Lord of the Rings became almost a sort of sporting event that we won</u>
> (laughter and agreement)
> F.: yeah you're right there though
> F.: <u>yeah I feel proud, true</u>"
> (Auckland focus group 2, 16/11/05).

The link to sport was mentioned at various levels, by councils, government and individuals in focus groups. The government linked The Lord of the Rings success to the America's Cup campaign claiming that The Lord of the Rings would be as good to New Zealand in terms of economic benefits and exposure, as the yachting regatta. It was even funded in the same government package.

> "Prime Minister Helen Clark announced today that the government will allocate up to $9 million in additional funding over the next two years on a range of <u>projects aimed at capitalising on the forthcoming release of The Lord of The Rings trilogy and the staging of the next America's Cup regatta</u>. ... 'The government is determined that the enormous opportunities offered by the epic The Lord of The Rings project, along with New Zealand's second defence of the America's Cup, are not lost,' Helen Clark said."[15]

The film was seen as a 'national' achievement, comparable to the national rugby team's success which also belongs to the country. In interviews, The Lord of the Rings was spoken of in similar terms as the All Blacks, as positive team events that increase New Zealand's exposure. Interestingly, in these cases both films and rugby were seen as at least or more effective than 'official' marketing.

While The Lord of the Rings was constructed as a national film, an individual (Peter Jackson) was given much credit for its success and seen as an everyday hero. Managing to film the 'unfilmable' story that The Lord of the Rings was assumed to be is admired. The fact that fans of such a well-read book were satisfied with Peter Jackson's

---

[15] http://www.beehive.govt.nz/ViewDocument.aspx?DocumentID=12272 7/11/2001 'Govt to secure spin-offs from *The Lord of the Rings* and America's Cup regatta with $9 million funding package', accessed 03/10/07.

imagination, instead of their own, is respected.

> "F: I think that's, that's what Peter Jackson did in Lord of the Rings is an amazing feat actually because he did actually match most people's image enough that everybody said that's, that's acceptable as my image of Lord of the Rings. And that's amazing isn't it? Because Lord of the Rings is so much in your imagination really, you read it and it's usually presented and it's there in the lines but everybody's mind is something different so to actually produce a movie that everybody could relate to I think is absolutely stunning." (Auckland focus group 1, 28/10/05).

This is taking one man completely out of context of the New Zealand film industry and other filmmakers and colleagues. Nevertheless it shows the way these films are viewed in New Zealand, especially Peter Jackson's input, and what they are seen to represent.

As well as being seen as a hero, Peter Jackson is admired for being a 'typical Kiwi bloke', a particular type of New Zealand hero. The discussion below illustrates the qualities focus group participants respected. They saw him as representing New Zealand at the wider level to the world, and they liked the way he was doing that. There are links here too, to New Zealanders' opinion that "we appear quite small and insignificant". This is key as appearing small and insignificant (as already covered) is a lurking mindset in New Zealand. However, in cases such as these, its reverse is embraced as being a positive factor of New Zealand, to be seemingly insignificant and yet make a huge difference. Retaining previous humility ("take me as I come") is key when coupled with determination and success.

> "M: oh yeh, Peter Jackson too I mean, erm, it's you know. He's the typical sort of Kiwi...
> F: bloke...sort of...
> M: yeh kind of.
> F: yeh but he's not quite typical.
> M: not, not, yeh..
> F: but he's like someone who we all respect because he's a Kiwi that's made it in the world.
> M: but it's like the image he presents of himself is one of, this is me take me as I come, I'm not going to put on an image, I'm not going to put on a Hollywood image for you.
> F: yeh that's true.
> M: I'm not going to put on a tie, I'm not going to comb my hair.
> F: yeh, yeh like it was his, like not necessarily that he represents New Zealand but he is, he's not afraid to be himself and in many ways Kiwis are like that too and some of the things that we've done over the years like the whole Nuclear free thing and I don't know, some ways we quite appear quite small and insignificant to stand up to the world and to me he represents that. But I mean, that's kind of going beyond the movie. But he's part of it, he lived and breathed it "
> (Auckland focus group 2, 16/11/05).

An article on the New Zealander of the Year highlights the same attributes that the focus group did about why Peter Jackson is a 'hero'. They both stress that he has "retained the best of what makes a New Zealander" and that he is "unassuming". His behaviour in not dressing up for important events is celebrated as his "unaffected Kiwi style". I argue that this is a peculiarly New Zealand reaction to success, and reflects one of the dominant narratives, the tall poppy syndrome. Peter Jackson's commitment to New Zealand when many (not just in film) leave New Zealand for overseas opportunities is noted and appreciated in this article and in popular discourse. The New Zealand Herald cites all of these reasons in their article stating why he should be New Zealander of the Year 2001.

> "Too obvious, you could say, too populist, you might think, too easily swayed by the marketing blitz of The Lord of the Rings, you could argue. You could, but consider this.
> Jackson deserves the recognition precisely because, despite the hype, the acclaim and the money, he has retained the best of what makes a New Zealander. His is an unassuming, home-grown brilliance.
> His feat of welding a creativity, which began with a childhood passion for filming Plasticine dinosaurs, to a business brain in which he ran the biggest movie project ever, is as stupendous as Frodo's quest through Middle-earth.
> By most international accounts the first of the trilogy of The Lord of the Rings, The Fellowship of the Ring, is a critical hit, an outstanding creative achievement and a box-office winner.
> That he has done it all in New Zealand, down to the last hair on the hobbits' feet, has underlined his commitment to the country he could have easily abandoned years ago for the bright lights of Hollywood.
> In effect, Jackson has been a one-man tourism board, generating more positive publicity than the All Blacks, the America's Cup or any clean, green campaign.
> The fact he could make LOTR at all reveals his standing in the toughest market of them all, ahead of a galaxy of Hollywood directors.
> The fact he could do it allegedly wearing one or the other of his two pink shirts, usually matched with shorts and sometimes bare feet shows his unaffected Kiwi style.
> ...
> He is also grateful for New Zealanders' support during the making of the trilogy, from the Government down to the small towns the crew invaded.
> ...
> Earlier this month he told the Weekend Herald: 'I am happy if people in New Zealand feel proud about what we have done and it's not just me. What there is to be truly proud about with The Lord of the Rings is the fact that it was largely made by Kiwis and it's not just what I have done. I don't particularly relish [the attention]. What I relish is people seeing films I have made and saying 'I enjoyed that'. That is the reward you are seeking. I sort of never really want anything beyond that. I do like a degree of privacy and a degree of having a quiet life. I hope that isn't going to get too threatened.'
> Spoken like a New Zealander of the year."
> (New Zealand Herald 29/12/01).

The inevitable links to the exposure Peter Jackson brings to New Zealand are also mentioned, he is "a one-man tourism board". The discussion also connects exposure of New Zealand with national sporting events. This article is yet another example that The Lord of the Rings is linked to New Zealand's most common techniques for gaining exposure: sport and clean and green campaigns.

To me, Peter Jackson seems to have successfully navigated the dangers of being too successful in New Zealand. He combined tremendous success, creativity, ingenuity and a commitment to New Zealand with a self deprecation that has allowed him to negotiate the tall poppy syndrome. His speech and manner in relation to the films are down to earth and share praise amongst all of New Zealand ("it was largely made by Kiwis and it's not just what I have done"). He also states his intention to not let success change his lifestyle ("I do like ... a quiet life. I hope that isn't going to get too threatened"). This has given him popularity where someone who talked about their successes and changed their lifestyle would be seen as boasting.

The Lord of the Rings discourse is dominated by pride in its success and unproblematically claiming it as a New Zealand film and phenomenon. These themes are inextricably tied to the wider narratives already circulating in New Zealand. I argue that The Lord of the Rings would not have been received in this way in any other country. There is a strong New Zealand flavour to The Lord of the Rings response. The phenomenon is a product of New Zealand self-identities and New Zealanders' views on their place in the world. The next subsection (6.3.2) goes on to reveal that similar claims can be made for Whale Rider -- though with prominence of different issues -- and that the New Zealand response to the two films is somewhat interlinked. I explore further in the conclusion what we can learn from the presence of two films in this discussion.

6.3.2 Whale Rider

Whale Rider is embedded in the same narratives as The Lord of the Rings, but the priority given to them differs. For example, the attention given to New Zealand's success as a small country is present but minor in the Whale Rider articles. For The Lord of the Rings, this issue is paramount to understanding the hype that surrounded the films in New Zealand. For Whale Rider, identity and ownership are the themes that spark most discussion, and the themes of pride and ownership have a different

resonance in the Whale Rider context. Whale Rider generated a more inward response, discussing New Zealand tensions and issues, The Lord of the Rings response was an outward facing one, where New Zealand concentrated on the face it invoked to present to the world. What follows outlines the uniquely Whale Rider response.

International recognition: "join the Whale Rider express"

Like The Lord of the Rings, Whale Rider is mentioned in a positive light in the newspapers, and the rhetoric of success is also at work in relation to this movie, although it is not as strong. For The Lord of the Rings, the success of attracting production, led to describing the success of production manoeuvres (and the success of the film led to positive reporting on economic and tourism consequences). Whale Rider attracted less 'boosterism' overall, although Keisha Castle-Hughes's Oscar nomination led to great excitement. But the praise of Whale Rider is not really the important story here. Unlike in The Lord of the Rings where the rhetoric was extremely strong and had consequences of its own, Whale Rider stories are more about pride, ownership and identity.

Having said that, it is important to note that Whale Rider was talked up in the newspapers just as The Lord of the Rings was.

> "Rarely is a New Zealand film so anticipated, so pre-hyped and advance-praised as Niki Caro's Whale Rider. Before it was released here it was being hailed as a Kiwi classic at emotional overseas screenings" (Stuff/Sunday Star Times 02/02/03).

The film was hyped in New Zealand, but it was also very successful, gaining many awards and becoming the second highest ever grossing film in New Zealand (not including The Lord of the Rings).

> "Whale Rider ... achieved a worldwide box office take of $US65 million ($NZ94m) and was sold to more than 50 countries. It was also the second most successful film released in New Zealand behind Once Were Warriors, with a gross domestic box office of $6.4 million" (The Gisborne Herald 02/12-08/12/04).

> "All up the film got: The Humanitas Award; the NAACP's outstanding motion picture; the Critics Choice best family film; the Online Film Critics' Society's award for best breakthrough filmmaker; the ShoWest Filmmaker of the Year; Golden Satellite Awards for best motion picture, drama, adapted screenplay, and director; the Independent Spirit Awards' best foreign film; a Children's BAFTA for best feature film; best film in Sao Paulo; a special jury prize in Manila; the Seattle film Festival Golden Space Needle Award for Best Film and Best Director; and audience awards from the Lake Placid Film Festival, Sundance, the Maui International Film Festival, San Francisco, Rotterdam, and Toronto. And then, of course, there were the nine New Zealand Film Awards, and you're about to get a WIFTI International Achievement Award [31 awards]" (OnFilm April 2004).

Along with detailed reporting of the awards Whale Rider received, the rhetoric of success also involved linking Whale Rider to other successful films. This of course included references to The Lord of the Rings, although sometimes Whale Rider was positioned as being the better film.

> "Check this out for a partial list of previous People's Choice winners: Shine, Strictly Ballroom and, in the past four years, Life Is Beautiful, American Beauty, Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon and Amelie. Heady company" (OnFilm October 2002a).

> "Forget Lord of the Rings, this has been the year of Whale Rider" (New Zealand Herald 13/11/03).

Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings are being spoken of in the same sentences. The successes of each film helped the other's profile.

One of the ways Whale Rider differed from The Lord of the Rings was in the attention paid to it at the national scale. The Lord of the Rings was seen as an international project from the very beginning, Whale Rider was not seen this way. It was shown little notice in newspapers (with the exception of The Gisborne Herald, the newspaper local to the area of filming) until success was evident, whereas The Lord of the Rings' positive rhetoric and boosterism in newspapers existed from the beginning. In fact, neither genealogy is straightforward. As most know, The Lord of the Rings was financed by the American company New Line Cinema and given tax subsidies by the New Zealand government. Whale Rider was also funded by a mixture of foreign and New Zealand funding[16]. Both films had international investment but the response to them in New Zealand was influenced by exposure not investment.

As with The Lord of the Rings, exposure of New Zealand to an international audience through Whale Rider was seen as being an entirely positive thing. The same underlying narrative is at work here, that of putting New Zealand on the map.

> "Tourism Eastland marketing executive Kaarin Gaukrodger said the type of cover the region has been given by hosting the journalists had been huge, something the organisation could never afford to buy ... 'Whale Rider has been a big drawcard in the past 12 months, with growing international interest in Maori culture as a result of the film.'" (The Gisborne Herald 15/03/04).

This is still the dominant narrative of most involved with Whale Rider. "Whale Rider movie putting region on the map says Minister" was the heading on the front page of The Gisborne Herald in 2003 (30/08/03).

---

[16] "South Pacific Pictures says more than half of Whale Rider's budget came from Europe, from ApolloMedia and presales to France and Italy. This was supplemented by investment from the New Zealand Film Production Fund, the New Zealand Film Commission, NZ on Air and Filmstiftung NRW." (The Gisborne Herald 01/11/01).

"It has been more than three years since Whale Rider was filmed but it continues to earn attention for itself and for its location of Gisborne and the East Coast[17] settlement of Whangara" (The Gisborne Herald 12/01/04).

Whale Rider was low on the New Zealand radar until Keisha Castle-Hughes was nominated for Best Actress in the 2004 Academy Awards and the film was shot into national view and ensuring national pride. This is despite receiving awards at international film festivals before being released in New Zealand, although international recognition was an integral part of New Zealanders' liking of the movie.

> "Irony hinges on the way the film has been marketed here, very similarly to the way The Piano was sold as a high cultural product. The strategy revolves around what I call the Steinlager manoeuvre, for those of you who remember the "they're drinking our beer here" campaign. If wiser, richer, drunker, smarter people drank New Zealand beer, the line seemed to be, we would be foolish not to follow suit. Likewise, as that voiceover intones how loved the film was in Toronto, or wherever else canny film people are deemed to be, we would be foolish not to join the Whale Rider express. And so we have." (Stuff/Waikato Times 21/06/03)

In New Zealand there was a mixed and subdued reaction to the film itself, some people liked it, some didn't. It was only when Keisha was nominated for an Oscar and was in the same ceremony with The Lord of the Rings that an enormous sense of pride and interest was created. The Oscar nomination increased excitement around Whale Rider as it was a very well-known event, televised (unlike film festivals) and The Lord of the Rings was also nominated for 11 categories at this ceremony. The combination of two such 'New Zealand' films created a positive national feeling.

At a different level, New Zealand's tendency to talk about itself as an underdog and play down its significance, continues to be a rhetoric that was part of the Whale Rider film resonance as well as The Lord of the Rings

> " Another underdog from Down Under scored a major triumph, this time on the world film stage" (OnFilm October 2002a).

> "I am heartened by the fact that a tiny story with no significant star power, no director power, from a very tiny place that nobody's heard of, can make an impact purely because it's a great story, it's well made and it's told with a great deal of heart" (Niki Caro, director of Whale Rider, in New Zealand Herald 13/11/03).

> "I am hugely committed to New Zealand. We are low-key about our cinema culture, but every time I go to one of these festivals, people ask how this tiny country at the bottom of the world can produce such extraordinary filmmakers" (Niki Caro in OnFilm October 2002a).

Even statements from the director of Whale Rider show the influence of 'New Zealand as a small country' thinking. Separate discussions in several focus groups also reveal

---

[17] The East Coast region of New Zealand is a large, remote, predominantly Maori, rural area also known for its sunny weather and good beaches.

this tendency. Talking about Whale Rider, this focus group participant revealed that he was proud of the movie being famous, and saw this as particularly good considering that New Zealand is small.

> "Pretty cool that it was real famous and just a New Zealand movie 'cos we are real small and everything" (male, Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

In a twist on the common discourse, those involved with Whale Rider saw The Lord of the Rings as proof that great films of any sort can be made New Zealand.

> "I want to make it here [The Vintner's Luck, a New Zealand book, Caro's stated next project] -- I think we can do it. .... I'm really heartened by Peter Jackson and the way he persists in making world-class films in Wellington" (OnFilm April 2004).

Pride, identity and ownership: whose Whale Rider?

Response to international recognition of Whale Rider often took the form of pride. What may have been considered a 'local' film rather than a 'New Zealand' one was rapidly claimed as a New Zealand success.

> "'Its success is positive for Maoridom and for all New Zealand, based as it is on a novel by Witi Ihimaera and filmed in an East Coast community with its full backing and participation' said [Prime Minister] Helen Clark" (The Gisborne Herald 13/02/03).

Claiming of Whale Rider occurred at many levels. There was local pride (of local Maori, of the film, of themselves, and of 'adopted' actors). There was New Zealand pride (where the film was considered a national achievement). And there was general pride in its Maori-ness (that the film was 'accurate' and can be considered proof that specific stories can be universal). These implications around ownership (and identity) that rhetoric of pride and claiming generates, I discuss at greater length later in this section.

Local pride was evident in Whangara and Gisborne. Community members were excited about the film's success and pleased that it was a local achievement.

> "'It is wonderful to think that this is something that has been made in our own backyard.'" (Raey Wheeler, owner of Gisborne's Odeon multiplex, in The Gisborne Herald 13/02/03).

> "To the Ngati Konohi people of Whangara, Mana Taumaunu was always the star of award-winning film Whale Rider ... 'Mana has the biggest speaking role to have gone to a local and to us he is the real star'" (The Gisborne Herald 09/12/03).

> "Move over Hollywood, Bollywood or even the antipodean Wellywood ....it is Gisborne's turn to get its share of the filmmaking dollar" (The Gisborne Herald 01/11/01).

Members of the cast were also 'adopted' by those from the Gisborne area as people in

whom they could be proud. This is specially related to claiming Keisha as their own, and spilled into pride in anything related to the film.

> "Three years ago when the film was shot at their tiny beach settlement 20 minutes north of Gisborne, they got to know Keisha -- the girl they refer to as their 'little Maori girl' ... 'There she is. There she is. There's our girl,' yelled Aunty Bumpy [Heni Leach] as Keisha's face came on the screen" (New Zealand Herald 02/03/04).

> "Fingers crossed for 'our girl' ....Whangara residents and Whale Rider extras Elizabeth Nikora, Wikitoria Makete and Heni Leach wait as the winner of the best actress category is announced at last night's Academy Awards ... 'we are all just so proud of her' [Whangara resident Maringiwai Whanarere]" (The Gisborne Herald 02/03/04).

Keisha is claimed as "our girl" by Whangara locals. Billig (1995) suggests words such as 'our' are used to signify banal nationalism, here it is being appropriated for a Maori sense of identity.

In New Zealand, all discourse on success and pride has a related opposite. One focus group participant recounted the embarrassment felt by some at being recognized in the film.

> "I just remember lots of the young actors that um, were in it, they hated people recognizing them, hated people saying ... because every single person was like 'you're in Whale Rider, you're in Whale Rider'" (female, Gisborne GHS focus group 1, 20/10/05).

Was this reaction real? Was it fake? Certainly, I would argue that it is part of the national tall poppy syndrome, and as such it is an expected cultural reaction not to be pleased with recognition in these circumstances.

Pride in the film from Whangara and Gisborne residents is not unexpected, although the strength of feeling the movie evoked was a surprise (see later discussion on emotional reaction). But their response was not just about pride in a successful film, but pride in a local story. The legend of Paikea and the whale is well known in the area and a part of life locally (Bex gift store owner pers comm. 19/10/05). I believe in the Whale Rider case, that feelings of pride, ownership and being moved by the film, are highly intertwined for those in Gisborne/Whangara. Ownership comes not only from the story featuring locals and being made in the area, but from the tale being part of local history and identity already.

Whale Rider producer John Barnett acknowledges that physical presence matters, and that there is a very real link between Whangara and its legend. (Interestingly, a physical link was created between New Zealand and Middle-earth by promoting New Zealand's

228

ability to 'be' the mythic country).

> "Producer John Barnett said 'it would almost have been <u>heresy to shoot anywhere other than Whangara</u>. There are very physical things that are described in the book -- the sweep of the bay, the island that looks like a whale, the meeting houses, the number of houses that are present and of course, the people whose legend we were telling,' he said. '<u>It was obvious that this was the place to make the film</u>.'" (The Gisborne Herald 02/07/03b).

There were strong feelings that Whale Rider showed a Maori community accurately. In response to an IMDB message that suggested the film was Disney-ish were the following comments:

> "This movie was nothing like a Disney movie, because it <u>actually truthfully portrayed Maori culture</u>, while Disney films usually disgrace and stereotype cultures it tries to exploit" (Poisonthewell 14/01/05).

> "<u>I am actually really happy this film was made in New Zealand by New Zealanders, they actually got things right</u>. Normally when New Zealand in portrayed in cartoons and foreign movies they eat vegemite (eeeeeeeeeew), have moas or emus or some big birds walking around, palm trees on the beach, kiwis running around in broad daylight" (Lily Potter 21/01/05).

> "Well I have seen the movie and am from <u>NZ and am Maori and my family are connected to the Marae at Whangara</u>. It is not held as myth by Maori the story of Paikea, it has an intrinsic value and a depth that speaks loudly to the Maori people (the indigenous people) of NZ. I believe the movie was definitely fresh and I don't understand the 'Disney-ish' it was far from Disney....I never thought any aspect of the move was bambi-ish or catering to that sort of audience to <u>me as a Maori it speaks of Leadership, of the traditional ways of our people struggling in an increasingly contemporary society to be heard and seen and appreciated</u>. I am from the East Coast, Whangaparaoa <u>and it in no way made me cringe at all</u> or did I find overrated. It's a simple story but with great depth that I think most people can appreciate" (goshen-1 15/01/06).

Pride in portraying New Zealand was part of both the Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings discussion. For Whale Rider this focused on whether the film was accurate or truthful and the statements demonstrate pride in portraying New Zealand, rather than the cultural cringe associated with earlier generations. For Whale Rider, accuracy was about whether the Maori community was being portrayed respectfully, truthfully and in a nuanced manner.

Whale Rider was valued in the newspapers and IMDB message boards for being a good movie about Maori culture. However, as one focus group participant points out while it shows some of the Maori component of New Zealand culture, it does not address issues of what New Zealand is like to live in, as a Maori-Pakeha/bi-cultural/multicultural

society[18].

> "I like the ones [New Zealand movies] I've seen so far and I guess I'd like the ones that have had a sort of multicultural element ... I mean I'd like the ones, I'd like to see more of what I see in Auckland which is kind of the diverse community that we've got and more of maybe the tensions between cultures, not necessarily within a culture. Like say Once Were Warriors is very much a Maori movie about Maori ... but you don't see Maori-Pakeha tensions at all. Same with Whale Rider. I mean I might not want to see it but it's actually what I think New Zealand needs ... I'm just saying that people get, people ... we're, I don't think we're very good at confronting some of those things that are happening and it would be good to see" (female, Auckland focus group 2, 16/11/05).

This comment shows that films have potential to reveal much about the complexities of New Zealand identities. Part of the Whale Rider resonance is the debates it gives rise to that contribute to ongoing negotiation of identities.

The Maori-ness of Whale Rider was a key part of the response to the film. Part of this reaction was seeing Whale Rider as proof that highly sophisticated, culturally nuanced stories can be internationally acclaimed because the themes (such as family and gender roles in Whale Rider) are universal and translate irrespective of context. (Here Maori-ness is coded as 'universality').

> " [the movie] Thanks to its cast of almost an entire East Coast community, had resonated with a North American audience who knew little of its Maori origins" (interview with Niki Caro Sunday Star Times 22/09/02).

> "By standards both commercial and artistic, Whale Rider is a watershed in New Zealand cinematic history. ... [it] is already being invoked as a counter argument to those who believe that the criteria faced by small local would-be filmmakers, who find it hard to fund films that don't comprise uniquely New Zealand material, is too restrictive to their chances of international success" (Stuff/The Southland Times 05/11/03).

