



Resource Community Formation and Change

**A Case Study of
Moeraki**

**James Baines
Wayne McClintock**

Working Paper No. 25

March 2000

TAYLOR BAINES

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By

James Baines

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Taylor Baines & Associates

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ISSN 1176-3515

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INTRODUCTION

This paper reports the findings of a case study of Moeraki. It is one of a series of three case studies of fishing communities in New Zealand that are part of a project entitled “Resource Community Formation and Change” which has been funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology¹. The other case studies of fishing communities in this series are Riverton (WP 24) and Havelock (WP 26).

A variety of research methods were used in this case study which primarily focuses on the history of Moeraki and Hampden² since the early 1970's. These methods included an analysis of census statistics, a review of published documents about the town and fishing sector, and five days of interviews in Moeraki, Hampden and Oamaru during October and November 1999.

The work provides a stronger conceptual and empirical basis for social assessment and resource planning in New Zealand, especially in rural communities that depend directly on the primary production or processing of natural resources. The findings from the analysis of the three communities in the fishing sector will be added to those from communities based on the forestry, mining, agriculture, energy and tourism sectors, to develop an improved understanding of the processes of community formation and change in these types of communities.

THE FISHING INDUSTRY IN NORTH OTAGO

Since 1980 the fishing industry in New Zealand has grown from a coastal fishery into a major export earning sector with a deep sea orientation, and a substantial production of shellfish and rock lobster³. The sector concentrates on the harvesting and marketing of fresh seafood rather than on processing seafood products. About 85 percent of New Zealand's production is exported. The 1990's has been a decade when the sector's harvesting capacity has begun to threaten the industry's survival. Some New Zealand fisheries are in danger of being fished beyond their sustainable levels of harvest. Some of them are vulnerable to natural events such as the toxic algal bloom that severely affected the mussel industry in 1993 and 1994, while others suffered collapses, such as the rock lobster fishery in various areas around New Zealand, and the orange roughy fisheries off the Chatham Rise (Le Heron, 1996: 154).

The fishing industry represented at Moeraki has always been limited to small-boat operations, due to the limitations of the port and its infrastructure. Nevertheless, the local fishing industry at Moeraki has brought wealth and vitality to the area in times past, witnessing at one time the largest landings of rock lobster around the Otago coast. However, the failure of that fishery and the impacts of fishing industry re-structuring and the introduction of the Quota Management System have combined to virtually eliminate traditional commercial fishing activity out of the port by the year 2000.

¹ Contract TBA 801. For further information on the research project contact Taylor Baines & Associates (PO Box 8620, Christchurch or by email: n_taylor@tba.co.nz).

² Although Moeraki and Hampden are two geographically distinct settlements, they are two interdependent communities whose economies are closely linked. Thus we frequently discuss the social and economic dimensions of the community at Hampden during this case study of Moeraki.

³ For a comprehensive review of the development of the fishing industry in New Zealand see Baines (1999).

MOERAKI AND HAMPDEN - THEIR EARLY HISTORY & DEVELOPMENT

Moeraki, a small port in North Otago, has been described as “the second-oldest continuously-occupied settlement in modern Otago and one of the earliest in New Zealand” (McLean, 1986: 14). It has been a base for the fishing industry since the 19th century. A short distance to the north of Moeraki is the township of Hampden which is located 34 kilometres south of Oamaru on state highway 1.

Maori occupied the Moeraki Peninsula, on an itinerant basis, from the 13th century. After moa numbers began to decline in the area, Maori fished the waters off Moeraki for ling, red cod and barracouta. (McLean, 1986: 12).

European settlement began at Moeraki on Boxing day in 1836 when John Hughes led a whaling party ashore to establish a station. Shortly after the arrival of the whalers, a group of Ngai Tahu came from Kaiapoi and established a permanent settlement at Moeraki.