In other words, uniquely New Zealand material should not be seen as restrictive to success. Whale Rider producer John Barnett believed audience awards confirm the film's universal appeal (The Gisborne Herald 15/05/03) and producer Linda Goldstein Knowlton predicted in 2001 that Whale Rider would be a universally popular film because of its themes.

> "'The story is beautiful and moving. The themes are so universal -- how do progress and tradition meet and how do they move forward and empower the world? . ... People want stories about people. They want stories they can relate to.' Whale Rider fits that mould" (Sunday Star Times 30/09/01).

---

[18] The legal framework of Aotearoa/New Zealand is of a bi-cultural society of Maori and Pakeha. There are however many other ethnic groups in New Zealand, including a large Pacific Islander population (6.7%) and many from China, Korea and Southeast Asia (http://www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/4980B3EA-6F91-4A09-BB06-F7C1C2EA3403/0/quickstatsaboutnzspopanddwellingsrevised.pdf., 'QuickStats About New Zealand's Population and Dwellings' 18/05/07, accessed 08/12/07).

Not everyone agreed on the universal nature of the story. One focus group participant, a 55-year-old male who moved to New Zealand five years prior believed that New Zealanders' more nuanced understanding of Whale Rider was a result of their familiarity with the context. He questioned how much of the film was in fact universal.

> "all that stuff would not be picked up in Europe because I've been, I mean we saw it after being here for a few years and I felt that I wouldn't have liked it if I didn't, if I hadn't seen the news, if I didn't understand about the protocols and the gender issues and stuff like that, again it's it's been a real international success and I'm just wondering what er, cause all the stuff we'd just thought about here [in the focus group discussion] is all you know, extra you know Kiwi knowledge." (male, Auckland focus group 1, 28/10/05).

But IMDB message boarders found it applicable to them.

> "I watched as someone who grew up with Indigenous (?) cultures around me and liked it from that point. Even though in Canada could make connections" (ceinwynstarr 08/01/05).

> "Since I've watched Whale Rider, I really become interested in this culture. It really resembles alot of the indigenous ethnic groups in North America, Hawai'i, and a lot of other groups in the world" (Stan_cooksJ 23/07/05).

Some key filmmakers of Whale Rider felt strongly that telling 'local' stories is extremely important, and emphasised this over the universality of the themes, which is what concerned film viewers (as shown by the quotes above).

> "Being involved in creating Maori drama has not been an easy road. The powers-that-be have never been convinced that it could achieve even a broad New Zealand audience. As a young writer in the 70s, I'd be pitching ideas that only had Maori in it, just like Once Were Warriors and Whale Rider. And they would say you have to put some Pakehas in because it's just not going to have an audience. My reply was that if we aim it at a particular audience, it would have a lot wider audience than if we try and dumb down. I was just sent from the office. But Warriors and Whale Rider have proven it so"
> (Rawiri Paratene, well-regarded Maori actor, plays Koro in Whale Rider, in New Zealand Herald 13/11/03)

> "The more specific, the more truthful and the more culturally accurate you can be, paradoxically the more universal it becomes. There is a tendency when telling highly specific cultural stories that you dumb them down for an international audience, that's perhaps the Hollywood way of doing things"
> (Niki Caro in New Zealand Herald 13/11/03)

> "There is a real pleasure in introducing a film like this to an audience at home. This is a story that's ours, we've done and it's for us. ... It confirms our ability to tell good stories well and to find our own stories and do that. The Lord of the Rings is important, but Whale Rider is equally important. One day Peter Jackson is going to come up with a movie that's one of our stories and he's going to have the resources to do it on the scale of Rings, and Whale Rider has legitimised that Maori stories have universal appeal"

(Cliff Curtis, well-regarded Maori actor, plays Porourangi in Whale Rider, in New Zealand Herald 13/11/03).

Curtis not only sees Whale Rider as proof that Maori stories should be told, but also sees The Lord of the Rings as a hopeful sign that one day Maori films will be on a grander scale. Three key players in Whale Rider (director and actors of two main roles) all see the value of Whale Rider as being partly about what it shows is possible, not just the fact that the movie itself was well done and successful. Cliff Curtis's statement is full of deixis words such as we/they/our that Billig (1995) argues promote a certain sort of nationalism, here 'our' has a Maori element in its claiming.

There were plenty of people ready to claim the Whale Rider story made possible though coding the Maori story 'universal'. "Whale Rider belongs to Coast" says article heading in The Gisborne Herald (30/01/03b) cementing a local claim. The Gisborne Mayor also claims for a wider purpose. "Though it is Ngati Konohi's story, it is not just about them. It is about us as a people, us as a nation.'" (The Gisborne Herald 30/01/03a). Does Whale Rider belong to New Zealand as a whole; Maori as a whole; or the Gisborne/Whangara communities whose story it was based on?

Director Caro makes claims for several levels of ownership: Maori (general), New Zealanders as a whole and Pakeha New Zealanders.

> "Maori really took ownership of this film, which is the best compliment that the filmmakers could get. Beyond that, New Zealanders as a whole, Pakeha New Zealanders, embraced it as theirs. There is an extraordinary feeling of ownership and pride out there and that's just so humbling" (Niki Caro in New Zealand Herald 13/11/03).

The quote begins to reveal the contested nature of New Zealandness. New Zealand ownership is problematic and ambiguous. Another quote also claims the film's universal stories as 'New Zealand', not Maori.

> "Whale Rider 'is the great New Zealand film that we've waited for,' says Listener critic Philip Matthews. 'A long time coming, it is the product of talent, perseverance and a guiding belief in telling our own unique but universal stories.'" (The Gisborne Herald 29/01/03).

As I have outlined, Whale Rider was claimed by New Zealand as a whole as representative of a part of New Zealand, and by the Whangara/Gisborne community as a local event. Barry Barclay, a well-known Maori filmmaker, questions the 'claiming of ownership' as being uni-directional, arguing that Maori have 'given' to Western cinema, and allowed this claiming to take place. His strongly worded open letter to

232

John Barnett (producer of Whale Rider from South Pacific Pictures), contests any easy ideas put forward by other filmmakers and others in newspaper articles and IMDB, that Whale Rider is solely a useful film for Maori. He does not deride the film itself, but argues against the claims being made on its behalf. His letter is worth quoting at length:

> "Dear John, ... in your celebratory interview in Onfilm with Onfilm editor, Nick Grant, (Onfilm, December 2002) you raise a number of significant policy matters, some relevant to Maori.
>
> You say, for instance, that you are against those who maintain that 'people can only tell stories about themselves'. Frankly, I feel you would have to search a long way to find anybody who thinks that way. The real bogey you are raising is that there are people about who believe that 'only Maori can tell Maori stories'. As if to pre-empt possible future objections to your new film on this score, you tell us that way rather Whale Rider is 'absolutely ... part of Ngati Porou[19]' (so, a Maori story), and then add, 'but I could think of fifty societies where the same issues were being debated and fought over' (so, an 'absolutely international' story; a story which, because of the internationality, that universality, anybody, including South Pacific Pictures, may freely make use of).
>
> Many stories may be 'absolutely international' but, unless the rights are cleared, nobody can use them commercially. You're at pains to tell how you obtained the commercial (copyright) rights but, whatever you may have declared to Maori in Whangara, whether you honourably cleared with Ngati Porou rights relevant under Maori Custom Law may remain, for some Maori at least, an open question.
>
> ...
>
> Polynesians have 'given' to Western cinema famously. The Western producers have 'borrowed' with enthusiasm. We are attractive subjects. Our stories are 'universal'; they are 'absolutely international'. Ah, those cheekbones; ah, suppressed savagery; and ah, last but not least, the allure. Brown her up; brown her down; see how beautifully she moves; what feeling she has.
>
> ...
>
> But (and this is where the heist bit comes in) there hasn't been a Maori dramatic feature made through the Film Commission since Once Were Warriors, released 1994 ... Even if a Maori feature goes into production within the next few months ... [it] will almost certainly be next year, 2004, before it can be released. So, no Maori feature through the Film Commission in a whole decade.
>
> What happened? And where did the money that might have been expected, in the normal flow of things, to have gone into Maori production, disappear to? Millions of dollars. I am not suggesting you or anybody else simply pocketed the millions, but the troika, within which you have been such a major player over the period, a champion, was party to the decisions and may well have been the principal architect of cornerstone policies which have resulted in a true Cultural A [Cultural Apartheid] within our industry. What a shame, eh? A generation of Maori filmmakers has missed out. Why don't you all simply put up a sign, 'Whites Only Need Apply'?
>
> And now, fresh from the South Seas zephyrs, another universal Polynesian story ('poetic, even mythic') comes to the international screen from the cinema barons:

---

[19] Ngati Porou is the main iwi (tribe) on the East Coast. Ngati Konohi is a hapu (sub tribe) of Ngati Porou.

233

Whale Rider. A young Polynesian, in a 'performance as artless and affecting as you could wish to see', ' aches to shoulder the mantle of leadership". (Quoted phrases from Peter Calder's Herald review). Well, we're all in show business, Niki Caro is a talented young director, the film is being expertly promoted and sold, so good luck everybody involved, I say.

But, John, don't badger us that this is the glorious path which we must all go along, head to tail; don't put us down when we raise our concerns about how non-Indigenous artists handle this type of material; and don't go hyper-promoting, in any triumphalist way, 'universal story' to the detriment of genuine Indigenous efforts. Above all, don't tell us that we, as Maori, must like this film. It is every People's right to make up their minds on that, particularly when it is their own world being shown up there on the screen". (OnFilm February 2003).

Barclay's letter shows anger at the way in which Maori stories are being utilised and profited from by those who have borrowed their 'universal' stories and he differentiates between legal ownership and cultural ownership -- a distinction not made or discussed for The Lord of the Rings. The letter produced this response from a reader:

"In Barry Barclay's open letter to John Barnett, he makes a distinction between Indigenous films and films that Polynesians have 'given' to non-indigenous filmmakers. He seems to believe the former have a validity that the latter do not. Once Were Warriors is apparently Indigenous, whereas What Becomes of the Broken Hearted? [OWW's sequel] and Whale Rider are not. Yet all three were adapted from novels written by Maori (and by 'Maori', I mean 'anyone with some Maori ancestry'); all three had a predominantly Maori cast, and several Maori on the crew; both Warriors and Broken Hearted were adapted by Maori screenwriters. The fact that a Maori director helmed Warriors seems to be Barclay's sole reason for making the distinction. (It's also worth noting that non-Maori taxpayers help fund all three through the Film Commission.) Could it be that Barclay is subscribing to that very French invention, the 'auteur theory', where the director is considered the only creative contributor to a film?

It's also ironic that Barclay calls The Maori Merchant of Venice an Indigenous film. Should English-descended people world over get up in arms that Maori have 'borrowed' Shakespeare in order to reinterpret his work in a different culture? Barclay implies that New Zealanders should be grateful for being allowed to 'borrow' such things as the use of the koru and the silver fern. Is it not a good thing -- for Maori and non-Maori -- that we embrace and celebrate such cultural icons? And if gratitude is required, shouldn't Maori be equally grateful to be allowed to 'borrow' the technology of filmmaking itself? (To say nothing of a written language, cars, computers ...) This 'Them and Us' mentality is what makes people inclined to use labels such as 'cultural apartheid'.

I feel it's particularly unfortunate that John Barnett and Niki Caro have been singled out for this criticism. Niki strikes me as someone who has bent over backwards to be sensitive to the cultural issues surrounding Whale Rider. And John's company was responsible for the intriguing Mataku series, which targeted Maori writers and directors. As a non-Maori writer I don't feel hard done by because I was excluded from that series because I don't have a cultural knowledge to tell those stories well. And at the end of the day that should be the criteria used to judge Whale Rider or any other story: is it told well? And I include in that broad definition such things as

234

whether the storyteller understands and respects the culture in which that story is told. And if that's to be criteria, then the question any producer should ask is: who is the best person to tell the story? In the case of Whale Rider the producers decided it was Niki Caro. In the case of Die Another Day it was deemed to be Lee Tamahori. (Thank God it's not only the English who are allowed to direct Bond films!) Barclay concludes his letter with the assertion that there will be 'a Maori opinion' about the merits of Whale Rider. I disagree: there will not be a Maori opinion anymore that there will be a pakeha opinion (or a Women's opinion ...) There will be -- and are already -- many, many Maori opinions on its merits, and Barclay's is but one of them. Witi Ihimaera's is another. Cliff Curtis will have one too; so will Rawiri Paratene.

A colleague of mine defended Barclay's letter by saying that such discussions were healthy and necessary in any multicultural society. I agree. Let's just make sure we feel able to make it a two-way discussion." (Alan Brash, OnFilm March 2003).

Brash contested Barclay's definition of indigenous films and his notion of Maori-ness being appropriated for Western ends. The response letter adds to the complexity of contemporary New Zealand identities raised by Barclay and shows an element of the complex identity discussions Whale Rider provokes. There is no agreement on Maoriness, and who does/does not have the right to work with that. Whale Rider is the fulcrum for continued identity discussion. Within the context of these debates, others, such as Niki Caro, felt that she was allowed to make the film by the Maori of Whangara.

"It was beyond a privilege to me as a Pakeha filmmaker to be allowed to tell the Witi Ihimaera story and, more critically, Ngati Porou's story. So the fact that Maori has taken ownership of Whale Rider is the biggest compliment the film will ever get" (Niki Caro, OnFilm April 2004).

Encountered straight after reading Barclay's open letter, Caro's comments seem more problematic. In it, she is assuming that Maori will take ownership of the film because they were given the opportunity to take part in the story. This indeed is true, and the way that the film was made in collaboration with iwi, rather than despite, or just using them as extras in a more typical Pakeha framework, is indeed one of the strengths of the film. It does not however, take into account that the story originates with this iwi. Witi Ihimaera's (the author) view acknowledges Whangara, talking about ownership of ideas and being 'allowed to make the film'.

"Most important, we owe a great debt to Whangara for their mana and support, and for allowing us to make the film in Whangara and around te tangata tipua taniwha. Paikea. With the benefit of the aroha, generosity, and mana of the iwi kainga we hope that the film will help all of us to fulfil our destiny" (OnFilm October 2002b). [te tangata tipua taniwha = the person of the guardian water spirit (the whale) i.e. Paikea, aroha = love, mana = pride/prestige/honour, iwi kainga = home iwi/tribe].

There are many strongly held opinions in the previous pages, an illustration of the ways in which a film and its resonances can highlight contemporary moments. There are many levels of claiming and identity work being done. Whale Rider is certainly not an uncontested or incontestable success story on all levels, and it is this complexity of response that gives an entirely different 'feel' for New Zealand identity narratives than does the public reception of The Lord of the Rings.

The implicit frameworks being used to navigate consequences of the films' successes are not the same for Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings. Response to The Lord of the Rings was constructed in legal terms[20], and film-making was highly concerned with complicated legal issues, which continue to influence views of The Lord of the Rings tourism operations.

Whale Rider was positioned differently. Whale Rider brings out different and additional issues of ownership not considered in The Lord of the Rings, focusing on concern with cultural appropriation. Filming was about negotiating cultural issues, such as appointing a cultural advisor to smooth out differences between the ways film crew might approach a set and the ways a Maori community might expect their marae to be honoured. For example, Whale Rider contained scenes filmed inside the meeting house/wharenui which would not normally be allowed. Permission to use oral histories was gained. The cultural advisor 'policed' his people's behaviour when they were onscreen and he considered their acting to be insufficient and created waiata and karakia (songs and chants) for use that didn't belong to any iwi (Hone Taumaunu pers comm. 19/10/05). This negotiation of the traditional role of kaumatua/elder with film crew protocols shows the willingness of the Whale Rider crew to work under a different cultural framework.

> "'It was the most intimate working relationship I have ever had,' says Caro. Iwi liaison Hone Taumaunu became her close friend and support. Every scene was shot in consultation with the tribe, the set was always full" (Sunday Star Times 22/09/02).

The Lord of the Rings was conducted in a Pakeha cultural framework, not a Maori one. Whale Rider was celebrated by those involved, and in newspapers, as being a totally successful filmmaking project in collaboration with iwi, it was acknowledged as Maori.

---

[20] Fonts and words were regulated by New Line Cinema (Henry Horne and Rebecca Cochrane pers comm. 25/10/05 and 21/06/06). Contracts with landowners for filming included secrecy clauses (Robin Murphy pers comm. 10/11/05). Strict secrecy was maintained on set, with trespassing orders being issued against people. Wellington newspaper The Evening Post was banned from The Lord of the Rings opening parties for publishing unofficial stories about the filmmaking process (The Evening Post 01/01/01).

"One thing that's important to know about this film is that it was really collaborative with iwi. There is no way you can make a film like this and not be. The film is so rich because of their involvement, in so many ways I would run your tape out" (Niki Caro interviewed in OnFilm October 2002a).

One IMDB poster suggests that Whale Rider follows its Pacific roots and sees very clearly that a different cultural framework is involved in the story and its filmmaking. The impression given from this post is that the writer is familiar with other frameworks.

"I think many people misinterpret this movie because it's so un-American and un-Western. The movie seems very traditional in its method of storytelling. I don't know TOO much about Maori storytelling, just a little, but I also know about Hawaiian storytelling, which is fairly similar. The story that is told in this movie follows in at least some way traditional Polynesian storytelling...

I think if more of these posters understood Polynesian and more importantly Maori culture, they would no longer see this as the light-hearted film they view it as now.

Whale Rider is a Maori story about the Maori culture rising from the ashes in the face of challenges from within and outside. It is truly remarkable. To understand this, one must first stop thinking within a Western frame. Until then, the level of comprehension and appreciation will always be limited" (howcaniturnaway 06/01/06).

The collaboration approach and respecting different cultural frameworks was evident in the approach to subsequent tourist interest in the Whale Rider location. As explored in chapter 4, the Whangara community are reluctant to be a tourist destination. In The Lord of the Rings context, legal ownership and intellectual property rights are part of the discussion in order to capitalise on film (Chapter 5). Capitalising is assumed. In Matamata the Alexander family are seen as lucky, and the subsequent conversion of that part of their farm to a tourist attraction seen as inevitable.

But while Whale Rider's ownership issues are predominantly cultural, they are not restricted to this. Both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were made in the legal context of the New Zealand film industry. There were legal proceedings about whether the first scriptwriter for Whale Rider was properly credited (New Zealand Herald 31/01/04). This is not a large issue, and is seldom mentioned, but it does show that there are many levels to any discussion. We cannot say that Whale Rider's issues are only about cultural ownership and not legal ownership. To draw any such conclusions would be to unnecessarily simplify and assume that Whale Rider was not made in the same New Zealand context as The Lord of the Rings.

I have established that notions of ownership and claiming of film are highly complex and contested although ongoing, and commonly used as a way to understand and identify with a film. So if we cannot say that Whale Rider is easily and unambiguously a Maori film or a New Zealand film or put it in any other clear categories, what can we say about the film that is clear-cut? It induced a very strong reaction in many people and this emotional response was very often tied into identity.

As the discussion so far has indicated the interlocking issue of pride and ownership generated highly emotional responses. But the film itself also generated a strong and direct emotional response to the act of watching it. This reaction was written about in the press as being one of the selling points of Whale Rider.

The film's power to induce tears was seen as part of its appeal, with New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark introducing it at the British premiere with the words "if you're wearing mascara it's going to run tonight" (The Gisborne Herald 17/07-23/07/03). Even hard-bitten locals were seen to react this way,

> "Real tough guys would come out with tears in their eyes and say, it's very dusty in there " (Raey Wheeler pers comm. 13/02/03).

> "Red eyes blinking in the lights after the credits had rolled, bore testament to the already well-documented tear-jerking nature of the film. But most obvious during the screening were murmurs of recognition and hoots of laughter at in-jokes an international audience would never get. Whale Rider, as Hone Taumaunu said, may have gone out to the world but it belonged to the East Coast " (The Gisborne Herald 30/01/03b).

There is mention here of the power of the film not just to induce tears, as most often reported, but also laughter. This humour is seen as being specific and was related to feelings of ownership about the film.

> "Whoops and cheers greeted the Whangara landscape as it loomed into sight, the whale-shaped island lurking offshore like an omen of what was to come. This was Whale Rider at its first screening for the Gisborne public" (The Gisborne Herald 30/01/03a).

Critics as well as audiences saw Whale Rider as having an unexpected emotional force,

> "Whale Rider lives up to -- and exceeds -- its hype. That was the response from audiences in the United States, where the film opened on Friday. 'Whale Rider is a substantial film of unexpected emotional force,' Los Angeles Times critic Kenneth Turan said" (The Gisborne Herald 09/06/03).

> "Response at the packed press screening I attended was equally positive. Hard-bitten media and industry types cried freely during certain scenes, and burst into spontaneous applause as the credits rolled. That's clearly a sign of positive things to come" (OnFilm October 2002a).

Although many international critics also reported the emotional power of the film, the local newspapers saw the animated response to be a product of its localness. Recognition translated into enthusiasm.

The reporting on the emotional response to Whale Rider was a key part of its coverage but absent from reporting on The Lord of the Rings' film reception. The ways pride and emotional responses were engaged differed for the two films. For The Lord of the Rings it was an emotional response to the success of the film, the recognition of New Zealand places, landscape and actors, as much as a response to the story. Whale Rider provoked an emotional response to the narrative, which led to pride and discussions on identity.

A broad range of internet users related to Whale Rider, and used their emotional response and the film as a platform from which to discuss their own personal identity. The movie was defended because of its links to people's identity and experience. This is different from claiming the film (which also happened) and different from issues about whether this kind of film can represent New Zealand better ('tell our stories'). This is about the strong reactions in individuals that Whale Rider evoked and how these reactions were tied back again and again to the writer's personal identity. The comment below illustrates the strong reaction induced and how it was linked to the writer's identity (here Samoan) and their place in the world.

> "whoever started this [thread Re: OVER RATED!] is obviously painly immature and ignorant this movie may not have reached out to you in your selfish little world, but, it has touched many hearts of others who appreciate this movie what it means and stands for. If you said what you said about this movie while residing on an island in the pacific, japan does not count, you would more than likely be receiving more than a little post thats for sure. This movie has made a substantial affect on the polynesian culture that opened many doors for the NZ film industry. I loved this movie, being a Samoan, I would personally love someone to make a movie about the old Samoan folktale of 'The Shark and the Turtle'" (IslandBoi 13/01/05).

The Whale Rider message boards raised issues around identity, quality of the film, specific comments on film, cultural references and political correctness. These are not dissimilar to newspaper themes, however some discussions produced an extremely strong response from those involved. For example, a discussion thread about 'do new zealanders speak perfect english?' had generated 169 replies (thread started 20/06/04, accessed 25/01/06), some of which were heated and all of which were extremely involved in the topic. Somewhat surprisingly perhaps, the posts almost never touched

on the movie itself. The first mention of Whale Rider was in post number 76, and only five posts of 169 discussed the movie. Instead, the thread involved strongly debating what it meant to be Maori, be a New Zealander, speak Maori or not, and the possible future and present state of being Maori in New Zealand.

In this discussion, stating positionality was very important. In most cases, user posts stated their positionality upfront with statements such as: ' I'm Maori and ...'; ' I'm Maori too ...'; 'I was born in Scotland, I'm a Canadian'; 'I'm from Christchurch'; 'I am a New Zealander'; 'I'm a Black American' and so on. Where they were from and what/who they identified with became a very important part of whatever message the posters were trying to convey. It was a complex discussion with viewpoints from all sides.

> "What is this obsession with whether there are 'Full-Blooded maori' left? Who the hell cares! It's not as if you were 2 quarters maori an eighth french and so on and so forth, its the way you live your life, how you describe yourself, the way you speak, think and live is what you makes you are Maori. And who said there are no more 'FBM' left, a Pakeha myth fabricated and circulated to make sure Maori and Pakeha alike succumbed to this ' fog of cultural hybridity' As for the Maori people are white too, the colour of our skin may be getting fairer, but we are just as staunch as ever in our cultural identity. PS my friends and I, almost my whole family, and the community where I come from all speak Maori" (leonienz 09/03/05).

> "I don't think it was a stupid question [do new zealanders speak perfect english?], in fact it makes me feel pretty damn good that someone from overseas has even taken the time to find out more about us! I think it just goes to show how far Maori and Pakeha (new zealanders with european ancestry) have come in the last century and a half. While it is a mystery to anyone how devastating the assimilation of other cultures around the world has been, I think the fact that this question is even being raised, is testament to what could be one of the most successful cultural 'co-existences' in the world today. Admittedly New Zealand is FAR from perfect -- but at least as Maori, our Mana (pride, prestige) is still intact, to the point where we are still recognized (overseas) as an integral part of New Zealand society. Even to the point where some may think us the 'dominant' race, a beautiful thought however untrue that may unfortunately be" (fusion_muse 18/03/05).

> "I'm 'mixed race' too, I think that's the politically correct terminology. Being called half caste at school as a kid was unpleasant, but it was the way it was used against me as anything. Now I'm proud to have the diverse cultures in me although it still means you never kind of belong. I liked this film for the belonging to and celebrating the culture that the maoris have, whether that's really the case I dunno having never been to NZ but I enjoyed the film" (aileenew 08/06/05).

The interesting point from this thread in the current context is that Whale Rider generated such intense and involved discussion. Over several years, people from all parts of the world and different parts of New Zealand used the internet, and Whale Rider, as a forum to discuss their own identity and what that meant in their part of the

world. The Lord of the Rings did not facilitate these sorts of discussions. While identity issues can also be debated in relation to The Lord of the Rings, for example whose story is it? (British, South African, New Zealand?) and what kind of New Zealandness was associated with it (Pakeha, Maori?), they were not a feature of these public discussions. Whale Rider makes this dialogue easier as a prism to these types of exchanges. Identity discourses are the only theme in which Whale Rider moves away from the film itself, whereas The Lord of the Rings discourse is not about the film story itself from a very early stage.

Director Niki Caro stated in 2002 that she believed that Whale Rider

> "will spark huge discussion in New Zealand. I don't think we have seen a film yet that really celebrates the Maori culture in this way. Like the end of the film, and all that potent, beautiful and important stuff about the Maori culture" (OnFilm October 2002a).

It does not seem to me that this has happened. There is discussion on the IMDB about Whale Rider in terms of identity, but it is not present in the mainstream media, and often involves international posters as much as it does New Zealanders. Her comment about celebrating Maori culture, can also be contrasted with Barry Barclay's opinion that the film does not necessarily do this.

6.4   Conclusion

I started the chapter with the (deceptively simple) question: what is a New Zealand film? One answer to this is that it is a film that features New Zealand's natural environment or is made in New Zealand. But it is the complications, confusions and contestations over claims and claiming rights around this question that brings us closer to a more interesting answer. In fact, no one I spoke to could agree on what a New Zealand film was. As one focus group participant put it after a lengthy discussion amongst the group, "you've got me totally confused. What's a New Zealand film?" (Christchurch focus group 25/06/06). So are The Lord of the Rings or Whale Rider New Zealand films? Does it matter? They were both appropriated and responded to in ways that revealed a lot about what New Zealand self-identity involves.

> "M: does like Lord of the Rings count [as a New Zealand film] because they were pretty good the first time you watched them
> What do you others reckon?
> M: a New Zealand director
> M: New Zealand actors"
> (Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06).

This seemed to answer the question to their satisfaction, as there was no further

discussion. According to those categories The Lord of the Rings is a New Zealand film, but others do not find it so straightforward. One focus group participant declared, "King Kong is not a New Zealand movie" (female, Riccarton High School focus group 26/06/06). King Kong was made in New Zealand, Peter Jackson directed it, it was made in the same workshop as The Lord of the Rings, used many of the same crew and contained a similar number of overseas actors. But it was *not* popularly claimed as a New Zealand film as The Lord of the Rings was. The Lord of the Rings clearly struck a chord to be claimed so comprehensively by New Zealand. Part of the identity question is about what New Zealand narratives the films evoked, and both Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings evoked many New Zealand narratives.

Identity is not just about whether or not the film fits into the category New Zealand film, or if it promotes New Zealand. A more useful question is, what is it that The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider have to say about New Zealand identities? Because, this is what The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider resonances in New Zealand were all about. The films were discussed in terms of what is/is not, can be/can't be claimed as 'New Zealand'. The Lord of the Rings appears relatively uncontested, but is in fact as problematic as Whale Rider. New Zealanders claimed the films as New Zealand made, despite confusion over what should be considered a New Zealand film. Whale Rider was easily categorised as New Zealand, but within that, competing Maori v Pakeha, local v national claims were made. The discussion on the films' resonances focused on their activation of key New Zealand narratives. Many were at work in responses to the films, and I argue, framed the ways the films were perceived in New Zealand.

This chapter has explored the dominant discourses raised in New Zealand to represent and position both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. These were productively interlaced with New Zealand identity narratives to reveal a particularly New Zealand reaction to both films, that says much about New Zealand identities in the context of New Zealand at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Lord of the Rings is a Pakeha film that does not declare its cultural specificity, whereas Whale Rider is an explicitly Maori film that raises questions about cultural ownership and pride. The Lord of the Rings was a Pakeha project because it was conceptualised and enacted in this framework (e.g. legal issues, economic benefits, organisation of film production). Even though Maori were involved it is still a Pakeha project, though not acknowledged as such. By comparison, Whale Rider is explicitly claimed and promoted as *Maori*,

undertaken in a combination of Maori and Pakeha frameworks, but not discussed in Maori-Pakeha terms -- only Maori.

I demonstrated that the representational discourses of The Lord of the Rings have a strong relationship to certain narratives -- namely New Zealand as clean and green, putting New Zealand on the map, New Zealand ingenuity and pride in a New Zealand achievement. These were particularly dominant in the external promotion of New Zealand through The Lord of the Rings. Air New Zealand's 'airline to Middle-earth', Tourism New Zealand's 'home of Middle-earth' and other government and film promotion of New Zealand as a tourism and filming destination, pushed a narrow and consistent vision of New Zealand as Middle-earth. The marketing associated with The Lord of the Rings promoted a singular identity (unpeopled, rural, spectacular and unacknowledged as Pakeha), that strongly resonates with existing tourism rhetoric and identity narratives of New Zealand as landscape. The government drew on familiar images and cliches of national identity to do external promotion work. This rhetoric does not acknowledge the multi-faceted complexity of New Zealand identities. The narrow focus of landscape-related identity narratives was contested by New Zealanders, while simultaneously being accepted as necessary for world exposure (another driving New Zealand identity narrative). Both films were seen as a success, at least partially because of the international recognition they gained, and the profile they were seen to give New Zealand.

I also explored the movies in their domestic context, the ways The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider interacted with New Zealand identity narratives as seen by New Zealanders. The film resonances as popular discourse included contestation and discussion that revealed the complexities of New Zealand identities. In this context, dominant identity narratives were also employed to understand the films, and were again acknowledged to provide only a partial notion of New Zealandness. However in The Lord of the Rings case, the film was overwhelmingly celebrated for what it did say about New Zealandness ('small country' that can be world class, everyday hero, pride in achievement and the positive exposure generated). The Lord of the Rings phenomenon was likened to a national sporting event for the positive attributes it conferred.

Whale Rider on the other hand offers a different insight into contemporary New Zealand. While Whale Rider draws on the same 'putting New Zealand on the map' and

New Zealand as a small country narratives (particularly activated around the Oscars), it is not aligned with promotion of New Zealand as clean and green and as an unpeopled spectacular landscape. Whale Rider resonances focused on the issues of pride and ownership (at varying levels and categories), brought up issues about the best way to represent New Zealand on film (local stories) and generated discussion on personal identity and place in the world.

In some respects though, Whale Rider also allows a simplified version of New Zealand to be portrayed, when it is seen as representing all Maori and plays the 'indigenous culture' role for New Zealand. Dialogue within New Zealand quickly contests this simplification (as did dialogue on The Lord of the Rings), showing that while the films 'represent' New Zealand, are claimed as 'New Zealand', and do work promoting a simplistic 'New Zealand' identity -- on close examination they both reveal (in different ways) the complexity of national identities.

Most powerful identity narratives are exclusive in their nature. As Anderson notes (quoting Renan in French) 'the essence of the nation is that individuals have a lot in common, and also that they forget many things' (1983, 15 my translation). The New Zealand identity revealed in this chapter is incomplete. In its external promotion, The Lord of the Rings resonances 'forgot' many more complicated and contested notions of New Zealandness in favour of promoting a New Zealand landscape and putting New Zealand on the map rhetoric. Through The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider we can learn much about New Zealand's pride, small country mentality and the importance of international exposure. We can also learn about contested notions of ownership and Maori-ness that Whale Rider provoked. But we know little about daily life, those who do not like sport or films, the relationship *between* Maori and Pakeha and many other facets. There is also little sense in newspaper reports that New Zealand is a country of many other cultural groups than Maori and Pakeha. In addition, this account is from a Pakeha perspective (mine). The narrative recounted is also Pakeha in that it draws on predominantly Pakeha identity narratives -- this perspective contributing to another sort of exclusion.

However, despite the partial nature of the identity narratives utilised, together The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider interact to produce a new and richer understanding of New Zealand. There are different emphases in their stories, highlighting the unique

response of the other film. Yet they were grounded in the same New Zealand context and many of the discourses are interdependent.

Considering The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider together is not just a connection I have made, other commentators have linked the two films, highlighting the counterpoint offered. The films were not considered by audiences and the public in isolation.

> "First Lord of the Rings, and now Whale Rider. Forget Hollywood ... I'm moving to New Zealand!" (Whale Rider review, Zwelling undated c.2002-2005).

> "New York Times readers recently voted a New Zealand film into their top 10 movies of all time, writes the The Southland Times in an editorial. It wasn't The Lord of the Rings. ... Rex Reed from the New York Observer called it 'unexpectedly touching, generous with its insights, and (it) offers an exceptionally human glimpse into the heart of a land as exotic as it is remote.' This is precisely the sort of reaction that should have New Zealand's tourism industry leaping to follow-up mode. Whale Rider is proven a potent counterpoint to The Lord of the Rings. Though the two films could scarcely be more different in terms of scale, drawing deeply on a sense of place, adding a sense of New Zealand as a far away and magical destination." (Stuff/The Southland Times 05/11/03).

These quotes continue the discourse that film promotion of New Zealand is favourable, and do so within the context of "New Zealand as a far away and magical destination". The "potent counterpoint" actually serves to continue the same narratives. The following extract however, questions what The Lord of the Rings brought to New Zealand and contrasts the films more strongly.

> "We have every right to be proud of Rings, but we do its makers -- and ourselves -- a disservice if we are surprised by its success. But when all is said and done, the trilogy is more a technical than an artistic or cultural achievement ... and that, it seems to me, is the nub of the question about what cultural benefit Rings may have conferred on the nation as a whole. Except to the extent that it showcased the extraordinary resourcefulness of Jackson and the people he gathered round him, Rings says nothing about who we are. But there would not be a person on the planet -- among those who have paid US$40 million ($63 million) so far to see it -- who would be in any doubt that Whale Rider is made in New Zealand and is about New Zealand. It is when our filmmakers tell our stories that we get a priceless spin-off." (New Zealand Herald 29/11/03).

Whale Rider was seen as a counterpoint to The Lord of the Rings, offering the opposite of the blockbuster to New Zealand (though opinions differ on what this achieves). Where The Lord of the Rings is seen as proving that New Zealand can succeed in Hollywood, it is critiqued for offering a narrow and constricted vision of New Zealanders, "The Lord of the Rings says nothing about who we are". Whale Rider, however partial its story (not all New Zealanders live in this context), is perceived to offer a more nuanced and intricate version of what New Zealand can be. It peoples the landscape that The Lord of the Rings systematically depopulates. With Whale Rider,

New Zealanders are present on the screen.

Billig's (1995, 93) conceptualisation of banal nationalism involves "flagging the homeland daily" with particular words and phrases. Versions of New Zealand identity and nationalism are an integral part of the films' resonances. The illustrative quotes throughout the chapter are full of deixis words, doing national identity work. It is 'our' film, 'our' country and 'our' identity. I argue that New Zealand's response to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider was part of the continual reworking of nationalism and New Zealand identities.

Bell (1996) believes that narratives need constant reaffirmation and refreshing or they will fade away. I argue that The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider have contributed to the remaking of New Zealand identity narratives. As we can see from the resonances the films created, The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider provide the potential to reimagine New Zealand. The films drew on what people already knew about themselves and about New Zealand. Whale Rider did not fundamentally alter New Zealanders' thinking, although it accurately portrayed one version of a Maori world. Whale Rider fostered discussions (in some areas) on what being Maori and being a New Zealander means, but the film is also critiqued for being a sentimental "Ethno-Disney" film (Turner and Kavka forthcoming). The Lord of the Rings drew on narratives of exposure and dramatic landscape, without displacing an underdog mentality. But although old narratives like putting New Zealand on the map and pride in New Zealandness (however ill-defined) were used, their reappearance is necessarily involved in new versions of New Zealandness presently being negotiated. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider film resonances are a resource for identity work as there is ongoing potential for new interactions.

The external promotion of New Zealand using The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, used certain easy to digest narratives, acknowledged to be partial and untrue but still supported because 'exposure is good'. Within New Zealand the response drew on a wider variety of identity rhetoric. While they are beginning to be seen as more complex and questioned, they have the potential for remaking narratives because narratives need constant rewriting and reworking to keep them alive, each version provided by Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings provided new (and old) versions of New Zealandness.

I believe that specific New Zealandness and Maori-ness that were performed in relation to the films have now dispersed. They are no longer being enacted in these ways, although the performance is remembered. Now we are back to previous, continuing and other versions of being Maori and New Zealand. Identities coalesce around an event, but this version of an identity is not stable, though shadows and remembrances of it remain.

The Lord of the Rings and the response it generated in New Zealand was a phenomenon. Occurring at the same time, Whale Rider became part of the same filmic (success) phenomenon. Together, the films offer a moment around which identity can potentially be re-made. The ways in which New Zealand responded reveals much about how the country thinks about itself, reacts to films and tourists. Film resonances reveal interesting links between existing narratives about identity and the ways in which the films were discussed. This is not the usual story revealed by film tourism.

"With all eyes on the event, a nation could feel united" (Bell 1996, 14). Bell is referring here to the celebration of New Zealand's America's Cup victory, but her comment equally applies to the Oscar ceremony in which The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider competed. A common point of attention allows a feeling of unity instead of focusing on issues of cultural identity and who comprises the nation (a frequent part of New Zealand popular discourse). Such celebrations are a relief from this contestation, as it is possible to focus on the event itself and find meaning in that moment. However, the celebration of a film, though it may appear to be, is not really innocent of identity narratives or political and cultural contexts. The film resonances amply demonstrate this and are a good insight into contemporary New Zealand identities.

The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider allowed a sense of New Zealand's difference to be celebrated. There was a willingness to watch films as a nation, and to find uniquely New Zealand aspects to them. Film continues to position New Zealand in the world. This is not trivial. Many New Zealand narratives are now incorporated in international knowledge, and re-incorporated in New Zealand in different ways. The film resonances reflected a moment in New Zealand that is complex and ambiguous. It is also unprecedented. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider's longevity and profile created a phenomenon that allowed thinking through these issues with a resource that was not previously available.

7 Conclusion

This thesis has deployed the concepts of more-than-film, resonance and film-landscape as interventions in geographical thinking about film. More-than-film opens up possibilities and prioritises investigation into what happens in relation to film, thus extending geography film work. Resonances disclose the enlivened and special power of film and film imaginaries. Film-landscape offers insights into how to resolve non-representational/representational issues.

The thesis has expanded the literature in several significant ways, notably how film may be conceptualised (particularly by geographers) and how landscape may be positioned and conceptualised in relation to other performative representations (film). It also adds to substantive knowledge on New Zealand place imaginaries and identity politics, significantly contributing to understandings about New Zealandness in the early 21st century. The research has both challenged and deepened the concepts key to my work: 'resonance'; 'film-landscape'; and 'more-than-film'. As a whole, the conclusion reflects on the role of method and empirical research in exploring the research questions and the key theoretical concepts.

The chapter outlines several conclusions. Firstly, that the key theoretical terms adopted greatly facilitated the research and in turn were enhanced by them. I discuss the empirically enabling power of the terms ' resonance' and 'film-landscape' within a 'more-than-film framework'. I argue that the thesis is an illustrative demonstration of the potential of a more-than-film approach. Secondly, I discuss the contribution of the research to New Zealand's situated knowledges. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were specifically New Zealand, and the research conclusions show that much can be learned about this place and context by exploring them in a more-than-film way. I grouped the key findings as knowledge about: wider politics and resonances of New Zealand nationhood and identity; and as knowledge that begin to reveal the strength of

films' visual impact on place imaginaries. I also stress that there is particular knowledge production value in considering The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider *together*. This thesis is arguably a particular contribution to knowledge production about film. It centres film-landscape, explores the relational and interactive domains of film resonances, and by doing so offers a situated demonstration of how a more-than-film approach makes visible fresh dimensions pertaining to film.

Importantly, the thesis's conceptualisations and theorisations were made possible by the particularities of New Zealand film, the New Zealand film industry and the New Zealand reception of two key films, The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider. These films provided a platform to develop a unique methodological approach, that of counter positioning the films, in investigation and when exploring the wider significance of the work of film-landscape and film resonances.

7.1 Revisiting key theoretical terms

The research questions of the thesis reflected my concern with what happens after film has gone into circulation. This point of entry allowed me to ask different questions of film. Instead of focusing on film as an object, I considered film as constituted by relations and formative of new relations. My thesis had two focusing questions, namely, exploring 'what work does film-landscape do?' and 'what are the social and cultural resonances of film?' These questions directed research and analysis in ways that prioritised resonances for their own sake and treated film-landscape in distinctively new terms. The breadth of the research questions enabled me to cast the net wide in my exploration of film resonances and capture the unanticipated as well as the foreseeable.

How effective were these questions at provoking my research in new directions? I found returning to the guiding questions time and again through the process, enabled me to focus on the key area of interest -- the importance of exploring the wider work of film, outside of content, production or viewing. To highlight this approach I used the phrasing more-than-film. And I believe the empirical chapters contained in this thesis demonstrate the potential of thinking about film slightly differently. In the more-than-film framework, the films become a fulcrum, from which investigation begins. Together, the two research questions sought to demonstrate that films do powerful work *outside* of their viewing and production context. This point of departure provokes the examination of new juxtapositions of theory and context, that come from considering

anew and in combination, existing approaches to film.

I return now to the key terms used to underpin analysis -- 'film-landscape', 'resonances' and 'more-and-film'. I discuss the ways in which the research has added depth, scope and understanding to them, ensuring that their work as conceptual terms is valued.

7.1.1 Film-landscape

Film-landscape, as I have established, refers to a process of negotiation between film and landscape, as part of making new versions of landscape. Exploring film-landscape interactions is axiomatically a situated approach, interrogating the ways in which people react to film in relation to *where* they are socially and geographically positioned. I explored this relational process through experiencing and analysing The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider film tours.

Work on landscape has much to say on how landscape is performed and landscape is both personal, social and material, but there is little on how something such as film -- that combines visual presentations in the traditional landscape painterly/photography style and an emotional narrative that engages attention -- might affect this performance at any of those levels. I am arguing that film is one of the ways we make sense of our world in the 20th/21st century, and that film-landscape allows part of that sense making to be seen more clearly and explored.

The chapter 'making film-landscapes' explored a grounded set of circumstances, where people were seeing and doing landscape at the same time. In the tours, by thinking relationally through film-landscape I was able to see two theorisations of landscape, viewing and performing, working together. In this way we can see that film-landscape furthers the landscape literature. It does this by paying attention to multiple ways the world is presented and by thinking through what the interaction between two 'representations' (film, landscape) might be.

The emphasis in the landscape literature on continual making-of-landscape meant that representations such as film, can be both representative of landscape (and all that entails) and directly performative (by producing responses and influencing the making of versions of landscape). This concept of landscape led to my notion of film-landscape that is a relational shorthand for the interactions between representational landscapes

and material ones. Film-landscape, as a concept that focuses on the interactions *between* film and landscape, contributes to understanding the new landscapes that result from this. As the thesis demonstrated, there is a multiplicity of landscape and circumstances, but particularly when film is concerned. Film landscapes offer one version, film production another, and the narrative world of film another. These interact with existing place imaginaries in complex ways as the film and the location are explicitly compared. Thus, the combination of film and landscape, as I have articulated it in film-landscape (relationally and co-constitutively), is a very significant development.

The investigation of film tours focused on the opinions of tourist operators, residents, tourism promoters, and the New Zealand public at large, but relied most heavily on my opinions and the version of landscape I experienced as a researcher/tourist. This was a methodological choice, undertaken because I sought to narrate the multiplicity of landscape understanding and place imaginaries occurring on the tours, and I believed this could best be begun from relating my own versions and understandings. However, understanding the film-landscape interaction would benefit from investigating how tourists present their own versions of the tours. How do they interpret the use of photoboards? Did they find the links tour guides made between film and location easy to follow or confusing? Did the films add to their experience of landscape? Or was the film an insignificant or annoying adjunct to their tour of spectacular New Zealand areas that already seemed magical, enchanting and worthy of an emotional response? Answers to these questions and more could enhance our understanding of the relationships that are developing between film and landscape at a variety of levels.

Crucially, by approaching film-landscape through the articulations of representational and non-representational theories, the thesis engaged at a frontier in the geographic literature. This was done in two ways: by acknowledging the representational aspects of film, but insisting that film also performs; and by understanding that landscape is often considered representationally, yet insisting that landscape is also performed. Representational and non-representational ideas each generated insight about film tours. In the tours, complex cultural performances were occurring at the same time as landscape was being staged for consumption. In the case of The Lord of the Rings this was spectacular landscape reinforced by photoboards, and in Whale Rider, the 'local' version of appropriate Maori-Pakeha relations was performed in the film-landscape.

So far I have highlighted how thinking through film-landscape interactions both questions and significantly adds to theorisations on landscape, on tourist activities and on understanding the power of film in context. I have also stressed that film-landscape aids in thinking both representationally and non-representationally. However, while I contend that thinking non-representationally here means acknowledging performative landscapes, the role of the non-human in this, and the ways images and narratives dwell in places through film, I have not discussed the representational side to this interaction. There are two representations I examined: landscape and film itself.

The analysis of photoboards problematised landscapes as representation, claiming that the landscapes *were being performed as representations*. The use of film photoboards re-constructed the view of the area for the tourist. This is an insight into landscape representation and performance that only comes through the theoretical relationality of film-landscape.

Film is the other representation considered. Instead of exploring its content or image construction, I focused on the *work* that film *does as a representation* in its circulation. I argued that film contributed to new performances of landscape. But in saying that I examined the work film did as a representation, I must stress that I do not interpret the film text myself. Rather, I accept the interpretations that the public offered me. That is to say, that my work uses the representational analysis of the public, government, tourists and tourist operators. Leaving aside an interrogation of the text, I asked questions about what it is that people do with their interpretation of the film as a representation (because that is how it is being seen, as a representation), and then explore the performative work of the film *as a representation*. This is a powerful step forward, because it dissolves the binary between film as a representation and as a performance and acknowledges that film (and landscape) are both. Yet, this does not necessarily occur simultaneously or for the same people. Most members of the public and tourists will never see the film as anything other than representation, and government agencies could be said to have no desire to see film as anything other than a representation of New Zealand. However, film has the capacity to say to become many things, to represent and perform. The work in chapter 4 on film-landscape accepts others' versions of representational analysis and thus illustrates one way in which film can be understood as performative and representational. The term film-landscape both focuses on and facilitates exploration of representation and performance, as it accepts

existing interpretations of film text and of landscape and interrogates how the relationships are performed between these.