Whaling was the main economic activity for the following decade (1837-1846), but the number of whales taken and oil processed fell steadily after 1838. When whaling ceased at Moeraki (around 1847) many of the whalers drifted away to Dunedin and Oamaru. Six families stayed at Moeraki, and they made their living from fishing, and farming small plots of land (McLean, 1986: 14, 18, 23). While maori occupation of Moeraki goes back much earlier - there used to be a fortified pa on Katiki Point - close links have existed between maori and pakeha families since the pakeha whalers arrived in 1836 - links forged through inter-marriage. The earliest permanent maori settlements were on reserve areas at the two kaiks on the peninsula. The pakeha settlers established a village at Onekakara, on the northern side of the peninsula, the site of the present village of Moeraki.

The original settlement at Hampden was named Bagdad Bush by John Hughes, a whaler, who had moved there from Moeraki after receiving a land grant of 8½ hectares. The settlement was renamed after the first sections were sold in 1861, and it was proclaimed a borough on 8th September 1879. The first meeting of the Borough Council occurred in the following month (Hampden School Jubilee Committee, 1989: 3).

Moeraki remained an isolated community of subsistence farmers and fishers until the demands of the Dunedin market led to the growing of crops on a commercial basis. It was the main port of north Otago until 1879 when Oamaru took over the coastal trade. The latter harbour had acquired steam cranes and built strong wharves by that date, while the branch railway to Moeraki had been dismantled because of slippages (McLean, 1986: 26, 39 & 41). Thus Moeraki lost the opportunity to become the service centre of the district. It was cut off from Hampden, and other inland settlements, because of the unreliability of its road, and it became more reliant on the resources of the sea rather than those of the land (*ibid*: 43).

Moeraki's tourist potential, with its fine scenery and sheltered outlook, was unlocked by the advent of the railway during the 1870's. By the 1890's it was a favourite destination for picnic parties from Oamaru which travelled by rail to Hillgrove. Salt-water baths were opened in 28 December 1888, and attracted a slowly declining patronage until 1912 when its walls were breached by the sea (McLean, 1986: 53-54).

Moeraki became the leading fishing port of North Otago during the 1890's. The fishing fleet based at the port grew from five vessels in 1892 to 38 in 1898, while the number of fishers increased from 13 to 72 over the same period. Almost everyone at the settlement depended on the fishing industry to some extent for their livelihood. A fish-freezing works was established at Moeraki in 1895, and together with a faster train service, allowed fish to be sent to the Oamaru and Dunedin markets (McLean, 1986: 56).

Fishing and small-scale farming were the main economic activities at Moeraki during the first two decades of the 20th century. Many residents grew vegetables and kept at least one cow. Most of the milk was kept for domestic use, although several farmers earned a cash income by sending their surplus milk to a nearby

creamery, and in later years to the Taieri and Peninsula Milk Production plants at Oamaru and Dunedin (McLean, 1986: 60). This practice of combining fishing with small-scale farming continued into the middle decades of the century, but government regulations hindered residents from further developing their agricultural activities as they were not permitted to sell eggs or milk when their livestock was unregistered.

As inter-marriage took place, the maori women moved to join their pakeha husbands in Onekakara. Around the turn of the century, more maori families began to move into Moeraki (Onekakara) from the Kaik. The original marae followed from the Kaik to its hill-top site some time in the 1920s and 30s. The separation no longer made sense, since travel was by horse or foot.

By the 1930's the fleet at Moeraki had fallen slightly to 34 vessels. The main species harvested by the fleet were groper and blue cod. In 1935 the National Mortgage and Agency Company of NZ Ltd (NMA) took over the packing plant (formerly owned by Edmonstons) at Moeraki. The company guaranteed to take the entire catch of the fishers working for it. Previously, fishers at the port had difficulties disposing of their catch as slow transit times by rail often resulted in the fish being spoilt before it reached the market in Christchurch (McLean, 1986: 64, 66).