While film-landscape played a different role in the exploration of Whale Rider, it still demonstrates that considering film-landscape interactions was powerful to understanding responses. In this case, the film narrative (rather than the images) were powerfully remaking the Whale Rider landscape. Although no photoboards were used, film was still ever-present on the tour and significantly contributed to the ways landscape was explained and interpreted. However, this was much less in representational terms. Instead, the tour performed its version of acceptable relations, and residents enacted their frustrations at the ways their landscape was being 'viewed', rather than acknowledged as embodied and part of the performance of important rituals.

The exploration of film-landscape interactions speaks to wider debates in social-cultural geography by showing that film is an integral part of the performance of particular landscapes. In doing so, the thesis works with, furthers and widens Wylie's contention that landscape is "the creative tension of self and world" (2007, 217). It chimes with the wider work that emphasises performance and practice, affect and non-representational ways of understanding and being in the world (as put forward by Thrift 2007). The discussion on making film-landscapes also argues that the making of landscape should consider animate and inanimate actors of all types, thus adding to initiatives on the more-than-human world (as exemplified by Whatmore's *Hybrid Geographies* 2002). The insistence that many participate in making film-landscapes meaningful, contributes a new element to research that has tended to focus on animals, institutions and the inanimate, by adding the world of film to the equation.

Exploring film-landscape interactions in terms of landscape theory, is also a new contribution to the international geography literature. While there are studies on film tourism and the relationship between film and a tourist performance (e.g. Tzanelli 2004, Beeton 2005, Crang 2006, Law et al. 2007), the research does not discuss the re-enacting of film scenes that occur on film tours, or relate the performance of film moments, to the ways landscape is performed. Equally, while landscape literature has contributed to rethinking landscapes as being made through walking, talking and moving (e.g. Ingold 1993, Tilley 2004, Lorimer 2006, Wylie 2007), these concerns over the ways daily activities make landscape have not included a relationship to film. Film-

landscape builds on existing thinking by bringing together notions of performativity, landscape and tourism through ideas of simultaneity and multiplicity that reveal a coexistence of multiple landscapes. The existing landscape literature hardly considers media and what an imaginative component energised by this can add to an embodied landscape experience. Considering landscape *in relation to film* (not within film) therefore is a decidedly new direction for landscape literature and cinematic geographies.

Although I have established that film-landscape is a valuable conceptual space that allows the multiply performative and representational elements of landscape and film to be better understood, it may still be asked, is film-landscape applicable beyond The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider? Both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider contain cinematic, scenic landscapes, from the tradition of a framed view of scenery, and this makes such discussions easy. But I argue that film-landscape is not restricted to films with 'scenic', 'outdoor' landscapes. In my work, landscape is a broad term that can encompass cityscapes, buildings, internal spaces, urban spaces, studios, lunarscapes, undersea landscapes, virtual landscapes, as well as outdoor areas in its remit. To me, landscape has the potential to be everywhere. I conceive landscape to be: a way of seeing; a way of being; the partly imaginative and partly material aspects of viewing the world (following Wylie 2007 and Sharma 1995). This broad definition means that film-landscape need not be restricted to films with high levels of scenery or countryside.

So, if landscape includes urban or studio scenes (the most common alternatives to countryside), how might film-landscape work? I argue that it would work in much the same way. This term is about interactions between film and places that were filmed. Those places, no less so if they are studios, or urban settings, are landscapes. Conceived of, framed and performed as landscapes in their 'real' material settings, and translated onto film by filmmakers. Once on film, these landscapes are equally able to be picked up, imagined with (or ignored) by viewers. Exploring film-landscape interactions in these contexts, therefore, would mean exploring the relationships between film and studios, or between film and urban settings. For example, an urban landscape visited because it featured in a film, can be easily considered in terms of film-landscape interactions, to elaborate our understanding of the way film influences place imaginaries and performance of landscape.

Equally, there is a relationship between film and landscape in studio shot films. It may seem that if a film is shot in a studio there is nowhere to visit, but pilgrimages are made to studios all the same. For example, I argue that the large numbers of tourists that flock to Universal Studios in Hollywood are responding to a type of landscape and that they are participating in film-landscape interactions, though admittedly with a different sort of landscape. One of the obvious differences here, is that studios and sets were never anything else, though potentially sets have many iterations in other guises, adding to the complexity of the relations. Widening film-landscape in this way opens up areas that may be considered the province of film tourism, to new analysis. Additionally, as well as people journeying to film sets, there is a relation between the 'setting' of the story and film. To use a television example, Ramsay Street (in Neighbours) is based on a stereotypical Australian suburb. Potentially this type of place, or places that resemble Ramsay Street, may be seen in relation to Neighbours, and in making this connection a new version of that place may be enacted. People enjoy visiting famous sets or settings and relating them to well-known film/television. I am arguing that there are always interactions between film and landscape, whether or not the places that are filmed are real[1].

7.1.2 Resonance

Thinking 'resonance', and knowing this to be as yet undetermined (to me) happenings associated with film, provided great freedom and a sense of excitement to the research. Although I was always going to be partially constructing what I found and where (as do all researchers by virtue of their interests and knowledge), this term was a genuine aid to being as open as possible in my enquiry. It affected, firstly, my methodological approach and the practicalities of research. Initially, I knew that to investigate the research questions (and make possible a more-than-film approach), I needed a strategy that would access both the film resonances I already knew about (e.g. film tours and film-related tourism) and the more diverse and diffuse resonances I was not yet aware of. Latham (2003) and Pryke et al. (2003) argue a case for methodological experimentation and extension, to this end, I used a variety of methods. These included participant observation on film-related tours, interviews with people in the tourist industry (from counter workers to tour operators and regional tourism promoters), conversational interviews with a range of local residents, and focus groups with school

---

[1] After all, Middle-earth is both real and unreal, and it generated many comparisons between film and landscape and pilgrimages to make this connection.

students and others. This was a deliberate tactic to target as wide a range of people as possible, as I was aware that by committing to exploring resonances, I needed to be receptive to what they might be.

This open approach to respondents meant that not all my interviewees contributed significantly, and I refined my targets and techniques as research progressed. As part of this I developed conversational interviews, to address the gap of accessing everyday, in context, responses to film resonances. This proved invaluable, and in combination with focus groups provided important positioning and contextualising material to interpret textual analysis and interviews. I also added to the richness provided by these 'people focused' methods by analysing textual resources (newspaper articles and internet movie database message boards). Visiting the film sites, spending time in nearby towns and discussing the topic with many people, was invaluable to contributing to my knowledge of the specific resonances in relation to Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings. The research process also contributed to my understanding of what using the term may activate. Thus I established the ground work of what a more-than-film approach (that involves resonances and film-landscape) might involve.

There were limitations to my strategies of course, and not all aspects of the research went as planned. Initially, I hoped to gain insight into tourist opinion at a range of sites to complement other angles, but lack of resources forced me to focus on my priority, which was how residents were responding, rather than transient visitors. This decision was also made with my growing awareness of what resonance might mean on the ground -- the specific activities, projects and processes of meaning-making that were enacted in relation to the films. Tourists could easily have fitted within this remit, but not centrally, as my focus was always on place and landscape. (Landscape, place imaginaries and national identity narratives are, to me, connected ways of understanding the place-where-we-stand, and how we articulate and imagine it in diverse ways.)

Whangara escaped any type of analysis other than from an outsider's perspective. As Tuhiwai Smith (1999) suggests in her work on decolonising methodologies in New Zealand, this was probably inevitable from my position as a Pakeha and non-resident. However, I was able to use the frictions I found reported in newspapers very productively, and these formed the main part of my discussion on resonances in relation to Whale Rider. The social and cultural politics of tourism, and access and ownership

of the story, are exactly the types of interaction I sought to explore using the term resonance. What makes this different from a mainstream analysis of such issues, is the relationship I draw with film. I stress the ways film (as a powerful and visual storyteller) interacts with existing concerns. This is an area I could find no sufficient word for in the literature, but 'resonance' captures these concerns nicely.

In the chapter on 'film resonances and national identities' I examined what New Zealand's response to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider could reveal about New Zealand self-identities and the contemporary moment. One example of film resonances was the ways in which identity was performed in relation to the film story, production stories and success stories. Exploring film resonances illuminated a variety of issues and proved a valuable way of conceptually understanding New Zealand's diverse responses to the films. Through thinking resonance, I could position the business, government and popular discourses as important responses to film. Rather than allocating newspaper rhetoric a space as ephemeral or everyday, I argue that film resonances can include how people respond to a film in discursive and not just bodily performative ways. They are therefore an integral part of understanding the wider work a film may do. I thus used Billig's (1995) idea of banal (everyday rather than momentous) nationalism to reflect on the language used in relation to the films ('our' film). The analysis examined the role of film in shaping and shoring up existing national identities. Resonance thus accesses the relationship between film and identity/national imaginations, that was previously harder to theorise and explore.

These resonances revealed that the drive to promote New Zealand is not just something talked about in particular circles, but a deep seated and accepted way of understanding New Zealand's place in the world. The imperative claiming of both the films as 'New Zealand' (though this category is ambiguous) also highlighted that New Zealanders are contesting what New Zealand identity involves, and sometimes seek to simplify this debate by claiming a seemingly neutral object/event. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider provided a moment or an event around which New Zealand identities briefly coalesced.

The attention that chapter 5 gave to resident response (to tourism-flavoured film resonances) revealed a large diversity in engagement. How much notice is usually paid to the opinions of those uninvolved or only marginally involved with tourists? This is

an important additional element in considering film resonances. The everydayness, mundane nature and taken for granted-ness of film tourism by many residents reflects the low level of priority they give to tourism-related resonances. Chapter 5's discussion tried to incorporate the perspectives of those who have little concern for tourism in combination with a discussion on the activities and responses of those who care deeply. In doing so, I believe I maintained the focus of the research questions, which is to explore the resonances of film in their broadness and multiplicity, rather than deliver a tourism-style analysis.

Analysis of film tours also benefited from considering film resonances. Thus, I could explore film-related tourism impact on places, and the responses and reactions of tour-related folk, in the same project that was also investigating identity and landscape. This is a powerful mobilisation, as the conceptual space of social, cultural and economic resonances allows divergent strands to be woven together in analysis. Focusing on resonances, or alternatively worded in Thriftian terms, the 'happenings associated (with film)', can be an approach to explore the impacts of representations (such as film) or events (such as the making of The Lord of the Rings in New Zealand) that are not the discreet items that they first appear.

In the definition of resonances that I offered in section 1.3, I argued that resonances include social, cultural as well as economic elements, that resonances were wider than a usual treatment of commodifying influences. Using resonance as a conceptual framework thus drew out more than a study of commodification would have. The analysis of tours, Whangara/Queenstown/Matamata and of newspaper discourse thus allowed for identity discussions and place contestations to have space, as well as commodification resonances. Together, these give a more nuanced and fuller understanding of the effects of film. Resonances enabled this style of analysis.

My argument for 'resonances' is that it is both a useful term to adequately invoke the diversity of responses and processes associated with film, and a helpful term in progressing the practicalities of research in an open ended manner. I also argue that resonances is a productive extension of the literature that is interested in film. This range of literatures (from film studies, audience studies, cinematic geography to tourism studies) all contribute to our understanding of film as a technical and social visual entity. Some also consider film as a phenomenon, as something that goes beyond its

boundaries in a variety of ways: work on film tourism does this as it examines the effects on tourists and the way tourism operates; audience studies examine the relationship between audience and film/television in particular contexts; and film studies understand context as important to both interpreting the film text and to theorising viewers emotional relationship to film. Resonance extends these theoretical trajectories, primarily by widening the remit to include those who are not tourists, those who are not audience or viewers, and by going beyond the text, as film affects both directly and indirectly. As the thesis has demonstrated through the empirical chapters, resonance is a strong way of envisioning, delineating and articulating the power of film, aiding exploration.

7.1.3 More-than-film

A more-than-film approach is about positioning film as central, acknowledging that it does not exist in isolation, but is ongoing and experienced and reacted to in context. Using film as a focal point, but looking beyond and through film, not just at content, allows new directions and exploration of representational and performative knowledge. More-than-film is a conceptual space for an approach that places film as its central concern, wanting to investigate the multiple possibilities films may provoke. It argues that you cannot isolate films for analysis as they spill out into memories, emotions and places. Films are often there and present, and it is important to approach film theoretically in a manner that not only allows for this overflow, but explores it. The thesis argues that film resonances and film-landscape interactions are valuable conceptualisations that encourage research into this area. As such, thinking more-than-film, rather than film, is a powerful framing to re-examine content and context *relating to* film. This means being attentive to resonances, film-landscape interaction and other issues beyond the film itself.

Positioning film as a starting point for analysis is a powerful re-conceptualisation that can incorporate many strands of investigation to provide a multi-pronged approach to any topic. I argue that if we make film the centre of attention, many theoretical assemblages and directions of investigation are possible. It involves exploring the diffuse and multiple resonances of films. This is not something that has been prioritised in the literature. An approach that uses film as a springboard, and is attentive to possibilities, allows for the unexpected to be registered. (Within the thesis, an example of this is chapter 6's analysis of newspapers. I did not anticipate structuring the

discussion in terms of national identity narratives, but the resonances of film emerged in this form.)

Thinking more-than-film in this thesis, meant using film-landscape and resonances as ways to research and analyse. This thesis argues that a more-than-film approach opens avenues for understanding the wider work that film does. This argument was sustained throughout the chapters, as chapters 4 to 6 are strong examples of what considering more-than-film can achieve. Together the three substantive chapters illustrate the diversity of film resonances and film-landscape interactions explored in this approach to film.

The empirical chapters are the result of careful consideration of the material collected and were deemed the best ways to demonstrate the range of things film can make possible. They are therefore, quite different in nature, but all consider relationships that films provoke. Chapter 4 focuses on small scale, direct responses to film. Film tours were produced in response to demand from tourists and the exploration of these tours offered an excellent chance to discuss the making of landscapes in response to film. Chapter 5, while also focusing on tourism and the experiences of tour operators, does so at the level of town experiences. I therefore widened the exploration from a personal version of landscape made and experienced on tour, to the multiple, conflicting and interesting views of a range of residents. Chapter 6 pulls the focus out even further, and looks at New Zealand's reaction to the films and discusses resonances in a national context. Together, the chapters illustrate that adopting a more-than-film approach to thinking about the wider work of film is not only valid but productive in asking new questions. After all, it was in asking about what films can provoke, about the power of film in context, that generated these empirical results. Without such a guiding mandate as more-than-film, I may not have explored such diverse issues as film tours effect on landscape, or the way film is understood (by the public, not academics) in both personal and national identity terms.

A more-than-film approach could also be used to examine the relationship between film and popular imaginations -- something that is widely accepted but not highly theorised. How do film resonances expand and become part of popular rhetoric? In what ways might ideas from film become incorporated in advertising or play? McCormack (2003) writes about observing the incorporation of Star Wars in spontaneous play/drama. He

relates a story of people picking up sticks and playing with them as though they were light sabres. He labels this 'affect'. To me, this sort of response or affect can also be thought of within a more-than-film framework. I believe that more attention should be given to the power of film to influence imaginations, film should be prioritised as an important part of the ways we make sense of the world.

The more-than-film approach encourages melding things together in new ways. While the specific examples explored demonstrate ways to progress various fields, the most significant contribution of this thesis is, I believe, that it allows a new conceptual starting point for furthering existing research threads, particularly film, landscape and place imaginaries. This thesis contributes a new synthesis of theoretical ideas, re-prioritising towards considering film and more-than-film as productive directions. This approach works. In specific terms, it is generative of new ways to explore the economic, social and cultural significance of popular films. More-than-film describes a theoretical and epistemological desire to think about film in wider ways. I remain committed to the idea behind this phrase, that is, to exploring the 'wider work of film'.

The thesis has demonstrated by example, one potential version of what a more-than-film approach may reveal. There are, however, areas where research could go further, or in entirely new directions. For example, focusing on *tourists* in more detail would extend the exploration of resonances to new contexts and highlight film-landscape interactions amongst those who are unfamiliar with the landscapes visited. Adding other *locations* to a place by place investigation would illuminate what film offers to an understanding of place. More *time* in particular places, such as Whangara, trying to understand the complexities of that place, would contribute to a greater understanding of subtle film resonances. More research could be undertaken to gain a greater depth of popular response (for example through focus groups). Or other areas of resonance could be explored, such as the ways the New Zealand *film industry* responded to several highly successful films (only briefly touched on in chapter 6) or how policymakers are influenced by wider film resonances. A more-than-film approach has space for many types and styles of creative exploration and experimentation, and is able to be focused (using film) on different areas of interest.

In terms of the potential of this approach, the style of exploration around film can easily be utilised for other films, local or foreign. In each case, it would need someone who

knows enough about the context to tell the story of film resonances well (as Barclay and Brash debated in relation to Maori films). An exploration that paid attention to how resonances changed over time would also be an interesting step forward. This would rely on films that had generated a large response, that had been recorded in the past and present in a variety of ways. As an example, Once Were Warriors (1994 Lee Tamahori) is a film that went beyond its boundaries and rocked New Zealand. It did so in 1994, but remains a popular touchstone in New Zealand to debate identity issues, domestic violence and confront stereotypes of when and where this happens. It is also a source of local humour as the intensity of the film is downplayed by morphing violent threats into popular catchphrases[2]. There is great promise in thinking more-than film, into the things that happen in response to films, and in reconsidering the ways that we remake our mental and physical landscapes in relation to film. To think around and about film in this way, is to open up productive avenues for exploration into the politics of identity and geographic imaginations.

Ingold (1993) refers to the non-humanity of landscape and its impact. For him landscape involves different non-human agencies at work. So, considering film, its resonances and its landscapes, we could also consider mountains, paddocks, jet boats, four-wheel drive vehicles, and so on. In the event, my work on more-than-film mostly examines film and its technologies and the apparatus of the tour guide, in its more-than-human reasoning. However, there is plenty of space for going wider than this. Bruno (2002) also suggests expanding beyond the optic to haptic (from visual to tactile), to address the emotion of viewing space with respondents. "Site-seeing, too, is a passage. As it moves from the optic to the haptic, it critiques scholarly work that has focused solely on filmic gaze for having failed to address the emotion of viewing space" (Bruno 2002, 15). But although I discuss 'being there' and the performance of landscape, I potentially could have widened this further. As Bruno suggests, "make room for the sensory spatiality of film, for our apprehension of space, including filmic space, occurs through an engagement with touch and movement" (2002, 16). There is room for more on emotion, on the tactile elements of film tours or other film resonances to be explored in the future.

A key element of what I have learnt from exploring resonances, film-landscapes and

---

[2] "Cook the man some eggs!"

more-than-film, is the power and potential of thinking connectedly and relationally. Many espouse this broad concept, such as Law (2004) in his work on hinterlands, Latour (2005) on what constitutes society and actor network theorists (Callon 1986, Murdoch 1997), to name a few. As yet however, this style of thinking is not widely applied. By insisting on exploring the relationality and connectivity of activities associated with film, I was able to follow a particular relation (film-landscape) into a wide variety of contexts. Thus, the co-constitutive nature of film, landscape and identity (to a greater or lesser extent of differing contexts) was more fully explored.

More-than-film is an approach to investigating film. It aims to contribute to a specialist subfield in social and cultural geography (those interested in cinematic geography and cinematic tourism). I believe it contributes by thinking beyond content, beyond audience and beyond tourists. Kick-started from Lorimer's (2005) use of more-than-representational, more-than-film seeks to include film in its exploration, but be attentive to the multiple unknown possibilities of film in the everyday world. It is a reconceptualisation of geographic thought on film, opening up a conceptual space for investigation within existing literatures, repositioning existing concepts and extending concepts of landscape, representation, performance and film. As a result more-than-film opens up doing discourse, performative dimensions and flow of practices. I identified that particular relationships (e.g. film-landscape) are hugely productive in what they can help us understand about how film is impacting and influencing people's perceptions of place and identity. More-than-film enabled exploration of interactions that were hitherto unseen, ignored or not in existence, such as film tours. More-than-film also re-centres much that is not discussed, such as landscape in tourism, and tourism in cinematic geographies. In the case of film, I argue that it is a very important facet of 21st-century social cultural life that has not been fully grappled with in geographic scholarship, and that the potential and power of film should be placed in the mainstream, because its influences are changing the ways people perceive and interact with places. More-than-film is an approach that enables further investigation of this.

7.2 Contribution of research to knowledge about New Zealand

The thesis has in part being about pushing at what we consider in relation to film (more-than-film, resonance, film-landscape), but it has also been about generating specific knowledge of New Zealand. The thesis as a whole speaks to a range of New Zealand issues. This reflects my commitment to New Zealand, to exploring its landscapes and

the politics of New Zealand identity and landscape imaginaries. My study reveals and makes visible why it is important to recognize the situatedness of knowledge (Haraway 1991, Gregory 1994, Rose 1997). We can more effectively develop knowledge to do work, if we explicitly acknowledge the specificities of its production and context. Through exploring the resonances of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider, I have shed light on New Zealand identity struggles and highlighted that film has a visual impact on place imaginaries. This section explicitly draws together such knowledge, and discusses in turn, the knowledge contributions the thesis has made to these key areas.

7.2.1 Cultural politics of nationhood and identity

The research into film resonances and film-landscape interactions revealed a surprising amount about New Zealand's cultural politics of nationhood and identity. Although this was not the explicit focus, the shape and nature of the resonances explored meant that chapters 4 to 6 continually engaged with identity politics.

The research particularly showed that Maori-Pakeha relations are important and very contested in New Zealand. The research threw up questions (in relation to Whale Rider) such as who speaks for Maori? And who has rights of access to land? These wider politics that the empirical examples drew attention to, were reflected in my research and had to be managed. As I examined in my methodology chapter, my positionality was highlighted by the research and writing process. What I considered my 'New Zealandness' was called into question as I engaged with narratives of New Zealand/foreign. And I was made extremely aware of my Pakeha-ness when dealing with Whale Rider resonances. These, at times uncomfortable at times joyful positionalities, merely underscored the relevance of the research to wider identity debates occurring in New Zealand. I, as the researcher, was personally noticing the influence of film resonances and their entanglement with national identity narratives and place imaginaries. One result of this was that Whale Rider has a smaller presence in the empirical chapters. What did the lack of access to Whangara mean? The politics of identity (me as Pakeha, me as tourist) were writ large in the thesis as I was less welcome in these capacities.

The politics of tourism were also evident through the empirical work. Whangara residents resisted commodification and tourism, Matamata and Queenstown residents

accepted/welcomed it. These capitalist politics were intertwined with politics of imaginaries around nature, landscape and place -- around the ways nature, landscape and place are treated and lived in. The research showed that there is not a single idea about how New Zealanders interact with their places. While some believed tourism and exhibiting nature are part of being New Zealand, others disagreed.

In The Lord of the Rings, the politics of nature are not explored and are presented as strictly European. Nature and landscapes are displayed for viewing and claiming. By exploring film-landscape *at work* in the empirical chapters, we saw the politics of reframing, re-inscribing and re-visioning New Zealand occurring. The work of film-landscapes of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were extraordinarily demonstrative of current political tensions, conflicts and settlements. Film-landscape also gives social-cultural geographers a powerful new term with which to explore political terrain, as connections between politics of nature and identity are worked through popular discourses and filmic narratives.

The Lord of the Rings has become part of New Zealand's ongoing nature-society relations. Cloke and Perkins (1998) reported that New Zealand tourism board represented New Zealand as fresh, natural, unspoilt, youthful and innovative. A manufactured New Zealand personality was being sold to tourists. While some of these emphases have changed, the ideas about being clean and green, little-known, Pakeha masculinity and innovative remain the way that New Zealand promotes and identifies itself. Cloke and Perkins described New Zealand tourism as being predominantly about scenery and watching Maori performances. Taken together, The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider uncannily echo this in the late 2000s. This is a striking point, markedly noticeable when we look at what one film can say about the other. Together the films contribute to an understanding of New Zealand nationhood, when they enable a realisation that old, persistent identity narratives remain part of New Zealand promotional psyche.

Cultural commentators agree that these features are part of New Zealand's current identity (Bell 1996, Jones and Smith 2005, Fenwick 2007). What do they bypass? The glimpses of New Zealand society through the resonances that The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider provides were partial. Whale Rider discussions do not connect at all with the knowledge economy/innovation debate. The Lord of the Rings bypasses Maori-

Pakeha tensions. Neither intersect with the impact of globalisation in terms other than 'we're good enough for Hollywood'. Ideas of the Pacific Rim and Asian influences are also absent in the tourism rhetoric despite growth in popular culture. Neither Whale Rider nor The Lord of the Rings resonances gave any hint to these other, changing identity strands. Instead, the New Zealand moment that was illuminated by the empirical research, focused on New Zealand as a knowledge economy, as an innovative society and as a *bi*-cultural one. These all link to long-standing narratives. So although New Zealand identities are more complex and multicultural than this, they were not the elements rolled out to support and claim Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings as 'New Zealand'.

Both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were claimed as 'New Zealand'. While The Lord of the Rings' implicit Pakeha associations meant this claiming by the nation was uncontested, Whale Rider's explicit claiming that promotion as Maori meant its New Zealandness was contested. In the context of Whale Rider it was asked, what does 'New Zealand' mean? Can a Maori film be claimed for all? (What exactly is a Maori film?). However, personal identity as well as national, was an important part of film resonances. People responded as 'New Zealanders' in one way (for example, supporting 'putting New Zealand on the map', supporting that New Zealand 'can compete on the world stage' or suggesting that film should tell local stories). But they also responded personally, often intensely so, describing the relationship between their thoughts on the films and their personal identity (for example some felt obliged to see The Lord of the Rings, for others Whale Rider raised issues of 'being Maori').

Both films represent New Zealand, and claimed as much, but this did not simplify matters, rather it showed the complexity of New Zealand identity politics. These reactions illustrated existing stresses in cultural relations (Whale Rider) and the smoothing over of new elements of New Zealandness (The Lord of the Rings: knowledge economy, multicultural) with old, easy narratives (thrifty ingenuity, 'one New Zealand'). However, the films did some work in re-forging identity relations, as the stresses and smoothings were discussed and debated at a personal level. The films helped with an understanding of wider identity politics in the public domain (for example Barclay and Brash's discussion) and for the respondents when the films sparked conversation (for example in focus groups or on the IMDB message boards).

Having said that, the empirical work revealed much about the contemporary *politics* of New Zealand national identity. It showed what dominates discussion. For example, we can critique The Lord of the Rings' use of New Zealand as a postcolonial film, it does not engage with its colonial past. There are no settler narratives, or questioning of them in Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings resonances. The Lord of the Rings unproblematically strips New Zealand of any indigenous (and here I mean both Maori and Pakeha) stories, presenting an empty country ready for habitation. The fact that this went almost unquestioned in New Zealand shows part of the politics of New Zealand identity, struggling to deal with or ignore its settler history. New Zealand's identities are intertwined with this reluctance to engage with or acknowledge past practices of re-inhabiting landscape in subtle contexts. By this I mean that New Zealanders are by and large willing to admit and make restitution for land confiscation through the Treaty of Waitangi process, but are unwilling to see the same colonisation practices being carried out at other, less obvious, levels of language, naming, storytelling and filmmaking.

The thesis demonstrates that nationalism and national identities can be productively considered in terms of everyday discourse in relation to film. In the empirical research through the work on film-landscape and resonance, I progressed the consideration of nationalism from its focus on nation-states (with emphasis on the state) (Smith 2000) and followed the example led by Anderson (1983) on nations as imagined communities, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) on nations being rooted in sometimes invented traditions and Billig (1995) on 'banal' forms of nationalism. I also added to the range of New Zealand work on identity (such as Bell 1996, Bell and Matthewman 2004 and Lewis and Winder 2007) by offering a sustained critique of what New Zealandness means in a particular filmic context.

The resonances that film provokes are highly situated. They therefore reflect, refract and contribute to societal relations in terms of nature-society relationships and nationhood and identity. Resonances disclose how the film was made sense of, fragmented, integrated and resonated in New Zealand society, and because films resonate in context, issues of the day are likely to be re-presented in this process.

Films are often seen as the products of a national film industry, are highly accessible and are produced regularly. As such, they present great opportunities to see how popular discourse relates to wider social and cultural concerns. As the empirical

chapters illustrate, the sorts of discussions Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings facilitated revealed tensions, agreed silences and the celebration of qualities deemed important or worthy to New Zealand's conception of itself. This discussion is important because it illustrates that considering film in terms of the resonances it generates, offers the chance to understand more about the society in which this is occurring. This is not something cinematic geography analysis usually offers. By engaging in an in-depth probing of film resonances that reveal such elements, we can ask (and here I speak as a New Zealander), is this the way we want to portray ourselves and react to events and developments? Are we happy with the conflicts (Maori/Pakeha relations, clean and green etc) such an examination reveals? Only once such issues are highlighted can they be addressed.

Identities coalesce around an event, The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider provided such a touchstone. This was the event of place, the event of nation, a conjunction of moments where people, in all their multiplicity, discussed and debated the film, a common element, while revealing divergent and contested identities and place imaginaries.

7.2.2 Film in place imaginaries
The research speaks to the constitutive dimension of film in place imaginaries, particularly considering film as a visual phenomenon. We know that film has the power to affect our imaginations, emotions and our desires. In the thesis I have used the film, newspaper narratives, personal accounts and touring experiences to develop an understanding of how people think about places. The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were strong visual and narrative storytellers, that re-presented places and landscapes to viewers. What were the effects of this? I argue that the resonances of film show that there were noticeable effects. That film has and does influence our imaginaries about places. That, at the very least, these film (re)presentations mingle with other versions and create new versions of landscape and understandings of place. Each empirical chapters dealt with these aspects differently: chapter 4 arguing that the visual and emotive appeal, impressions and impact of film are strong and that filmscapes can become entangled with material landscapes; chapter 5 suggests that behaviours and expectations about a place may alter and be enriched and because of film narrative suggestions; and chapter 6 contends that film can affect views of a country.

This thesis has explicitly probed the relationship between film and landscape as film-landscape. But the relationship between film and landscape is a subset of a wider relationship between film and our place imaginaries. Perceptions of Whangara, Matamata and Queenstown were all affected by the visions of the areas that film provided. New versions of landscape came into being *because* of the impact of film. Chapters 4 and 5 both discussed the ways people were dealing with these changed imaginaries, sometimes involving outright conflict and others more low-key contestation. As we saw, the multiple ways of seeing the world that had to coexist, did not necessarily do so amicably.

The empirical chapters articulate some of the processes involved in the film-landscape relationship. They show that despite the ever-present film and the heavy use of photoboards, the film-landscape interactions are part of creating *new and evolving* meanings and understandings. The Lord of the Rings tours emphasise multiple stories, that annex The Lord of the Rings into their larger rhetoric. Previous histories and land uses are recounted (though the film does not encourage this) and the result is intertwined landscapes that are something new. The interaction between film and landscape creates new and multiple *coexisting* understandings of place. For The Lord of the Rings this multiplicity is performed on the tours, but for Whale Rider it happens at a distance.

'Making film-landscapes' looked at the ways landscape is continually made in relation to film. Changes made to material landscape to produce the film were important to consider, as production design directly informs the resulting film, which in turn influences responses to landscape. I also used the Hobbiton and Whale Rider film tours as examples to explore the ways multiple landscapes coexist in their performance. This meant acknowledging that several versions of landscape understandings could be simultaneously possible and available, and if not read simultaneously, at least encountered in rapid sequence at a location or by visiting several locations. So Hobbiton can be a film set, a tourist destination, a working sheep farm, a neighbour's property and 'holes in the ground' all at once. On tours, the film-landscape interactions *combine* and new understandings of landscape *emerge* in relation to film.

Similarly, there are multiple understandings of what Whangara means to people. Pre-

existing versions of Whangara as a quiet settlement now coexist with it as a tourist drawcard. Unlike in Hobbiton, this tension is a source of conflict. The chapter's exploration of film-landscape interactions considers the role of an area's history and concludes that previous experiences influence the ways film resonances interact. Where Whangara was portrayed as a welcoming, settled township in Whale Rider, this contrasted with the private, discouraging activities of those who (only sometimes) resided there. Hone Taumaunu's house, which he proudly claims is used as Koro's in the film, is in fact his holiday house, he lives in nearby Gisborne. The Whale Rider film generated imaginaries that conflicted with those held by inhabitants and nearby residents. In this case, the closeness between the film and the settlement's history and appearance contributes, along with different cultural frameworks, to the new multiple versions of landscape being contentious not celebrated. Thus, the research describes examples where the existing imaginations of an area (what it is like, what does out of can be expected), clash severely with the ideas of landscape and place imaginaries portrayed in film (continuously reinterpreted as the film circulates).

Thinking about the power of film on place imaginaries is a combination of exploring resonances and film-landscape. It is part of thinking about the wider work of film/more-than-film. The argument here is that existing place imaginaries must compete with imaginaries generated about places by films. Sometimes this competition is obvious, as in the case of Whangara and its distinctly unwelcoming attitude to film visitors. Other times, as in Queenstown, the ideas about places do not compete, so much as jostle for position and priority. These are then available as ongoing resources for different political interests (local, as well as national). The sheer imaginative power of films' *visual* portrayals of landscape and place, when combined with the narrative structure of popular cinema, persuasively introduces new imaginaries about a place, that involves what it could or should look like, and how inhabitants could or should behave (e.g. welcoming, 'authentic').

Chapter 5's focus on resident and tourism operator opinion and activities gives an insight into the contrasting, complex, contradictory and internally inconsistent ways The Lord of the Rings was being understood, spoken about and acted upon (its resonances). It concluded that Queenstown's history as a tourism town equipped it for The Lord of the Rings-related interest, whereas Matamata had no history of tourism and its response revealed the unfamiliarity of its new positioning. I also discussed variation of response

within a place (such as the difference in opinions on the importance and longevity of the films between tourism operators and those uninvolved with tourism). This illustrated that *people negotiate film resonances* in varying ways depending on their social and cultural, as well spatial contexts. Part of negotiating these resonances was negotiating the new (whether wanted or not) imaginaries about place that the film's visual images and narrative drive generated.

I also offered a new explanation of film resonances by considering tourism differently. Existing film tourism work predominantly focuses on the experience of tourists. Chapter 5 instead gives space to the opinions and experiences of residents. Necessarily, because of time (for research) and space (for text) restrictions, it is a focused exploration illustrating that the same film can have different resonances in different contexts. Nevertheless, the impacts of The Lord of the Rings as seen from tour operator, other tourism worker and school student perspectives, offers something new to the literature. This is because, at heart, it discusses the complex tensions between ideas held by differing groups about role of their place, the landscape and the film in their lives.

Although this thesis did not 'read' film texts, the representations that films present are important as they set to work a variety of contested politics, which are in turn important to understanding New Zealand. I did not formally interpret the texts, though I acknowledged that other people do so all around me all the time. The films (re)present New Zealand as Middle-earth, as scenic, as having prominent indigenous culture and so on. The various ways in which people (government employees, tourists, tourist operators, 'locals') understand the films matters. These interpretations of the film as a 'representation of something' played a large part of film's role in place imaginaries. People interpreted and understood the films in their own ways, and this influenced their frequently multiple understandings of place.

The impact of The Lord of the Rings on place imaginaries is different from Whale Rider (though no less strong), not simply because they are different films with different stories and landscapes. More simply, the Whale Rider resonances combined reactions to landscape with reactions to narrative, but The Lord of the Rings resonances largely bypassed its story and concentrated on the visual component of the film. This is where, as I stress, power of the film to encourage *re-imagination* is particularly strong. With

271

The Lord of the Rings there are a host of willing participants in this re-imagination (tourists, government, locals etc). Tourists participate in seeing places anew through The Lord of the Rings on tours. As I discussed in the chapter on making film-landscapes, ubiquitous use of photoboards had great power in constructing 'the view', the landscape and the place in solely cinematic terms. It was the visual element of The Lord of the Rings films that Tourism New Zealand and other New Zealand government agencies pushed in their marketing. The visual link between film (places and landscapes in film) and landscape (locations, places, scenery) was stressed over and over. The narrative of The Lord of the Rings was largely abandoned in this re-imagination (although occasionally, similarities between hobbits and plucky New Zealanders were drawn). Re-imagining New Zealanders' characteristics owed more to the tales that accompanied film*making* (as described in the chapter on national identities and film resonances), than to the filmic narrative.

The work of this thesis is considering film as one of the ways we make sense of the world. There are interactions between place imaginaries/geographic imaginaries and film. Film itself contains many assumptions about the ways we see certain types of places, and relies on these imaginaries for effective storytelling (see Le Heron 2002, 2004 or other cinematic geography work on the role of landscape in films). When these imaginaries are shown to the world through film screenings, the ideas do not remain in the film. To a greater or lesser extent, the audience (acknowledging its differentiation) digests and interprets those place imaginaries. When these are strongly connected back to the films' visuals through tours or advertising, the effect of geographical imaginations contained within film can be powerful. Film contributes to the ways imaginaries are formulated. Through the examples explored, Hobbiton, Whangara and Queenstown, this thesis has been a significant contribution in understanding the processes at work in this relationship.

7.2.3 The films as counterpoints

"Counterpoint: from the Latin "punctus contra punctum" (point against point), denotes the compositional practices that are invoked when one writes simultaneously sounding melodies" (Tim Smith, Professor in Music Theory, http://www2.nau.edu/~tas3/glossary.html accessed 18/04/08).

The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were used as a counterpoint to one another in this thesis, not as comparisons. As the definition above suggests, invoking counterpoint involves balancing the narrative line between two stories. At times, one sounds louder than the other, and together they contribute to seeing/hearing something new. This does

not mean that they will get equal treatment. This is appropriate as the two films were unequal in almost all respects (budget, popularity, awards, number of films, topic, style of filming etc). The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider's relationship in this thesis is about how consideration of one film triggers interrogation of the other. What is absent in one provokes thought in the other, what is similar suggests unique relationships with/within New Zealand society.

The films are "linked as points of tension rather than points of contrast" (Fowler and Helfield 2006, 3). This quote was made in terms of discussing the rural and city in films, but it is a good phrase that illustrates the relationship between the two films studied. It is in finding the links and the stresses, that examining the two films together becomes profitable. The thesis has used the conjuncture of Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings to better answer the research questions.

There was an extraordinarily high level of interest in the two films in New Zealand and this response generated an empirical resource suitable for exploration. The two films, released in the same time period and same context, both had features suitable to a more-than-film enquiry. Analysing The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider together provided a sense of scale for both films. One was a big budget blockbuster, the other a smaller film. One took eight weeks to film and several months to produce, the other involved three films made over six years. The differences in international expectations are highlighted by the counterpoint, as is the fact that one is explicitly 'New Zealand' in its context, while the other uses explicitly 'New Zealand landscapes'. Highlighting the scale of the films should not be seen as trivial, but their differing durations and excess meant their film resonances and meanings were differently situated. The scale of effects of The Lord of the Rings is ideal for exploring resonances -- dimensions regarded as too limited, inconsequential or marginal, were manifested in more discernible ways in The Lord of the Rings 'phenomenon'. Also in a sense, The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider formed a duo that matches bi-cultural New Zealand (European/Maori), although both are constructed representations.

I have focused throughout on what films can offer to understanding the context in which they emerge (or in which they are responded to), and I believe that the contrasts and similarities of different films' resonances best provides this. The combined study of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider film-landscape interactions and film

resonances, highlights more about New Zealand's contemporary moment than considering either alone. Using the films as counterpoints is a heuristic device that makes the most of a differing mix of processes in the film resonances.

It is possible to read one film through the other, that is to view The Lord of the Rings in light of what Whale Rider throws up, or to think about Whale Rider differently after exploring The Lord of the Rings. Both of these are useful exercises as they reveal differing and nuanced resonances. Through this we realise that different stories can and do coexist and circulate in often unexpected ways, with equally unexpected resonances.

It is only after seeing Whale Rider that the overwhelming Pakeha-ness of The Lord of the Rings is apparent. For me at least, this was much less obvious when I considered The Lord of the Rings on its own. Because of the 'hiding in plain sight' nature of hegemonic identity, it took the counterpoint of Whale Rider to highlight the rather mono-cultural nature of the filming project. Likewise, The Lord of the Rings illuminated aspects of Whale Rider. Having thought about the intricacies of The Lord of the Rings copyright situation, both in terms of intellectual property, real estate and images, the Whale Rider story was suddenly much more problematic. As I raised in chapter 6, whose story was it? Who was telling the story, and who were they claiming to do it on behalf of?

'Placing The Lord of the Rings' discussed the ways in which The Lord of the Rings played out differently in different places, which illustrated well the differences in both context and in place imaginaries. However, this discussion had an underlying acceptance of the hegemony of The Lord of the Rings. The placement of The Lord of the Rings fantasy narrative onto the landscape was taken for granted. However, Whale Rider reminds us of this, by not being part of the overarching Lord of Rings story. While those involved around Whale Rider do not explicitly reject their film narrative becoming part of the landscape, it does reveal that The Lord of the Rings narrative is displaced into the landscape in an unfamiliar and relatively uncontested way.

Their dissimilar content and production also positioned the films in unique ways. The fantasy nature of The Lord of the Rings landscapes and their filming in many locations contributes to the multiplicity of resonances. The fantasy element means it is easy to imagine into and onto lots of places (a part of film-landscape interactions). In The Lord

of the Rings, resonances are constituted in multiple places. In Whale Rider, film-landscape interactions are constituted through multiple cultural perspectives and tensions, not multiple places, providing a different but complementary insight into the work that film-landscape does. But the interrogation of two films' relationship with landscape, also shows that multiple landscapes (as I advocate exist), do not mean all possibilities of landscape. Only some are actualised by the combination of elements and people at work.

By using the two films, I have shown it is possible to explore aspects of identity and New Zealandness. The research contained in this thesis shows that, for example in the case of identity narratives, the New Zealand Lord of the Rings phenomenon was only a grander and larger version of an existing New Zealand reaction, as Whale Rider was in many respects treated in similar terms. What may be considered a reaction to the blockbuster success, can be reinterpreted in light of knowledge that pride in New Zealand product is also expressed elsewhere.

I explored the differing cultural frameworks at work, both in the making of and in response to the films. This is valuable because it is sometimes easy to assume a single framework exists. I argue that both were produced in an implicitly Pakeha framework, though Whale Rider explicitly engages with a Maori framework. Whale Rider opens up Maori-Pakeha relations to debate, and in contrast we see the unproblematic definition of New Zealandness that The Lord of the Rings engages with. The Lord of the Rings opens up nature-society relations to view through its use and celebration of New Zealand landscapes, and in doing so, reminds us that Whale Rider's portrayal of place is highly cultural, and 'framed' not in visual, but oral and bodily terms.

What is arguably real, may be imagined and might be claimed as authentic is also brought into relief by considering the two films as counterpoint. This not only involves discussion about real/fantasy landscapes, but whether a relationship between the two exists (I believe it does, and discuss it at length in chapter 4). There are also things to be noticed about how the landscape and place are promoted. Are they suggested as real or imagined places? And what about authenticity/inauthenticity? New Zealand locations are promoted as being authentic The Lord of the Rings locations. But of course, they are and are not what they claim to be. The discussions about whether The Lord of the Rings locations should be promoted as such or carefully delineated

highlights a lack discussion around Whale Rider's representation of Whangara. This is unproblematically taken in all cases to be a fairly accurate portrayal of life in Whangara. The combination of considering Maori-ness and The Lord of the Rings authenticity raises new questions about Whangara. Not merely the obvious question of whether or not the film is authentic (in whatever way this might be), but also why this matter is untouched. Is this part of Maori Pakeha tensions? Is Maori-ness able to be discussed in terms of who owns it, claims it or presents it, but not in terms of what it is?

The wider politics of what it is to be Pakeha, Maori or a New Zealander are spotlighted when two disparate films are considered at once. The empirical chapters relate many instances where these concepts were being debated, sometimes openly, and at other times were taken for granted (and in these cases allowed me to instigate a debate).

In considering tourism impact on communities, the counterpoint was productive. The Lord of the Rings revealed that international tourism can have profound effects on some lives and businesses (or be a catalyst to new ones), but have little effect on other places. In contrast, Whale Rider highlighted that the conversion of locations to visitor destinations is a (social, cultural, economic) construction, and one that is not always accepted.

However, the *co-exploration* reveals more than that a tourism model was contested for Whale Rider. The antagonism, while superficially about tourists, was actually about domestic travellers 'invading' or visiting a settlement (depending on your viewpoint). This can be linked to other issues in New Zealand, such as land rights and rights of access to the beach. Thus, analysing The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider together not only highlighted different cultural frameworks and differing approaches to tourism, but also gave an insight into deeply contested New Zealand issues. The absence of these in The Lord of the Rings rhetoric simply highlights that New Zealand's greatest cultural tension is around Maori-Pakeha relations.

The counterpoint of the two films was again particularly productive in considering tourism resulting from films. When comparing film tours, being able to see completely different models at work highlighted the ways the tours related to the site of the film. Different techniques were used to position film-landscape interaction in specific ways in Whale Rider and The Lord of the Rings tours. The Whale Rider tour was not really

about the film at all, thus escaping the bounds of what a film tour 'ought' to be. As noted in chapter 4, I did not notice any 'lack' of photoboards on the Whale Rider tour, as it was the first tour I experienced and I found it full and sufficient. In fact, it could more accurately be said that The Lord of the Rings tours *rely* on photoboards, whereas the Whale Rider tour does not. Whale Rider brought this reliance and use of film images to my attention in a way that I do not believe I would have considered, had I not been able to view The Lord of the Rings through a different lens.

The Lord of the Rings tours were heavily staged, the performances of landscape which I wrote about, were carefully managed by the tour operators and the script/film. Whale Rider's tour was also directed, but through it we met the unexpected. Whale Rider's tour escaped from its scripted destiny of film tourism by being conducted on completely different terms. On the Whale Rider tour, rather than acting out characters from the film, we were acting out being a guest on the marae. The traction between the two films brings out dimensions of nationhood and identity, here in the context of how the tours dealt with tourism.

The Lord of the Rings film tours offered performances that tour participants were invited to take part in. In some respects these performances were staged, as tour operators choreographed their outings. In other respects, the tours and their contents were a direct response to tourist demand for The Lord of the Rings material or visiting the Whale Rider site. Is this a case of a dominant staged tourist performance being interrupted by events of emergence? As I present through the empirical chapters, both The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider tours were in direct response to tourist solicitation. Although it is tempting to assign ideas of commodification and capitalism as the driving force and most useful framework for considering the tours, the research found a more complex process. That is not to say that the tours did not commodify landscape of The Lord of the Rings/Whale Rider, or that the tours were not working on a moneymaking basis. But it is saying that the drive emerged *from* visitors, *from* the extra-power of film on the imagination.