For a very long time, Moeraki evolved as a very insular community. In the early 1960s, the first influx of newcomers arrived, coinciding with the tar-sealing of the gravel road, planting of exotic trees and maintaining the grass cut short in the public reserves areas. There were several boarding houses in the village - to accommodate visitors from Dunedin on weekend trips - the fore-runner of local tourism. At this time, Moeraki was served by a railway station (covered goods shed) at Hillgrove, which had become something of a local meeting place, when collecting supplies from town.

Runaka and marae activity re-emerged in the years after the depression and the war, but the focus changed during the 1950s and 60s as individuals and individual families became pre-occupied with their own busyness. Some maori families had not returned to Moeraki after the war; the marae focus diminished; its use limited to more formal occasions such as tangi and runaka meetings.

The feature of the last forty years for the fishing industry at Moeraki has been the growing importance of rock lobster (crayfish). Fluctuating catch levels for rock lobster, however, have led fishers at Moeraki to diversify their operations; with some catching tuna off the West Coast and others fishing for squid. The monopoly of packing and processing at Moeraki held by the old NMA (latterly Wrightson NMA) lasted until the late 1960's when Skeggs Foods Ltd from Dunedin built a new packing shed. The 1970s and 80s were the heyday for Moeraki fishing and community; most of the original families were still there, and there had been much inter-marriage since. In the 1980's Skeggs took over the premises of Wrightson NMA after Fletcher Challenge Ltd consolidated its fish processing activities at Dunedin (McLean, 1986: 81, 84-85). These processing facilities, however, have since been closed.

As the number of traditional fishing boats operating out of Moeraki over the last decade declined to its present level (about six operating), new ventures have begun to capitalise on the tourism potential of the Moeraki peninsula. These focus particularly on the growing numbers of backpackers and Free-and-Independent Travellers (FITs) coming to this country, and the increasing interest in eco-tourism. A restaurant has been established near the famous Moeraki boulders, motels have been opened at the settlement, and two local operators are chartering vessels to recreational fishers. Moreover, there are considerable numbers of pleasure boats using the port; with 10 to 12 vessels reported there every weekend, and up to 80 at Easter and other holiday periods. The camping ground has recently upgraded its facilities, as a result of the new reticulated sewerage services installed in 1999, so that further growth in visitor numbers is in prospect. These developments have supported the local economy at a time when declining catches of rock lobster have affected the financial viability of commercial fishers operating out of the port.

Some of those interviewed emphasised that these recent developments were the result of local initiatives taken over a period when central government has retreated from active involvement in regional development (the 1990s).

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

Demographic characteristics

The number of people residing at Moeraki rose from 87 to 96 (10 per cent) over the decade from 1986⁴ (see Table 1). Moeraki had a spurt of population growth between 1986 and 1991 that was followed by a period of decline during the first half of the 1990's.

The population of Hampden grew from 275 to 306 (11 per cent) over the 1976-1996 period (see Table 1). There was a period of growth between 1981 and 1991, which was particularly strong during the latter half of the decade. Since then Hampden's population has declined by nearly four per cent.

Table 1: Moeraki and Hampden - changes in the usually resident population

Census Year	Hampden		Moeraki		New Zealand	
	No. of Persons	% change in pop	No. of Persons	% change in pop	No. of Persons	% change in pop
1976	275	-			3,098,900	-
1981	255	-7.3			3,143,307	1.4
1986	270	5.6	87	-	3,263,283	3.8
1991	318	17.8	105	20.7	3,373,929	3.4
1996	306	-3.8	96	-8.6	3,618,302	7.2

Source: New Zealand Census 1976-1996

Half of Hampden's residents in 1996 (see Table 2) reported that they were living in the township five years before, and a further 27 per cent had moved there from other parts of Otago.

Table 2: Place of residence of Usually Resident Population of Hampden - five years before 1996

Place of residence	Hampden Per cent of Population
Same usual address	50.0
Same territorial authority	9.4
Same regional council, different territorial authority	17.7
Different regional council, same Island	7.3
Different regional council, different Island	2.1
Not specified - New Zealand	11.4
Overseas	2.1
Total number of Persons	288

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

⁴

Wherever possible we use census data for both Moeraki and Hampden during the case study. When certain statistics for Moeraki (e.g. age, sex and place of residence five years before) are unavailable, however, we use those for Hampden as part of our discussion. The usually resident population and other statistics for Moeraki were obtained by combining data from mesh block numbers 2835401 and 2835402 in Supermap 3.