The Whale Rider tour in particular, escaped from the expected boundaries of what a film tour would involve. Experienced as a counterpoint to the more standard tourist fare of The Lord of the Rings tours, the Whale Rider tour rewrites what a tourist experience will be like. Firstly, a distinct possibility of an 'unwelcome' rears its head. And in a

highly unusual situation for a paying tourist, you find yourself unsure of your ground. Will your money and tour guide be sufficient passport into the private lives of others? In most situations, certainly on The Lord of the Rings tours (some go into private land or houses, such as Hobbiton or Red Carpet tours), this tension is resolved by the official presence of a guide -- not so with Whale Rider. Secondly, the tour content quickly deviates from a tour revolving around the movie and becomes instead, the oral histories of the area, reflecting the distinct preference of Hone Taumaunu to recount his people's stories over that of the Whale Rider film. They are interrelated (Whale Rider film is based on Ngati Kanohi legends) but the film is not the dominant narrative driver for the tour. As the Whale Rider tour moves into other areas, it becomes about something else. The film loses its purchase.

The Lord of the Rings took on a life of its own as well, but in a completely different way. As the trajectory of the two films continues to remind us, there are multiple possibilities for breaking out and spilling beyond boundaries of what is expected of film. While Whale Rider does this through its contestation of commercialisation and tourism, raising instead spectres of complex identities and disputed ownership rights, The Lord of the Rings extended beyond film as it became a New Zealand phenomenon, seen to illustrate all that is good about New Zealand pioneer attitudes and New Zealand's specific specialness. The Lord of the Rings films' immense popularity, and the popular support for everything involved in the making of the film, transcends normal filmmaking experiences. As the film resonances snowballed, various actors claimed it and read (mostly positive) national traits into it. Examining Whale Rider reminds us that this is not a usual response to a film.

I have claimed many things on behalf of The Lord of the Rings, and to a lesser extent Whale Rider. I have argued that The Lord of the Rings was a phenomenon in New Zealand, and that this was the result of a unique collection of circumstances that made this coming together possible. In light of the research, I stand by this claim. Although the New Zealand government and Air New Zealand strained themselves to manage this phenomenon, they did not create the initial impetus. Was there an agenda to make The Lord of the Rings or Whale Rider bigger, more commercial and so on theoretical terms more commodified, during production or later? Of course, on one level, in today's world, this was always going to be the goal of some -- distributors, marketers, merchandisers and so on. On the other hand, I believe New Zealand's response to The

Lord of the Rings did just 'happen'. The wide-ranging, emotional and identity laden responses were not orchestrated. In some ways, it was in discussing the films together that the unanticipated surge of feeling about The Lord of the Rings is more evident. And it is more noticeable that Whale Rider got caught up in this surge of feeling.

7.3 Conclusion: making film-landscapes and exploring the geographical resonances of film

The empirical chapters narrate multiple stories. In one story, we can interpret the chapters on placing The Lord of the Rings and on national identity narratives in terms of the premise chapter 4 sets up. That is, in terms of the relationship between representational and non-representational theories, that the work on film-landscape insists exists. Through the performances of/on the tours the lines between representation and non-representation are definitely blurred. In this way, we can ask questions of the other chapters, such as were the resonances part of an agenda or did they emerge spontaneously? (Always 'under what conditions?') Were there ideologies and powers orchestrating the consumption of film locations and New Zealand identity rhetoric linkages? Or were the identity resonances and the tourism and place resonances unanticipated happenings that erupted beyond the usual boundaries of film consumption and merchandising? Taking another angle, the thesis can also be read through chapter 6's discussion of film resonances and national identities. Viewed this way , all the film resonances and film-landscape interactions can be understood as being part of the wider politics of New Zealand nationhood and identity. Thus in this reading, chapter 4 and 5's discussions of film tours and tourism effects on places, would be seen to relate to New Zealand's identity narratives and self descriptions. Both approaches to the thesis are arguably equally valid. The chapters integrate each other because their stories are interlinked. It is not really possible to separate identity politics from place imaginaries, or representation/non-representational approaches to landscape from the wider ways the films were 'interpreted' and 'performed'.

I explored, as the title promised, the making of film-landscapes and the varied and geographical resonances of film. I did this with the mindset that considered the wider work of film as significant. This aimed to enhance our potential to explore the power of film. In doing so, this thesis has offered "stories about what happens to complexities in practice" (Mol and Law 2002, 2).

> "There is complexity if things relate but don't add up, if events occur but not within the processes of linear time, and phenomena share a space but cannot be

mapped in terms of a single set of three-dimensional coordinates" (Mol and Law 2002, 1).

Following Mol and Law's summary of complexity, we can see that the stories of The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider were full of such sharings and coexistence (although not necessarily complicatedness). The more-than-film approach to The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider reveals that the films and their resonances are "complex, but not (necessarily) complicated or difficult" (Thompson 2002, 183, brackets added).

In this thesis I aimed to connect particularly with work on landscape theory and cinematic geography, as the film-landscape interaction as a concept, adds significantly to both areas by insisting that each consider film and landscape relationally and connectedly. I also engage significantly with tourist studies' interest in the power of film to move people. Again, film-landscape interactions bring new elements to bear on the process of film tourism. The combination of exploring landscape and place imaginaries *together* is not sufficiently addressed in the literature. Conceiving film-landscape in performative terms (the 'work' that film-landscape can do) invites a major research agenda and helps with the interpretation of current political realities.

The thesis adds to audience studies literature by broadening the remit of audiences to include those who have not, or may never see films, but who have nonetheless experienced them in some form. This is aligned with the move towards considering wider audiences and acknowledging the multiplicity and constructedness of audiences (Ang 1991 and Jancovich et al. 2003), but pushes the concept further to explore how latent audiences may participate with film.

The thesis is also aligned to the wider turn in geography to a consideration of performance -- in non-representational theory, landscape studies, tourism studies and consumption. As Mansvelt highlights,

> "Recent research on objects, practices and techniques of material and non-material consumption experiences thus attends not only to the ways in which such encounters may be embodied, practised and felt, but also to the ways in which such encounters shape and are shaped by complex orderings of social and spatial relations at other scales, context and times" (2007, 10).

Relations and encounters are key to this description of consumption experiences. The empirical chapters pulled apart and analysed the consumption of film in new situations (on film tours) and the consumption of landscape in new contexts (of film imaginaries and visuals). I therefore extend the consideration of what may be consumed and where,

in relation to film.

Finally, the knowledge produced in this thesis will be of interest to anyone working on New Zealand (area studies) and others interested in the social, cultural and political issues in New Zealand, as the chapters contribute new situated explorations of what film can mean in New Zealand places and imaginaries.

The research and analysis here is a cogent demonstration that considering the power of film, the wider work that it can do, is full of possibilities and vital to continuing exploration around film. Thinking more-than-film means so many things can be legitimately included: elements of production can make their way into the analysis; as do considerations of audience and consumption. But this more-than-film approach means that these are synthesised into an understanding of the place of film within society in that moment. Exploring film resonances and film-landscape focuses on, in this case, the social and cultural context of identity and how contexts, landscapes and places are influenced and remade by the power of film.

In one respect, a more-than-film approach opens up ways of revealing possibilities and new directions, but in another respect it is merely acknowledging something that is *already happening*. These interactions, relationships and complexities between film and place and identity are happening in response to many films. I am not alone in realising this, though there are few demonstrations of how it can be practically researched. This is the challenge that the thesis addressed -- how to explore the fact that films cannot be isolated for analysis, that they do spill out into the world, into our emotions and our imaginations. The framework provided by a more-than-film stance, and the empirically enabling terms resonance and film-landscape, created a space in which such an exploration was not only possible, but nuanced and interesting in unexpected ways.

The creation and use of these key terms gave me ways to approach the practicalities of open ended research and also to think through the theoretical implications of an interest in film/place/landscape/tourism. Describing the 'happenings associated with film' as 'resonances', was key to allowing an open and nuanced analysis of film impacts and influences. Similarly, the term film-landscape more accurately described the relationship between film and landscape by acknowledging the close and strong

281

interactions occurring in this space. Film-landscape also demonstrated a way of simultaneously utilising representational and non-representational ideas. Because both film and landscape *are* simultaneously representational and performative, this term encapsulated both aspects of them. Both these terms are new contributions to the fields of film, geography and tourism. In addition, I believe that the overarching approach I took to film, that is thinking through more-than-film, more-than the cinema, production, consumption or the celluloid itself, as a way of approaching the power and potential of film, opened up room for productive explorations to occur.

8.1 Consent forms and participant information sheets

A4 size: Interview information sheet and consent form.

The University Of Sheffield.

Department of Geography.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - INTERVIEWS

My name is Erena Le Héron. I am a student at The University of Sheffield, England, enrolled for a PhD degree in the Department of Geography. I am conducting this research for my thesis on New Zealand film.

I would like to interview you. Interviews would take about an hour.

I would like to be able to quote you in my thesis and refer to your comments as appropriate. However, if you are not happy with this, information you provide in an interview can remain confidential and your name not used.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me on 09 444 7211/021 0720292 (12 June – 30 June 2006) email me at e.leheron@sheffield.ac.uk or write to me at the above address.

My supervisor is Professor Peter Jackson
Department of Geography
The University of Sheffield
Winter Street
S10 2TN
United Kingdom
p.a.jackson@sheffield.ac.uk
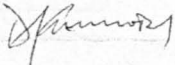
Yours sincerely,

Erena Le Héron

The University Of Sheffield.

Department of Geography.

CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS

Researcher: Erena Le Héron

- I have been given and understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I agree for the information I provide to be used for this research project and publications/presentations resulting from the project.
- I agree for my name/company name to be referenced (and/or quoted where applicable) in this research project and publications/presentations resulting from the project.

Signed:

Name: DAVID KENNEDY
(please print clearly)

Date: 19/6/06

If you wish to review the material I have gathered from your part in this research, please write your contact email or postal address below so I may contact you.

Left document

The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Department
of
Geography.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - FOCUS GROUPS

My name is Erena Le Héron. I am a student at The University of Sheffield, England, enrolled for a PhD degree in the Department of Geography. I am conducting this research for my thesis on New Zealand film.

I would like you to participate in a focus group. Focus groups would take about an hour. All information you provide will remain anonymous.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me on 09 444 7211 (12 June - 30 June 2006), email me at e.leheron@sheffield.ac.uk or write to me at the above address.

My supervisor is Professor Peter Jackson
Department of Geography
The University of Sheffield
Winter Street
S10 2TN
United Kingdom
p.a.jackson@sheffield.ac.uk

Yours sincerely,

Erena Le Héron

Middle document

The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Department
of
Geography.

CONSENT FORM FOR FOCUS GROUPS

Researcher: Erena Le Héron

It would be very helpful for my analysis if you could provide the following information:

Name: _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Where you were born: _____ (if there for a short time, where did you grow up?)

Ethnicity: _____

Occupation: _____

- I have been given and understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.
- I understand that all information provided will remain anonymous.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I agree for the information I provide to be used for this research project and publications/presentations resulting from the project.

Signed:

Date:

If you wish to review the material I have gathered from your part in this research, please write your contact email or postal address below so I may contact you.

Right document (business cards)

The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Department
Of
Geography.

Erena Le Heron BA, MA(Hons)Auckland
PhD Student

Winter Street, Sheffield S10 2TN, UK
T: +44 (0)114 222 7914 **F:** +44 (0)114 279 7912
Email: e.leheron@sheffield.ac.uk
www.sheffield.ac.uk/geography

PhD topic.
Making landscapes: examining the affects and effects of *The Lord of the Rings* and *Whale Rider* films

Key questions.
- How are we (re)making places in response to these films?
- How do the landscapes of film travel?
- What landscape work does film do?

Please contact me with any info or thoughts you might have on this topic.

Making landscapes: examining the affects and effects of *The Lord of the Rings* and *Whale Rider* films

I agree to take part in this research.
I agree for the information I provide to be used and for my name/company name to be referenced and/or quoted in this PhD and in publications/presentations arising from the research.

Name N. Marsh Date 26 6 06.
Signed

8.2 Conversational interview questions (including on film tours)

I asked either about Whale Rider or The Lord of the Rings as appropriate in the location.

These questions were used in Gisborne and Matamata and asked of business and shop/information centre workers. I also used these questions on film tours.

- What in your opinion was the local response to Whale Rider/Lord of the Rings (as appropriate)?
- Any change in numbers (visitor or to your store) pre/post The Lord of the Rings/Whale Rider?
- Notice domestic or international tourists as response to The Lord of the Rings/Whale Rider?
- Duration of number change (e.g. more than six months)
- Do people mention the film? What have you heard said? What context?
- What did you think?
- Did it make you think about anything differently?
- (In souvenir stalls) do people ask for The Lord of the Rings/Whale Rider souvenirs? How often? What sorts?

In bookstores
- Stock The Lord of the Rings and Whale Rider books and DVDs?
- What demand for them?
- Change and book sales since the movies?
- Monthly sales patterns?

In Gisborne movie theatre
- Response to Whale Rider? Emotional reaction?
- Numbers/stats
- Duration shown
- Tell me about opening-night
- Decisions when to show or stop showing?
- What kinds of people attended movie screenings?

I revised the questions slightly in Queenstown, Wanaka and Christchurch.
Businesses and tourist guide/information centres, and on tours.
- What in your opinion was the local response to The Lord of the Rings?
- At the time of filming, released and now? Change in numbers pre/post The Lord of the Rings? Domestic or international tourist responding to The Lord of the Rings? (And compared with other tours you offer)
- What comments have you heard from people about The Lord of the Rings and your tour? The Lord of the Rings and South Island?
- Good/bad aspects of The Lord of the Rings being used like this? Your opinion.
- Resident feedback?
- People ask for souvenirs (e.g. rings)?
- What's your opinion? Of the films? Of tourist response?
- Anything I should know about? Go and see? Talk to?
- Any comments about people visiting a hyped up landscape?

Are you a tour guide? Reception staff? Where are you from? When did you move to Queenstown? Why?

8.3 Tour information and description of my experiences on the tours (from field diary)

8.3.1 Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour

The Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour is run by Rings Scenic Tours, owned by the Alexander family on whose farm the sets are located. The tour began in December 2002 to coincide with the release of the second The Lord of the Rings film (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

From 2 December 2002 to 25 October 2005 they had a total of 83,000 visitors. This had grown year by year: in the first year (02/03) there were 11,500 visitors; in 03/04 this increased to 35,000; and in the 04/05 year until October 05 there were 36,500 visitors. (Henry Horne pers comm. 25/10/05).

The origin of tourists is mainly international (85%) with only some domestic (15%). The international visitor breakdown was roughly given by Henry Horne as: 22% UK; 18% US; 18% Germany; 12% Asian (15% unaccounted for by him) (pers comm. 25/10/05).

The Hobbiton tour explains as part of its narrative how the Alexander farm came to be the Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour. According to the tour guide, the Alexander farm was selected as an appropriate location when Peter Jackson and a location scout flew over Waikato and saw the 'party tree' and a lake, necessary location criteria for Hobbiton. It was also hidden in a valley and provided the necessary secrecy for filming.

The Hobbiton tour, run by Rings Scenic Tours, Hobbiton Movie Set and Farm Tour, began at the Matamata information centre on a bus ride (bus named Gandalf) to the farm which took 20 minutes. Matamata facts and how the site was chosen were given on this trip. We walked around the top of the site, told the logistical information, took the bus to the base of the hill and then walked into the hillside with the holes, under the party tree and party field, proceeding up the hillside to Bag End. We also looked across the pond to the pub and mills, the Hobbit gardens and so on.

On such a gorgeous sunny and clear day the peace and green of the surrounding farm was intense. I very much enjoyed the tour and the effect of seeing Hobbiton as I came around the corner past a huge scraggly pine tree and seeing the hobbit holes in the hillside rising up in front of me. It was really quite thrilling and I did not anticipate the excitement of this.

There were many points of commentary and pictures with extensive descriptions of the whole site as it is and as it was in the film, and anecdotes of the Alexander family involvement. Back on the bus to the information centre. There was no history of the area on the Hobbiton tour, only about Hobbiton and the Alexander family as it related to filming.

The tale offered on the tour felt smooth and polished by repetition, including the favourite anecdotes of those involved. In fact, most discussion around The Lord of the Rings in all parts of the country feels smooth and polished. The same phrases keep appearing and circulating. There is an air that there is an official way to talk about The Lord of the Rings, but I suspect that it is partly because tour guides and others have access to the same printed anecdotes and information (which I have also read). While original tour guides had been involved in The Lord of the Rings filming, in 2005/06 the tour guides had changed and the new ones did not have personal experience. In the

Hobbiton case, the tour has a slightly different flavour, as although tour guides were not necessarily involved in filming, the Hobbiton tour focuses on the personal experience of the Alexander family and so has access to different stories than those repeated by other The Lord of the Rings tours.

8.3.2 *Whale Rider*

Hone Taumaunu's son Heemi and daughter-in-law Ingrid started the tour 2002/3, made comprehensive plans, but when they moved to Auckland, Hone took over the tour. He runs it at a very low level and did not use any of their plans to become a commercial tourism operation. For example, he does not have the correct licence to transport people out to the site and does not provide tea and coffee or any merchandise such as T-shirts as they planned to. He gives $5 per tourist to the marae committee. (Hone Taumaunu pers comm. 19/10/05).

Numbers on the tours are small: about 21 people in 2004 and 46 in 2005 (of whom at least 20 were in the travel industry). The Whale Rider tour is now on small scale, smaller than originally planned, and very small in comparison with the other tours talked about.

A plan to film Whale Rider had begun 10 years earlier. As such the current version of the project had local support as issues had been previously dealt with (Hone Taumaunu pers comm. 19/10/05).

I met Hone Taumaunu (tour guide) on the edge of the road as it comes over a hill providing a view of the bay. After a quick chat in which Hone pointed out major landmarks, I was escorted into the settlement itself. We parked the cars outside the marae and entered the new wharenui/meeting house (without a formal welcome).

Hone then took on the role of oral historian and related Ngati Konohi's Whale Rider tale (on which the book and film are based), gave the history of the area and of the building, described features in the wharenui and recounted Witi Ihimaera's (author of Whale Rider) time growing up in Whangara.

> "The most important part of my tour is that I take them to each of the meeting houses and talk about our history. That takes most of my time. And a lot of people have been very impressed with that part of the tour" (Hone Taumaunu pers comm. 19/10/05).

We then went into the older wharenui, painted in an older and more colourful style (not just red, but whites, greens and blues). Again I was told the history of the building and images inside. No pictures were allowed inside the wharenui.

We went outside, Hone briefly pointed out where different scenes had been filmed, he showed me the fibreglass whales and waka, the reiputa/whale bone pendant and his 'holiday' house (Paikea's home in the film). We took a quick walk to the beach.

There was time for a chat about the film and any questions I might have had. Hone related experiences with other tours and the sorts of things they had asked and done, including wearing the reiputa, checking the location of scenes with him and so on. (It was difficult for this to occur with me the sole participant and feeling shy).

The tour took about two hours, at the end I saw one (presumed) resident, who saw I was with Hone and did not approach. It was an interesting tour that focused as much, or more, on Ngati Konohi's history and legends than the processes of filming there.

8.3.3 Nomad Safaris

Nomad Safaris Lord of the Rings tour was launched in April 2002. They created the tour in February to March 2002. They began Nomad Safaris in 1994. They draw from "US, UK, huge numbers from Australia ... unashamedly Anglo Saxon" (David Gatward-Ferguson pers comm. 21/06/06), they do not get many New Zealanders and those that do are from the North Island.

Nomad Safaris take a maximum of 6 people on their tours. On the tour I did (Wakatipu Valley, half-day tour), there were 3 Japanese ladies, one big Lord of the Rings fan who had gone to the Return of the King premiere, and was going to go on an Edoras tour, and 2 Australians -- the husband a Lord of the Rings fan, and the wife not. She said, "I can't miss this chance to see the scenery".

The route on the tour began in Queenstown then went up the ski road to the Remarkables where we talked about filming on the Remarkables and on Deer Park Heights that we were looking down on. We next stopped at the Kawerau Gorge where we talked about the superimposed computer images of the great figures with their hands out and compared it with photos, then onto Arrowtown and on the Arrow River where we discussed what happened where, in terms of the Ford of Bruinen.

We did 4-wheel driving through the river and then had tea and coffee and biscuits in a remote spot. Then up the Crown Range to the beginning of Skippers Canyon Road and a view of the Remarkables and Queenstown and then we journeyed back to town.

8.3.4 Dart River Safaris

Dart River Safaris added The Lord of the Rings content to their existing product in 2003 when Tourism New Zealand was advertising New Zealand in conjunction with the film and they recognized a demand for this product (Kerry Walker pers comm. 21/06/06).

They gave the following information on their market: "Safari average age is 50....number one market US, then UK, then Oz. Funyaks average age 40 .... number one market Oz, then UK then US. Individuals - 55% of market" (Kerry Walker pers comm. 21/06/06).

The Dart River Safari tour is a 40 minute bus journey to Glenorchy from Queenstown. We stopped on the way up the lake to look at tour locations, Amon Hen on top of the hill looking back towards Queenstown and the place they saw the olyphants at 12 mile delta. The guide had big picture cards to show us stills of the movie for us to look at and compare with the real thing. Then in Paradise Valley we were told of movie locations all around us.

We were shown where Vertical Limit was filmed and the mountains and the divide between Pakistan and India, we were also shown where a Cherokee commercial and where several other commercials were filmed, we were shown where Lothlorian was filmed, again with the photoboard, and we were shown where the Isengard set was put in relation to the mountains. This was all we were told about The Lord of the Rings however. It was about general movie locations and filming all around.

We then did a short bush walk, 10 minutes, then onto the jetboat and up the Dart River. The jetboat driver gave commentary again and said when we were looking at some of the mountains in question as it was a very cloudy, foggy day, that "yesterday we were able to see Isengard as if it was on the movie itself". The tour also covered a range of other things from Maori legends, advertisements, film locations and a little bit of history. Dart River Safaris offer the Dart River jetboat tour which I have described and a funyak tour where, instead of jetboating down the river and a bus back, you kayak down the river and then take a bus back.

8.3.5 *Hassle-free Tours*

Hassle-free Tours began its Lord of the Rings tours in November 2003. Most of their clients come through on their Lord of the Rings tours "85% of our clients coming through are doing that one tour" (Mark Gilbert pers comm. 26/06/06). They also offer other tours. Their main markets are Australia then the UK then the US. They began their Lord of the Rings tours just before the third movie came out.

On the tour I did, which is a full-day tour from 9 until 6, I was picked up in Christchurch, we drove to Mt Sunday (location of Edoras filming), there was lots of conversations and discussion on the way out – who we are, interests, The Lord of the Rings knowledge/interest, New Zealand information and stories were told.

A stop on the way where we could see Mt Sunday and were shown a map of Middle-earth and read the quote from The Lord of the Rings about the area, then drove across rivers to Mt Sunday, climbed up it where we had a champagne lunch, played with the swords, talked about the set and other things filmed in the Valley, such as Helms Deep. The reverse journey we swapped/challenged each other with The Lord of the Rings trivia.

8.4 Interview questions

Introduce myself and my research
Began all interviews with: tell me what your organisation does, and your role in the company/with the movie

Regional Tourism Organisations (RTOs). Overview of phenomenon and region and others in general tourism

- Area known for having The Lord of the Rings (LOTR)/Whale Rider locations, can you tell me about your organisation's response, after/during/before filming
- Work with tourism operators? Does your organisation have a role in this? General response/feeling?
- Did LOTR/Whale Rider make a difference to numbers in the area? Type/origin of tourists? What tourists do here? Statistics available?
- Does RTO work with film and TV and companies to get filming? Policy to encourage filming?
- Opinion on the whole LOTR/Whale Rider phenomenon? (Personal and tourist industry)
- What are your themes for promoting the region
- How are people talking about the film? Good/bad, local/visitors, still talking or not
- Longevity? What hope/expect to get from LOTR/Whale Rider and future? What did you originally hoped for compared with now?
- Good/bad aspects the region
- Were you surprised by the passion/emotional response? (Has there been one)
- What happened in the town during filming?
- Locals benefiting or very similar to before? (In Gisborne, do people want more tourism from Whale Rider than there is?)
- Are you happy with the images of LOTR/Whale Rider circulating and their link to your region? What are the films doing to your area?

Tourist operator questions

- Do you focus on LOTR? Or is LOTR just an extra to your tour?
- Were you around before LOTR?
- What was your response to LOTR? Reaction during filming and now? Future?
- Why decide to include LOTR? When decide to incorporate LOTR? (Changed activities?)
- What changes to the tour did you make? What changes to numbers? Comments?
- Other tour companies doing similar?
- Who are you targeting with your tours? LOTR fans, other?
- Comments, good/bad from people
- Number of trips/size of parties/level of returnee/demographics
- How does it fit in with the rest of tour operators? (Size/amount, focus of operation changed?) (Nomad Safaris seen as specialist and leaders, what do they do that is extra? Why so much earlier?)
- What attracts people, motivates them? What emotions do they express?
- Any feedback from residents? Local opinion of tours and LOTR
- Did you get any encouragement to add LOTR, e.g. council support or from RTOs
- Longevity of LOTR (compared with the rest of the tour?)
- What happening in industry, opinion on the whole phenomenon (including yours)
- What marketing? Images circulated?

- Do people feel they are visiting a hyped up landscape? (as there are no sets)
- Opinion on how affecting views of Queenstown/Matamata/Christchurch

Specific questions for Whale Rider
- What did being a cultural advisor to the film involve? Permission sought beforehand? What kind of response from the community?
- During filming, what happened, roles, emotional response?
- Do you think good/bad for your area?
- What did you think of the film? Reaction of wider community?
- If you had known the movie would mean people coming to Whangara, would you have agreed?
- Whose idea was the Whale Rider tour? I have heard that there is general resistance to tourism in the community, comment? How many visitors are coming to Whangara?
- Is it okay to take photos on the marae and in Whangara?

Film industry
Film Wellington, Bob Harvey, Film New Zealand
- What does being film friendly mean to you?
- Role in facilitating film in the region? What role do you see film playing in the city?
- Did you play a specific role for LOTR/Whale Rider, or in a movie since?
- Relationship between company such as Film Wellington, NZFC, Film New Zealand, councils -- please discuss (as appropriate)
- How are people talking about New Zealand in relation to the films? About LOTR and Whale Rider?
- Unforeseen consequences
- Impact on Wellington/Waitakere?
- Opinion on tours in the area, longevity, locals benefiting?

New Zealand Film Commission
- Industry perspective on the impact of Whale Rider/LOTR
- Future of New Zealand film?
- Details on LOTR tax breaks and current funding policies
- Your opinion on what is a New Zealand film?
- On what basis does NZFC support of film?
- Involvement and LOTR at different stages?
- Good/bad aspects

Filmmakers
- Tell me about your role in LOTR/Whale Rider? What does that involve? As much detail as possible
- Within the industry, what would you say was the impact of Whale Rider or LOTR?
- Opinion on the ways geographical imaginations of place affect filming and how films affect it in return
- What impact on your career from the films?
- What impacts within the industry from LOTR?
- Were you surprised by the passionate response to both films?
- How were people talking about the films? In your community, within the work colleagues?

Councils
- Council policies and/or strategies?
- Specific response to the films, before/during/after? Tell me about the premieres that Wellington/Gisborne held. Role in organising premiere
- Council permission sought before filming? Your role in this?
- Any policy or strategy to be film friendly, or creative city?
- How were people talking about the film? How are they now?
- Were you surprised by the passionate response?
- Film tours, what do you know about them, any involvement?
- Opinion on longevity
- Good/bad aspects
- Opinion on how people's view of your area affected?
- Other developments occurred in response to the films?

Air New Zealand
- Rationale behind decision to use LOTR?
- How successful do you think it has been?
- Description of Middle-earth campaign
- What images used
- Discussion of adverts, brief, whole campaign, description of plane decals
- Why drop it? When did you take it up? Longevity?
- Customer feedback
- Good/bad aspects

8.5 Focus group questions

Introduction of myself, research on films, a discussion between you. Will be using for research, to help me with how films are received and thought about by the general public, all responses are anonymous, if you would like feedback let me know.

Ground rules are that comments will not be identified with people outside the room, it is a discussion there is no right or wrong, I will try not to interrupt too much, please allow everyone their opinions.

Moved from context of film in their lives to personal and specific.

Place in lives
  • What kind of films like/dislike? Why? (How often, usual trip with who etc)
Film and place
  • What do you think about the way New Zealand is portrayed in films?
New Zealand films
  • General opinions on them
  • Which do you like/not like? Why?
  • What do you want to see in them?
LOTR/Whale Rider
  • What did you think of LOTR/Whale Rider? (Ask both in turn)
  • Did you see them? (Video, theatre)
  • What do you remember from the films?
  • What do you remember when the films opened?
  • What do you remember of filming in the area?
  • Opinion on how the film is affecting views on the area?
General place imaginaries
  • Do you like living and Queenstown/Matamata etc? Why? Compared with other places?
Place promotion
  • Merchandise, provide pamphlets to discuss
  • What do you think of this kind of stuff?
  • Would you go on any film tours?

9 References

9.1 Works cited

(non-academic newspaper and IMDB materials are listed in separate sections)

Aitken, S. and Craine, J. (2005) 'Visual methodologies: what you see is not always what you get' in Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: a guide to students doing a research project, second edition,* Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 250-269.

Aitken, S. and Zonn, L (1994) (eds) *Place, Power, Situation and Spectacle: a geography of film,* Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, Lanham, Maryland and London.

Altman, R. (1999) *Film/genre,* Bfi Publishing, London.

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism,* Verso Editions and NLB, London.

Ang, I. (1991) *Desperately Seeking the Audience,* Routledge, London and New York.

Arreola, D. (2005) 'Forget the Alamo: the border as place in John Sayles' Lone Star', *Journal of Cultural Geography,* 23, 23-42.

Baerenholdt, J., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J. and Urry, J. (2004) *Performing Tourist Places,* Ashgate, Aldershot and Burlington, VT.

Barker, M. and Brooks, K. (1998) *Knowing Audiences: Judge Dredd, its friends, fans and foes,* University of Luton Press, Luton.

Barker, M. and Mathijs, E. (2007) 'Seeing the promised land from afar: the perception of New Zealand by overseas The Lord of the Rings audiences' in Lam, A. and Oryshchuk, N. (eds) *How we became Middle-earth: a collection of essays on The Lord of the Rings,* Walking Tree Publications, Switzerland, 10-28.

Barnes, T. and Duncan, J. (1992) (eds) *Writing Worlds,* Routledge, London.

Baudrillard, J. (1988) 'Simulacra and simulations' in Poster, M. (eds) *Jean Baudrillard: selected writings,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, 166-184.

Bedford, T. and Burgess, J. (2001) 'The focus-group experience' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates,* Arnold, London, 121-135.

Beeton, S. (2005) *Film-induced Tourism*, Channel View Publications, Clevedon.

Belich, J. (2001) *Paradise Reforged: a history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Penguin, Allen Lane, Auckland.

Bell, A. (2004) *Relating Maori and Pakeha: the politics of indigenous and settler identities*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis in Sociology, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Bell, C. (1996) *Inventing New Zealand: everyday myths of Pakeha identity*, Penguin Books, Auckland.

Bell, C. and Lyall, J. (2002) *The Accelerated Sublime: landscape, tourism and identity*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut.

Bell, C. and Matthewman, S. (2004) (eds) *Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: identity, space and place*, Oxford University Press Auckland.

Bennett, K. and Shurmer-Smith, P. (2001) 'Writing conversation' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates*, Arnold, London, 251-263.

Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*. Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

Boggs, J. (1996) *The Art of Watching Films (4th edition)*, Mayfield Publishing, Mountain View, California.

Boyle, P. (2005) 'Writing the report' in Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: a guide to students doing a research project, second edition*, Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 302-311.

Bronfen, E. (2004) *Home in Hollywood: the imaginary geography of cinema*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Brooker, W. and Jermyn, D. (2003) 'Part four. The spectator and the audience: shifts in screen theory. Introduction' in Brooker, W. and Jermyn, D. (eds) *The Audience Studies Reader*, Routledge, London and New York, 127-131.

Bruno, G. (1993) *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: cultural theory and the city films of Elvira Notari*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

Bruno, G. (2002) *Atlas of Emotion: journeys in art, architecture and film*, Verso, New York and London.

Bunnell, T. (2004) ' Re-viewing the Entrapment controversy: megaprojection, (mis)representation and postcolonial performance' *GeoJournal*, 59, 297-305.

Burgess, J. Limb, M. and Harrison, C. M. (1988a) 'Exploring environmental values through the medium of small groups:1. Theory and practice', *Environment and Planning A*, 20, 3, 309-326.

Burgess, J. Limb, M. and Harrison, C. M. (1988b) 'Exploring environmental values through the medium of small groups:2. Illustrations of a group at work', *Environment and Planning A,* 20, 4, 457-476.

Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity,* Routledge, New York.

Butler, R. (2001) 'From where I write: the place of positionality in qualitative writing' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates,* Arnold, London, 264-276.

Callon, M. (1986) 'Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay' in Law, J. (ed) *Power, action and belief,* Routledge, London, 196-233.

Carlaw, K., Oxley, L., Walker, P., Thoms, D. and Nuth, M. (2006) 'Beyond the hype: intellectual property and the knowledge society/knowledge economy', *Journal of Economic Surveys,* 20, 4, 633-690.

Chambers, R. (2002) *Participatory Workshops: a sourcebook of 21 sets of ideas and activities,* Earthscan, London, Stirling, VA.

Chaney, D. (2002) 'The power of metaphors in tourism theory', in Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (eds) *Tourism: between place and performance,* Berghahn Books, New York, Oxford, 193-206.

Charney, L. and Schwartz, V. (1995) (eds) *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life,* University of California Press, Berkeley and L.A.

Clarke, D. (1997) (ed) *The Cinematic City,* Routledge, London and New York.

Cloke, P. and Jones, O. (2001) 'Dwelling, place, and landscape: an orchard in Somerset', *Environment and Planning A,* 33, 649-666.

Cloke, P. and Perkins, H. (1998) "Cracking the canyon with the awesome foursome': representations of adventure tourism in New Zealand', *Environment and Planning D: society and space,* 16, 2, 185-218.

Coe, N. (2000) 'The View from out West: embeddedness, and inter-personal relations and the development of an indigenous film industry in Vancouver', *Geoforum,* 31, 391-407.

Cohan, S. and Hark, I.R. (1997) (eds) *The Road Movie Book,* Routledge, London and New York.

Colebrook, C. (2002) *Gilles Deleuze,* Routledge, London and New York.

Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (2002a) (eds) *Tourism: between place and performance,* Berghahn Books, New York and Oxford.

Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (2002b) 'Grounded tourists, travelling theory' in Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (eds) *Tourism: between place and performance,* Berghahn Books, New York and Oxford, 1-17.

Conradson, D. (2005) 'Focus groups' in Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: a guide to students doing a research project, second edition,* Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 128-143.

Conrich, I. (2001) *In God's Own Country: open spaces and the New Zealand road movie,* seminar at Massey University, 28 July 2001.

Cook, I. (2005) 'Participant observation' in Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: a guide to students doing a research project, second edition,* Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 167-188.

Cosgrove, D. (2000) 'Iconography' in Johnston, R., Gregory, D., Pratt, G. and Watts, M. (eds) *The Dictionary of Human Geography: fourth edition,* Blackwell Publishers Ltd, Oxford and Massachusetts, 366.

Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (1988) (eds) *The Iconography of Landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York and Melbourne.

Cosgrove, D. and Jackson, P. (1987) 'New directions in cultural geography' *Area,* 19, 2, 95-101.

Cosgrove, D., Duncan, J., Jackson, P., and Price, M. and Lewis, M. (1993) 'Commentary on 'The reinvention of cultural geography' by Price and Lewis', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 83, 3, 515-522.

Crang, M. (2001) 'Filed work: making sense of group interviews' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates,* Arnold, London, 215-233.

Crang, M. (2003) 'Telling materials' in Pryke, M., Rose, G. and Whatmore, S. (eds) *Using Social Theory: thinking through research,* Sage and The Open University, London, 127-144.

Crang, M. (2005) 'Analysing qualitative materials' in Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: a guide to students doing a research project, second edition,* Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 218-232.

Crang, M. (2006) 'Circulation and emplacement: the hollowed out performance of tourism' in Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (eds) *Travels in Paradox: remapping tourism,* Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, MD, 47-64. Online copy accessed, http://eprints.dur.ac.uk/archive/00000075/

Cresswell, T. and Dixon, D. (2002a) (eds) *Engaging Film: geographies of mobility and identity,* Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, Lanham, Maryland and Oxford.

Cresswell, T. and Dixon, D. (2002b) 'Introduction: engaging film' in Cresswell, T. and Dixon, D. (eds) *Engaging Film: geographies of mobility and identity,* Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, Lanham, Maryland and Oxford, 1-10.

Cronon, W. (1995) 'The trouble with wilderness or getting back to the wrong nature' in Cronon, W. (ed) *Uncommon Ground: towards reinventing nature,* WW Norton and Company, London and New York, 69-91.

Crouch, D. (1999) 'Introduction: encounters in leisure/tourism' and Crouch, D. (ed) *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: practices and geographical knowledge*, Routledge, London and New York, 1-16.

Crouch, D. (2002) 'Surrounded by place: embodied encounters' in Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (eds) *Tourism: between place and performance*, Berghahn Books, New York and Oxford, 207-218.

Cubitt, S. (2005) *Ecomedia*, Rodopi, Amsterdam and New York.

Cubitt, S., Jutel, T., King, B. and Margolis, H. (forthcoming) (eds) *How to Study the Event Movie: The Lord of the Rings - a case study*, Manchester University Press/Palgrave, forthcoming 2008.

Currie, G. (2005) 'Narrative desire' in Wartenberg, T. and Curran, A. (eds) *The Philosophy of Film: introductory text and readings*, Blackwell, Malden MA, Oxford and Carlton Victoria, 139-147.

Dennis, J. and Bieringa, J. (1992) (eds) *Film in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Victoria University Press, Wellington.

Dewsbury, J.-D., Wylie, J., Harrison, P. and Rose, M. (2002) 'Enacting geographies', *Geoforum*, 32, 437-441.

Dodds, K. (2006) 'Popular geopolitics audience dispositions: James Bond and the Internet Movie Database (IMDB)', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31, 116-130.

Donald, J. (1995) 'The city, the cinema: modern spaces' in Jenks, C. (ed) *Visual Culture*, Routledge, London and New York, 77-95.

Dowler, L. (2001) 'Fieldwork in the trenches: participant observation in a conflict area' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates*, Arnold, London, 153-164.

Duncan, J. (1980) 'The superorganic in American cultural geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70, 2, 181-198.

Duncan, J. (1995) 'Landscape geography, 1993-94', *Progress in Human Geography*, 19, 3, 414-422.

Edensor, T. (1997) 'Reading Braveheart: representing and contesting Scottish identity', *Scottish Affairs*, 21, autumn, 135-158.

Edensor, T. (2002) *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Berg, Oxford and New York.

Edensor, T. (2005) 'Mediating William Wallace: audio-visual technologies in tourism' in Crouch, P., Jackson, R. and Thompson, F. (eds) *The Media and the Tourist Imagination: converging cultures*, Routledge, London and New York, 105-118.

Elizabeth, V. (2006) '(Re)Designing the nation' in McNaughton, H. and Lam, A. (eds) *The Reinvention of Everyday Life: culture in the twenty-first century*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 56-66.

Fairburn, M. (1989) *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: the foundations of modern New Zealand society 1850-1900*, Auckland University Press, Auckland.

Fenwick, M. (2007) 'Past the remote. Interview with Helen Clark', *NZinspired*, southern summer, 21-25.

Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (2005) (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: a guide to students doing a research project, second edition*, Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow.

Ford, L. (1994) 'Sunshine and shadow: lighting and colour in the depiction of cities on film' in Aitken, S. and Zonn, L. (eds) *Place, Power, Situation and Spectacle: a geography of film*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, Lanham, Maryland and London, 119-136.

Fowler, C. and Helfield, G. (2006) *Representing the Rural: space, place and identity in films about the land*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit.

Gledhill, C. (1987) (ed) *Home is where the heart is: studies in melodrama and the woman's film*, British Film Institute, London.

Gregory, D. (1994) *Geographical Imaginations*, Blackwell, Cambridge MA and Oxford UK.

Gregson, N. and Rose, G. (2000) 'Taking Butler elsewhere: performativities, spatialities and subjectivities', *Environment and Planning D: Society and space*, 18, 4, 433-452.

Gross, L. (1996) 'Marginal text, marginal audiences' in Hay, J., Grossberg, L. and Wartella, E. (eds) *The Audience and Its Landscapes*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado and Oxford,161-176.

Hannam, K. (2002) 'Using archives' in Shurmer-Smith, P. (eds) *Doing Cultural Geography*, Sage, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 113-120.

Haraway, D. (1991) *Simians, cyborgs and women: the reinvention of nature*, Routledge, New York.

Hardt, M. (2007) 'Foreword: what effects are good for' in Clough, P. with Halley, J. (eds) *The Affective Turn: theorising the social*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, ix-xiii.

Harley, R. (2002) 'Preface (3)' in NZ Institute of Economic Research Inc April 2002, *Scoping the Lasting Effects of The Lord of the Rings: report to the New Zealand Film Commission*, iv.

Hausladen, G. and Starrs, P. (2005) 'LA noir', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 23, 1, 43-69.

Hay, J. Grossberg, L. and Wartella, E. (1996) (eds) *The Audience and Its Landscape*, Westview Press, Boulder Colorado and Oxford UK.

Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Holmes, G., Zonn, L. and Cravey, A. (2004) 'Placing man in the New West: masculinities of The Last Picture Show', *GeoJournal*, 59, 4, 277-288.

Ingold, T. (1993) 'The temporality of the landscape', *World Archaeology*, 25, 2, 152-174.

Jackson, P. (1991) 'Mapping meanings: a cultural critique of locality studies', *Environment and Planning A*, 23, 215-228.

Jackson, P. (2001) 'Making sense of qualitative data' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates*, Arnold, London, 199-214.

Jackson, P. and Taylor, J. (1996) 'Geography and the cultural politics of advertising', *Progress in Human Geography*, 20, 3, 356-371.

Jancovich, M., Faire, L. with Stubbing, S. (2003) *The Place of the Audience: cultural geographies of film consumption*, British Film Institute, London.

Johnson, R. (1986) 'What is cultural studies anyway?', *Social Text*, 16, Winter 1986/1987, 38-80.

Jones, D. and Smith, K. (2005) 'Middle-earth meets New Zealand: authenticity and location in the making of The Lord of the Rings', *Journal of Management Studies*, 42, 5, 923-945.

Jones, S. (2006) 'Fixing a heritage: inscribing Middle-earth onto New Zealand' in Mathijs, E. (ed) *The Lord of the Rings: popular culture in global context*, Wallflower Press, London, 285-300.

Jutel, T. (2004) 'Lord of the Rings: landscape, transformation, and the geography of the virtual' in Bell, C. and Matthewman, S. (eds) *Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: identity, space and place*, Oxford University Press Auckland, 54-65.

Kawin, B. (1992) *How Movies Work*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Khan, R. and Cannell, C. (1957) *The Dynamics of Interviewing: theory, technique, and cases*, Wiley and Sons, New York.

King, M. (1985) *Being Pakeha: an encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance*, Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland.

King, M. (2003) *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Penguin Books, Auckland.

Kitchin, R. and Tate, N. (2000) *Conducting Research in Human Geography: theory, methodology and practice*, Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow.

Kolker, R. (1999) *Film, Form and Culture*, McGraw-Hill College, Boston.

Kong, L. (1997) 'A 'new' cultural geography? Debates about invention and reinvention', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 113, 3, 177-185.

Kuhn, A. (1987) 'Women's genres: melodrama, soap opera and theory' in Gledhill, C. (ed) *Home is where the heart is: studies in melodrama and the woman's film*, British Film Institute, London, 339-349.

Lam, A. and Oryshchuk, N. (2007) (eds) *How We Became Middle-earth: a collection of essays on The Lord of the Rings,* Walking Tree Publications, Switzerland.

Larner, W. and Butler, M. (2005) 'Governmentalities of local partnerships: the rise of a 'partnering state' in New Zealand', *Studies in Political Economy,* 75, 85-108.

Larner, W., Le Heron, R. and Lewis, N. (2007) 'Co-constituting 'after neoliberalism': political projects and globalising governmentalities in Aotearoa New Zealand' in England, K. and Ward, K. (eds) *Neo-liberalisation: states, networks, people,* Blackwell, London, 277-291.

Latham, A. (2003) 'Research, performance and doing human geography: some reflections on the diary-photograph, diary-interview method', *Environment and Planning A,* 35, 11, 1993-2017.

Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: an introduction to actor-network theory,* Oxford University Press, New York.

Laurier, E. and Philo, C (2003) 'Possible geographies: a passing encounter in a café', presentation in Impassable Geographies session, RGS-IBG annual conference, August, London.

Law, J. (2004) *After Method: mess in social science research,* Routledge, London and New York.

Law, L., Bunnell, T. and Ong, C.-E. (2007) 'The Beach, the gaze and film tourism', *Tourist Studies,* 7, 2, 141-164.

Lawn, J. and Beatty, B. (2006) "On the brink of a new threshold of opportunity': The Lord of the Rings and New Zealand cultural policy' in Mathijs, E. (ed) *The Lord of the Rings: popular culture in global context,* Wallflower Press, London, 43-60.

Le Heron, E. (2002) 'Translating place: landscape, film and film landscape', unpublished MA thesis, The University of Auckland.

Le Heron, E. (2004) 'Placing geographical imagination in film: New Zealand filmmakers' use of landscape', *New Zealand Geographer,* 60, 1, 60-66.

Le Heron, R. and Pawson, E. (1996) (eds) *Changing Places: New Zealand in the nineties,* Longman Paul, Auckland.

Lefebvre, M. (2006a) 'Introduction' in Lefebvre, M. (ed) *Landscape and Film,* Routledge, New York and London, xi-xxxi.

Lefebvre, M. (2006b) 'Between setting and landscape in the cinema' in Lefebvre, M. (ed) *Landscape and Film,* Routledge, New York and London, 19-59.

Lehman, P. and Luhr, W. (2003) *Thinking about Movies: watching, questioning, enjoying 2nd edition,* Blackwell, Oxford.

Lewis, N. and Winder, G. (2007) 'Sporting narratives and globalisation: making links between the All Black tours of 1905 and 2005', *New Zealand Geographer*, 63, 3, 202-215.

Lewis, N., Larner, W. and Le Heron, R. (2008) 'The New Zealand designer fashion industry: making industries and co-constituting political projects, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33, 1, 42-59.

Ley, D.and Mountz, A. (2001) 'Interpretation, representation, positionality: issues in field research in human geography' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates*, Arnold, London, 234-247.

Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (2001) (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates*, Arnold, London.

Lorimer, H. (2005) 'Cultural geography: the busyness of being 'more-than-representational", *Progress in Human Geography*, 29, 1, 83-94.

Lorimer, H. (2006) 'Herding memories of humans and animals', *Environment and Planning D: society and space*, 24, 4, 497-518.

Lukinbeal, C. (1995) 'A geography in film, a geography of film', unpublished Masters Thesis, California State University, Hayward.

Lukinbeal, C. (1998) 'Reel-to-real geographies: the top five cinematic cities in North America', *The California Geographer*, 38, 64-78

Lukinbeal, C. (2004a) 'The map that precedes the territory: an introduction to essays in cinematic geography', *GeoJournal*, 59, 4, 247-251.

Lukinbeal, C. (2004b) 'The rise of regional film production centres in North America, 1984-1997', *GeoJournal*, 59, 4, 307-321.

Lukinbeal, C. (2005) 'Cinematic landscapes', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 23, 1, 3-22.

Lukinbeal, C. and Arreola, D. (2005) 'Engaging the cinematic landscape', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 23, 1, 1-2.