The age-sex structure of Hampden's population in 1996 (see Table 3) was markedly different from the national population. The township had a higher dependency ratio (0.57 cf. 0.53 for NZ) than the country as a whole. It had relatively more residents aged 65 years and over, and relatively fewer children aged 14 years and under. Furthermore, the imbalance between females and males in the township's population (a M/F sex ratio of 0.94 cf. 0.97) was more pronounced than the national pattern.

Table 3: Age-sex structure of the population of Hampden 1996

	Hampden		New Zealand	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
% 0 - 14 years	16.3	11.5	24.1	22.0
% 15 - 64 years	59.2	67.3	65.7	65.0
% 65 years & over	24.5	21.2	10.3	13.1
Total Number of Persons	147	156	1,777,464	1,840,839

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Social characteristics

Census statistics also reveal significant social characteristics of the populations of Moeraki and Hampden. Table 4 reveals that over half of the families resident in Moeraki (55 per cent cf. 37 per cent for NZ) and Hampden (60 per cent) in 1996 were of the couple only type, and that both settlements had relatively fewer one- and two-parent families in their populations.

Table 4: Family Types in Moeraki and Hampden 1996

Family Type	per cent of families		
	Hampden	Moeraki	New Zealand
One parent family	10.0	18.2	17.7
Two parent family	30.0	27.3	44.9
Couple only	60.0	54.5	37.3
Total number of families	90	33	949,497

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

The high proportions of residents aged 15 years and over in Moeraki (47 per cent) and Hampden (48 per cent) without educational qualifications in 1996 (see Table 5), together with other data relating to household incomes and income support that are examined later in this paper, indicate that the residents of both settlements are relatively disadvantaged when compared with the national population.

Table 5: Highest educational qualifications held by the residents of Moeraki and Hampden - 1996

Highest educational qualification	per cent of residents		
	Hampden	Moeraki	New Zealand
University & other tertiary	12.4	23.3	25.8
Secondary	15.7	13.3	26.5
No qualifications	48.3	46.7	32.2

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

INDUSTRY, WORK AND OCCUPATIONS

A profile of the fishing industry at Moeraki since 1960

The fishing fleet based at Moeraki in the 1950's and early 1960's predominantly harvested groper, although other species such as blue cod and rock lobster were also caught. At that time the value of rock lobster was low, and it did not become a valuable species until it was harvested for export during the 1960's. The 1960's were a boom period for fishers harvesting from the rock lobster fishery off the Otago coast, and since then the species has provided the bulk of the income for fishers based at Moeraki. Other species are viewed as an adjunct to the main activity as catches of wet fish fetch lower prices than those of rock lobster. Moreover, wet fish are more difficult to land at Moeraki as the port lacks the facilities to bring ashore the large volumes required to secure a worthwhile financial return to operators. Since Skeggs Foods Ltd has closed its packing shed, there has been a very limited infrastructure to service the small fleet that operates out the port - a holding tank for live rock lobster and a freezer for wet fish. A truck comes every day or two from Dunedin or Oamaru to collect catches held in these facilities for further processing.

The tonnage of rock lobster landed each year at Moeraki has fluctuated widely over the last 25 years. Table 6, for instance, reveals that although some 120 tonnes of the species were landed in 1974, 1978 and 1979, the catch declined substantially in other years during the 1974 to 1982 period.

Table 6: *Fish landings at Moeraki 1974-82: main species (in tonnes)*

Species	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Blue Cod	30	29	55	5	24	13	44	28	21
Hapuku, bass	6	16	8	4	2	-	-	2	1
Moki (blue)	1	1	1	4	29	-	-	3	7
<i>Total fish</i>	40	65	67	21	85	36	54	72	67
Rock lobsters	119	93	62	53	122	120	83	72	28
Paua	-	-	2	-	0	0	5	10	12
Squid	0	0	0	0	28	16	-	45	1
<i>Total crustacea & shellfish</i>	121	95	66	55	152	140	90	133	43

Source: Fisheries Research, Ministry of Agriculture & Fisheries cited by McLean (1986: 82).

The population of rock lobster in the Otago fishery are affected by the mass emigrations of the species. There were emigrations of rock lobster in 1982-1983 and 1993, and since then there has been no significant recruitment of new rock lobster to the population of the fishery. After 1993 the volume of the rock lobster catch dropped away, although prices strengthened with the introduction of live exports. As Table 7 shows the decline of the rock lobster fishery reduced the number of registered fishing vessels at Moeraki from 36 in 1976 to 15 in 1997. Several local members of the fishing industry suggested that even these low numbers of vessels over-represented the actual level of fishing effort now. It is important to note that the decline during the 1990s has not been caused by over-fishing. Rather it is the result of unexplained natural recruitment failures in the biological stocks around the Moeraki coast. There are now fewer than ten boats operating from the port, and one of our informants observed that only about half of them are adequately maintained as the remaining operators are not earning sufficient income to fund their costs of maintenance and asset replacement. A local fisher, we interviewed, commented that the income generated from the small craft which operate out of Moeraki is insufficient to support two families from one vessel. Some fishers have consolidated their operations onto fewer boats, while others have based their vessels at other ports such as Oamaru, Port Chalmers, and Bluff. Other experienced fishers have sold their boats and are without jobs, although their knowledge and skills may eventually prove useful for the charter operations from the port that have been established for recreational fishers.

Table 7: *Registered fishing vessels at Moeraki 1976-1997*

Year	Number of fishing vessels
1976	36
1980	37
1984	26
1997	15

Source: Ministry of Agriculture & Fisheries. The data for 1976 to 1984 were cited in Boyce *et al.* 1986:33, and the data for 1997 in Baines 1999: 23.

The fishing fleet has been comprised predominately of owner-operated small vessels plying inshore fisheries. Sometimes fishing companies such as Skeggs Foods Ltd, NMA, and Otakou, have introduced boats to the fleet based at Moeraki (e.g. during the rock lobster boom) that have also operated off the Fiordland coast and at the Chatham Islands. Nowadays, there are numerous pressures on owner-operators of small fishing craft as the development of the industry seems to be focussing on companies that have purchased large amounts of quota.

State regulation of the industry

During the post war era the government regulation of the fishing industry appeared very arbitrary to fishers. All vessels were required to land their catches at their port of registration even if they had to by pass processing facilities at other ports on their return from a fishing ground. There were also restrictions on the engine size of vessels. Boats operating from Moeraki were restricted to 50 hp engines, for instance, while vessels based at Oamaru were permitted engines up to 75 hp, and those at Port Chalmers up to 200 hp. It had always been difficult for new entrants to get into commercial fishing at Moeraki. As noted in the introduction, Moeraki is a relatively difficult place to survive in fishing because of its lack of infrastructure as well as the disadvantages imposed by regulation or competition from other ports around the country.

After deregulation in 1966, New Zealand's fisheries all round the coast became open access fisheries, and anyone who purchased a boat could harvest fish. While this regime prevailed between 1966 and 1979, the number of boats based at Moeraki nearly doubled. The government reintroduced controls in 1979, and a moratorium was introduced on new licences. This moratorium began the process of capitalisation of the New Zealand fishing industry as fish stocks began to have capital value for harvesters, particularly the major companies, as access controls restricted new entrants to the industry. When the quota management system (QMS) was introduced in the late 1980's, the major companies purchased as much quota as they could (an increasingly scarce resource) even selling their vessels to do so (more boats can always be bought), while many owner-operators of smaller boats did not realise the importance of holding quota. Some fishers based at Moeraki, for example, sold their quota of rock lobster to Ngai Tahu Fisheries which packs the catch for live export in Dunedin.