Lury, K. and Massey, D. (1999) 'Making connections', *Screen*, 40, 3, 229-238.

MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*, The Macmillan Press Ltd, London and Basingstoke.

Mains, S. (2004) 'Imagining the border and Southern spaces: cinematic explorations of race and gender', *GeoJournal*, 59, 4, 253-264.

Mansvelt, J. (2005) *Geographies of Consumption*, Sage, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

Mansvelt, J. (2007) 'Progress reports. Geographies of consumption: citizenship, space and practice', *Progress in Human Geography*, 1-13.

Marcus, G. (1995) 'Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 95-117.

Martin, H. and Edwards, S. (1997) *New Zealand Film 1912-1996*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, Melbourne.

Massey, D. (1984) *Spatial Divisions of Labour: social structures and the geography of production*, Macmillan Education, London.

Massey, D. (1991) 'A global sense of place', *Marxism Today*, June, 24-29. (reprinted in Massey, D. (1994) *Space, place and gender*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 146-156.)

Massey, D. (2005) *For Space*, Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi.

Mathijs, E. (2006) (ed) *The Lord of the Rings: popular culture in global context*, Wallflower Press, London.

Mathijs, E. and Pomerance, M. (2006) (eds) *From Hobbits to Hollywood: essays on Peter Jackson's Lord of the Rings*, Rodopi, Amsterdam.

May, J. (2003) 'The view from the streets: geographies of homelessness in the British newspaper press' in Blunt, A., Gruffudd, P., May, J., Ogborn, M. and Pinder, D. (eds) *Cultural Geography in Practice*, Arnold, London, 23-36.

McCormack, D. (2003) 'An event of geographical ethics in spaces of affect', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28, 4, 488-507.

Michael, M. (2001) 'These boots are made for walking: mundane technology, the body and human-environment relations' in Macnaughten, P. and Urry, J. (eds) *Bodies of Nature*, Sage, London, 107-126.

Mitchell, D. (1996) *The Lie of the Land: migrant workers and the California landscape*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Mitchell, D. (2000) *Cultural Geography: a critical introduction*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Mitchell, W.J.T. (1994a) 'Introduction' in Mitchell, W.J.T. (ed) *Landscape and Power*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1-4.

Mitchell, W.J.T. (1994b) 'Imperial landscape' in Mitchell W.J.T. (ed) *Landscape and Power*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 5-34.

Mohammad, R. (2001) ''Insiders' and/or 'outsiders': positionality, theory and praxis' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates*, Arnold, London, 101-117.

Mol, A. and Law, J. (2002) 'Complexities: an introduction' in Mol, A. and Law, J. (eds) *Complexities: social studies of knowledge practices*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1-22.

Monaco, J. (2000) *How to Read a Film: the world of movies, media and multimedia, third edition*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford.

Mordue, T. (2001) 'Performing and directing resident/tourist cultures in Heartbeat Country', *Tourist Studies*, 1, 3, 233-252.

Murdoch, J. (1997) 'Towards a geography of heterogeneous associations', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21, 321-337.

Nash, C. (1996) 'Reclaiming vision: looking at landscape and the body', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 3, 2, 149-169

Natter, W. (1994) 'The city as cinematic space: modernism and place in Berlin, Symphony of a City' in Aitken, S. and Zonn, L. (eds) *Place, Power, Situation and Spectacle: a geography of film*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, Lanham, Maryland and London, 203-228.

Nicholson, H. (2002) 'Telling travellers' tales: the world through home movies' in Cresswell, T. and Dixon, D. (eds) *Engaging Film: geographies of mobility and identity*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, Lanham, Maryland and Oxford, 47-66.

Nicholson, H. (2004) 'At home and abroad with cine enthusiasts: regional amateur filmmaking and visualising the Mediterranean, ca. 1928-1962', *GeoJournal*, 59, 4, 323-333.

Obrador Pons, P. (2003) 'Being-on-holiday: tourist dwelling, bodies and place', *Tourist Studies*, 3, 1, 47-66.

Ogborn, M. (2003) 'Knowledge is power: using archival research to interpret state information' in Blunt, A., Gruffudd, P., May, J., Ogborn, M. and Pinder, D. (eds) *Cultural Geography in Practice*, Arnold, London, 9-22.

Ott, T. (2007) 'The city in disguise: Vancouver as a stand-in for Seattle in Hollywood movies', presentation in Geography of Media 2 session, Association of American Geographers conference, April, San Francisco.

Pawson, E. and Brooking, T. (2002) (eds) *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Peckham, R. (2004) 'Landscape in film' in Duncan, J., Schein, R., Johnson, N. (eds) *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, Blackwell, Malden MA.

Philips, D. (1999) 'Narrativised spaces: the functions of story in the theme park' in Crouch, D. (ed) *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: practices and geographical knowledge*, Routledge, London and New York, 91-108.

Phillips, J. (1996) *A Man's Country? The image of the Pakeha male -- a history*, Penguin Books, Auckland.

Pound, F. (1983) *Frames on the Land: early landscape painting in New Zealand*, Collins, Auckland.

Pryke, M. (2003) 'Part three, Writing practices: introduction' in Pryke, M., Rose, G. and Whatmore, S. (eds) *Using Social Theory: thinking through research*, Sage and The Open University, London, 125-126.

Pryke, M., Rose, G. and Whatmore, S. (2003) (eds) *Using Social Theory: thinking through research*, Sage and The Open University, London.

Punch, S. (2001) 'Multiple methods and research relations with children in rural Bolivia' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates*, Arnold, London, 165-180.

Pye, D. (1995) 'The Western (genre and movies)' in Grant, B. (ed) *Film Genre Reader II*, University of Texas Press, Boston, 187-202.

Reid, N. (1986) *A Decade of New Zealand Film: Sleeping Dogs to Came a Hot Friday*, John McIndoe Ltd, Dunedin.

Roche, M. (1999) 'Transforming landscapes' in Le Heron, R. Murphy, L., Forer P. and Goldstone, M. (eds) *Explorations in Human Geography: encountering place*, Oxford University Press, Sydney, Australia.

Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism and Geography: the limits of geographical knowledge*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Rose, G. (1997) 'Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21, 3, 305-320.

Schaber, B. (1997) 'Hitler can't keep 'em that long' in Cohan, S. and Hark, Comm use.R. (eds) *The Road Movie Book*, Routledge, London and New York, 17-44.

Schwarz, C., Davidson G., Seaton, A. and Tebbit, V. (1988) (eds) *The Chambers English Dictionary*, W. and R. Chambers Ltd and Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Sharma, S. (1995) *Landscape and Memory*, Knopf, New York.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A. (2004) *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, Sage, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi.

Shepard, D. (2000) *Reframing Women, a history of New Zealand film*, Harper Collins Publishers (New Zealand) Ltd, Auckland.

Shiel, M. and Fitzmaurice, T. (2001) (eds) *Cinema and the City: film and urban societies in a global context*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Shiel, M. and Fitzmaurice, T. (2003) (eds) *Screening the City*, Verso, London and New York.

Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin: alternative geographies of modernity*, Routledge, London.

Shurmer-Smith, P., Mathewson, K. and Duncan, J. (1998) 'Classics in human geography revisited: Duncan 1980 The superorganic in American cultural geography', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22, 4, 567-569.

Sibley, B. (2002) *The Lord of the Rings: the making of the movie trilogy*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

Sibley, B. (2006) 'Foreword: the extraordinary escape of The Lord of the Rings' in Mathijs, E. (ed) *The Lord of the Rings: popular culture in global context*, Wallflower Press, London and New York, xvi-xvii.

Smith, D. undated c 2007
  http://www.dur.ac.uk/geography/research/researchprojects/?mode=staff&id=2263
  'Projects Miss Danielle E. Smith', accessed 27/11/07.

Smith, G. (2000) 'Nationalism' in Johnston, R., Gregory, D., Pratt, G. and Watts, M.
  (eds) *The Dictionary of Human Geography: fourth edition*, Blackwell Publishers
  Ltd, Oxford and Massachusetts, retrieved September 20 3, 2007, from
  http://www.credoreference.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/entry/734466.

Smith, L. (2002) 'Chips off the old ice block: Nanook of the North and the relocation of
  cultural identity' in Cresswell, T. and Dixon, D. (eds) *Engaging Film: geographies
  of mobility and identity*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, Lanham, Maryland
  and Oxford, 94-122.

Smith, S. (2001) 'Doing qualitative research: from interpretation to action' in Limb, M.
  and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and
  debates*, Arnold, London, 23-40.

Stam, R. (2000) *Film theory: an introduction*, Blackwell, Malden MA and Oxford.

Stehlik, D. (2004) 'From 'snowball' to 'rhizome': a rethinking of method', *Rural Society*,
  14, 1, 36-45.

Thompson, C. (2002) 'When elephants stand for competing philosophies of nature:
  Amboseli National Park, Kenya' in Mol, A. and Law, J. (eds) *Complexities: social
  studies of knowledge practices*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 166-
  190.

Thornley, D. 2006 " Wellywood' and Peter Jackson: the local reception of The Lord of
  the Rings in Wellington, New Zealand' in Mathijs, E. (ed) *The Lord of the Rings:
  popular culture in global context*, Wallflower Press, London, 101-118.

Thrift, N. (2000a) 'Non-representational theory' in Johnston, R., Gregory, D., Pratt, G.
  and Watts, M. (eds) *The Dictionary of Human Geography: fourth edition*, Blackwell
  Publishers Ltd, Oxford and Massachusetts, 556.

Thrift, N. (2000b) 'Afterwords', *Environment and Planning D: society and space*, 18, 2,
  213-255.

Thrift, N. (2003) 'Performance and ...', *Environment and Planning A*, 35, 11, 2019-2024.

Thrift, N. (2007) *Non-Representational Theory: space, politics, affect*, Routledge,
  London.

Thrift, N. and Dewsbury, J-D. (2000) 'Dead geographies and how to make them live',
  Environment and Planning D: society and space, 18, 411-432.

Tilley, C. (2004) *The Materiality of Stone: explorations in landscape phenomenology*,
  Berg, Oxford.

Tobe, R. (2003) 'Frightening and familiar: on Lynch's Twin Peaks and the North
  American suburb' in Crouch, D. and Lubbren, N. (eds) *Visual Culture and Tourism*,
  Berg, Oxford and New York, 247-257.

Tolich, M. and Davidson, C. (1999) *Starting Fieldwork: an introduction to qualitative research in New Zealand,* Oxford University Press, Auckland.

Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999) *Decolonising Methodologies: research and indigenous peoples,* Zed Books Ltd, London and New York, and University of Otago Press, Dunedin.

Turner, S. and Kavka, M. (forthcoming) "This is not New Zealand': an exercise in the political economy of identity' in Cubitt, S., Jutel, T., King, B. and Margolis, H. (eds) *How to Study the Event Movie: The Lord of the Rings - a case study,* Manchester University Press/Palgrave, forthcoming 2008.

Tzanelli, R. (2004) 'Constructing the 'cinematic tourist': the 'sign industry' of The Lord of the Rings', *Tourist Studies,* 4, 1, 21-42.

Tzanelli, R. (2007) *The Cinematic Tourist: explorations in globalisation, culture and resistance,* Routledge, London and New York.

Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze,* Sage, London, Thousand Oaks California, New Delhi.

Urry, J. and Macnaughten P. (2001) 'Bodies of nature: introduction' in Macnaughten, P. and Urry, J. (eds) *Bodies of Nature,* Sage, London, 1-11.

Valentine, G. (2001) 'At the drawing board: developing a research design' in Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (eds) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: issues and debates,* Arnold, London, 41-54.

Valentine, G. (2005) 'Tell me about ...: using interviews as a research methodology' in Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: a guide to students doing a research project, second edition,* Pearson Education Ltd, Harlow, 110-127.

Warner, M. (2004) *Magic and transformation in contemporary literature and culture, part one: after 'The Arabian Nights': daemons and alters,* The Robb Lectures given 15 March 2004, written version 19 June 2004.

Whatmore, S. (2002) *Hybrid Geographies: natures, cultures, spaces,* Sage, London.

Williams, L. (1987) ' 'Something else besides a mother' Stella Dallas and the maternal melodrama' in Gledhill, C. (ed) *Home is where the heart is: studies in melodrama and the woman's film,* British Film Institute, London, 299-325.

Wylie, J. (2006) 'Panel session: tensions between landscape, representation, practice and mobility', RGS-IBG annual conference, August, London.

Wylie, J. (2007) *Landscape,* Routledge, London and New York.

Zhen, Z. (2005) *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai cinema, 1896-1937,* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Zonn, L. and Williams, K. (2007) 'The 'Alamo' on the road: mobility and the cinematic experience', presentation in Geography of Media 3 session, Association of American Geographers conference, April, San Francisco.

9.2 Newspaper and magazine references

Air New Zealand 27/11/03 Press release 'Picture story -- Middle-Earth fleet is complete' http://www.airnz.co.nz/resources/lotr_med_res.jpg accessed 18/10/2006.

Matamata Chronicle 07/04/05 'What shape for toilet facade?', page 4.

Matamata Chronicle undated c. 26/10/05-9/11/05 'Movies set scene for PHD', section News.

New Zealand Herald Weekend Edition 08-09/11/01 'The Lord of the Rings in New Zealand map', two-page spread in the Weekend Herald: a TimeOut special edition.

New Zealand Herald 12/12/01 'Jackson's Lording it', page A22, section -- The Back Page.

New Zealand Herald 29/12/01 'NZer of the year: Peter Jackson' by Warren Gamble, section Entertainment -- Television, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/feature/story.cfm?c_id=594&ObjectID=584301, accessed 04/10/06.

New Zealand Herald 09/03/02 ' Dialogue: Ten good reasons to love our movie' by Diana Wichtel, section News -- General.

New Zealand Herald 23/03/02 'The big Oscar prizefight' by Russell Baillie section Entertainment -- Film.

New Zealand Herald 13/11/03 'A Whale of a year' by Greg Dixon, section Entertainment -- Film.

New Zealand Herald 27/11/03 'Air NZ revels in Lord of the Rings imagery' by Simon Hendery, section Business, Transport.

New Zealand Herald 29/11/03 'The hoard of the Rings' by Peter Calder, section Lifestyle, Business.

New Zealand Herald 31/01/04 'Script-rights row sour sequel to box-office hit' by Catherine Masters, section News -- General.

New Zealand Herald 02/03/04 'Keisha Castle-Hughes the 'winner' in Whangara' by Ainsley Thomson and Stuart Dye, section Entertainment -- Film.

New Zealand Herald 03/03/04 'Middle Earth puts NZ on top' by Stuart Dye, section News -- General.

New Zealand Herald 14/03/05 'Jackson says The Hobbit at least three years away', section Entertainment -- General.

New Zealand Herald 08/11/05 'Peter Jackson leads NZ film biz to new heights' by Borys Kit, section Entertainment -- Television, www.nzherald.co.nz/index.cfm?objectid=10354035, accessed 28/09/07.

OnFilm October 2002a 'FW: Whale Rider thunders into Toronto!' by Witi Ihimaera, page 5, Profile Publishing Ltd.

OnFilm October 2002b 'Whale Rider makes huge splash at TIFF' by Kerry Doole, page 5, Profile Publishing Ltd.

OnFilm February 2003 'An open letter to John Barnett from Barry Barclay', page 11, Profile Publishing Ltd.

OnFilm March 2003 'A Brash response to Barry Barclay' by Alan Brash, page 11, Profile Publishing Ltd.

OnFilm April 2004 'Interview -- Niki Caro -- class act' by Nick Grant, page 9-21, Profile Publishing Ltd.

QT Magazine (Queenstown Magazine) June 2006 Nomad Safaris advertisement, page 9, section Visitor Information.

Stuff 25/03/02 ' Praise far and wide for NZ Oscar winners', section -- Lord of the Rings, Independent Newspapers Ltd.

Stuff 13/12/02 'Lord of the Rings gets one of the world's biggest billboards', Independent Newspapers Limited.

Stuff 18/12/02 'The show of the show goes ever on', Independent Newspapers Limited, section Lord of the Rings.

Stuff/National Newsroom 12/12/01 'Your say: God bless PJ' by Stella Chadis, Independent Newspapers Ltd.

Stuff/Sunday Star Times 01/12/02 'Land of the Rings', Independent Newspapers Limited, section Revue.

Stuff/Sunday Star Times 02/02/03 'Film Reviews: Whale Rider' by Jo McCarroll, Independent Newspapers Limited.

Stuff/Sunday Star Times 20/06/04 'Film: Point of impact' by Nick Ward, Section Escape.

Stuff/The Dominion Post 28/11/03 "Frodo Economy' brings gold to capital' by Roeland Van Den Bergh, Fairfax New Zealand Ltd, section Local News.

Stuff/The Evening Post 13/12/00 'Copyright claims overridden by street shots', Independent Newspapers Limited section Lord of the Rings.

Stuff/The Press 19/05/01 'Magic in the making', Independent Newspapers Limited, section Gardening.

Stuff/The Press 15/12/01 ' Sit back and enjoy it', Independent Newspapers Limited, section Opinion.

Stuff/The Southland Times 15/01/02 'NZ cashes in on Lord of the Rings blockbuster' by Sue Fea, Independent Newspapers Limited.

Stuff/The Southland Times 05/11/03 ' Telling our own stories', Fairfax New Zealand Ltd, section Opinion.

Stuff/Waikato Times 21/06/03 'There's more to it than a whale tale' by Mark Houlahan, section Opinion.

Sunday Star Times 30/09/01 'Whale ride for Hollywood producer' by Robyn McLean, edition A, page 6, section News -- National.

Sunday Star Times 24/03/02 ' Crowe flies in -- but just for cocktails' by Sarah Catherall, Edition A, page 1, section News -- International.

Sunday Star Times 22/09/02 'Riding a wave of triumph' by Sarah Stuart, Edition A, page 11, section Features -- General.

The Dominion 26/08/98 'Jackson scores 'the holy Grail of cinema" by Mike Houlahan, Edition 2, page 11, section Features -- General -- Filmmaking, Films.

The Dominion 07/12/01 'Rings frenzy focuses British on New Zealand', Edition 2, page 17, section News -- National.

The Evening Post 01/01/01 'The Year Of Our Lord', Edition 3, page 14, section Features – General.

The Evening Post 15/12/01 'Thank You Peter Jackson', open letter from five Wellington City Council mayors, page 26.

The Gisborne Herald 01/11/01 'Whale Rider brings bucks: filmmaking opens opportunities' by Kristine Walsh, page 2, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 24/11/01 "Looking fantastic ...' Film fund chairman reassured by scene visit ' by Kristine Walsh, page 3, section News.

The Gisborne Herald Bulletin 19/09/02 'Whale Rider a winner', page 2, section bulletin board.

The Gisborne Herald 17/01/03 'Be in early for city premiere', page 2, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 28/01/03 'PM thinks Whale Rider 'is simply outstanding", page 3, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 29/01/03 'Gisborne premiere follows many others', page 3, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 30/01/03a 'Cheers greet Paikea's film' by Kristine Walsh, page 1.

The Gisborne Herald 30/01/03b 'Whale Rider belongs to Coast' by Kristine Walsh page 2, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 13/02/03 'Paikea's movie is No.1' by Kristine Walsh, page 2, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 15/05/03 'Whale Rider hits No 2 in Australia' by Kristine Walsh, page 2, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 09/06/03 'Film is lauded in US' by Kristine Walsh, page 2, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 02/07/03a 'District unveiled on world stage: Whale Rider publicity plus' by Kristine Walsh, page 25, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 02/07/03b 'Whale Rider fact file ...', page 25, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 17/07-23/07/03 'Local lad applauded at big London launch', page 18, section The Guide -- Film.

The Gisborne Herald 30/08/03 'Whale Rider movie putting region on the map says Minister', page 1.

The Gisborne Herald 09/12/03 'Accolade for Mana: Whale Rider cleans up at NZ film awards' by Kristine Walsh, page 1.

The Gisborne Herald 12/01/04 'Award boosts Whale Rider Oscar odds' by Kristine Walsh, page 1.

The Gisborne Herald 02/03/04 'Whangara holds its breath for Keisha' by Kristine Walsh, page 2, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 15/03/04 'District in the tourist media spotlight' by Lisa Mills, page 2, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 06/11/04 'Visiting travel agents to take a look over our tourist venues' by Lisa Mills, page 6, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 02/12-08/12/04 'Whale Rider confirmed as top performer', page 20, section The Guide -- Film.

The Gisborne Herald 29/01/05a 'Visitors feel 'unwelcome' in Whangara', page 3, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 29/01/05b 'Saddened elder says comments unwarranted', page 3, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 02/02/05a 'High on visitor priority list, but ...', page 14, section Opinion -- Letters to the Editor, by J. B.

The Gisborne Herald 02/02/05b 'Top marks to Whangara', page 14, section Opinion -- Letters to the Editor, by Martin Paukner.

The Gisborne Herald 03/02/05 'Whangara summer all hustle and bustle', page 10, section Opinion -- Letters to the Editor, by Mereana Whanarere.

The Gisborne Herald 07/02/05 'Whangara 'a part of NZ where I am not welcome", page 3, section News.

The Gisborne Herald 11/02/05 'Whangara is our world and our home', page 16, section Opinion -- Letters to the Editor, by Te Hamua Nikora.

The Gisborne Herald 18/02/05 'Whangara shines for the right people', page 16, section Opinion -- Letters to the Editor, by Denise Reid.

The Gisborne Herald 21/04/05 'District put on show for overseas travel agents' by Lisa Mills, page 4, section Family Notices, News.

The Gisborne Herald 17/06/05 'Tourism moves beyond haka and hangi', page 12, section Business.

The National Business Review 21/11/03 'Tourism looks set to outstrip dairy' by Nick Smith, page 1-2.

The Press 21/01/02 'Ring attracts more tourists' by John Henzell, Edition 2, page 18, section News -- International.

Waikato Times 29/10/01 'Precious holes in the ground', Edition 2, page 6, section Features -- Editorial.

Waikato Times 13/12/01 'Ringing endorsement' by Mary Anne Gill, Edition 2, page 15, section Business.

9.3 IMDB references

aileenew 08/06/05 'Re: Do all new zealanders speak perfect english?', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread Do all new zealanders speak perfect english?, www.IMDB.com, accessed 25/01/06.

ceinwynstarr 08/01/05 'Re: OVER RATED!', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread OVER RATED!, www.imdb.com, accessed 25/01/06.

fusion_muse 18/03/05 'Re: Do all new zealanders speak perfect english?', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread Do all new zealanders speak perfect english?, www.IMDB.com, accessed 25/01/06.

goshen-1 15/01/06 'Re: OVER RATED!', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread OVER RATED!, www.imdb.com, accessed 25/01/06.

howcaniturnaway 06/01/06 'Re: OVER RATED!', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread OVER RATED!, www.imdb.com, accessed 25/01/06.

IslandBoi 13/01/05 'Re: OVER RATED!', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread OVER RATED!, www.imdb.com, accessed 25/01/06.

leonienz 09/03/05 ' Re: Do all new zealanders speak perfect english?', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread Do all new zealanders speak perfect english?, www.IMDB.com, accessed 25/01/06.

Lily Potter 21/01/05 'Re: OVER RATED!', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread OVER RATED!, www.imdb.com, accessed 25/01/06

Poisonthewell 14/01/05 'Re: OVER RATED!', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread OVER RATED!, www.imdb.com, accessed 25/01/06

Stan_cooksJ 23/07/05 'How do you pronounce Maori?', IMDB message boards: Whale Rider (2002), thread Do all new zealanders speak perfect english?, www.IMDB.com, accessed 25/01/06.

Zwelling, R.c.2002-2005 'WHALE RIDER **** (out of ****) a film review by Richard A. Zwelling', IMDB newsgroup reviews for Whale Rider (2002), www.IMDB.com/reviews/352/35227, accessed 27/01/06.