The QMS controls activities in New Zealand's fisheries by imposing catch limits, and regulating the methods, areas, and timing of those activities. Every year the Ministry of Fisheries assesses the total allowable commercial catch (TACC) for a species, and adjusts the TACC in the form of individual transferable quota (ITQ) held by the fishing operators. The ITQ is a tradeable property right that permits operators to harvest a quantity of a particular species within an area designated by the Crown (Le Heron, 1996: 155).

Prior to the introduction of the QMS, the stocks of groper, cod, and rock lobster off North Otago had been seriously depleted. Although the QMS has allowed wet fish stocks to recover and be harvested on a sustainable basis, it has had a number of significant effects on other aspects of the operations of the industry. Poor catches of rock lobster in the 1990's exacerbated the financial viability of many owner-operators based at Moeraki, who sold off their quota to fund their fishing activities and maintain their boats, without realising that their decision to sell quota was effectively irreversible - they had relinquished their most valuable asset.

This situation has been compounded by reductions in the TACC of rock lobster in CRA7 (Otago) over the last decade from 179 tonnes for 1990-1991 to 139 tonnes for 1999-2000. In the past two years, the fishery has been under pressure as rock lobster has comprised only 25 to 30 per cent of the total catch landed at Moeraki when it normally would be expected to account for about 70 per cent of the catch. The combined effect of these factors has been to drive up the price of rock lobster quota from \$28 per kilogram in 1991 to \$65-70 per kilogram in 1999. These high prices for quota make it difficult for young fishers to enter the industry.

The administration of the QMS has required fishers to document their catch, to incur additional administrative expenses, and to change some of their harvesting activities. Individual operators have also experienced financial pressures resulting from recent increases in regulatory costs including the levies remitted to the Ministry of Fisheries and the fees paid (e.g. for an annual survey) to other government agencies, with the result that some of them have sold off quota to meet their levies.

Another effect of the implementation of the QMS has been the difficulties of avoiding by-catch within 20 miles of the Otago coast where there are so many overlapping species. The 'deemed values' at which the government purchases the by-catch are so low that fishers often incur a debt by bringing the by-catch into port.

Another major issue for fishers based at Moeraki is that of access to the wet fish stocks off the Otago coast. Some of them have sold their quota to major companies, such as Ngai Tahu Fisheries and Sanford Ltd, which make financial returns from both the ownership and processing of particular species, while lease-dependent fishers generate revenue only from their harvesting activities. Leaseholders pay the companies a rental for the quota, whether they catch the limit or not, and this has placed some of them under additional financial pressure. Fishers who own some quota are in a better position than those who are totally lease-reliant however, as they have some leverage to buy or lease other quota and can choose the processing company to which they sell their catch.

Now there are about 5-6 families who remain active in commercial fishing - there is a tendency to have two boats; one dedicated to lobster fishing and the second for netting and lining - some of these boats are no longer domiciled at Moeraki; they go where the fishing is better. Those who remain viable in fishing have either (i) retained their quota or a substantial part of it, or (ii) when they sold their quota to companies like Pacifica, Ngai Tahu Fisheries or Deep Cove, were able to negotiate on-going arrangements for leasing quota so that their assets (boats, farms, houses) were debt-free and they were able to provide catching capacity in return.

Changes in catch technologies and fishing methods

The first fishing vessels used at Moeraki during the 19th century were rowboats and sail-assisted dinghies. Sailing craft restricted the ability of fishers to operate in unfavourable weather conditions, but the fitting of oil engines to fishing vessels at the beginning of the 20th century transformed the industry by opening up more of the coastline and reducing some of its hazards. Over the next 50 years the vessels became larger and more seaworthy, while the addition of radios, echo sounders and radars since 1950 has improved their efficiency (McLean, 1986: 54, 58 & 82).

The introduction of the electronic devices described above, and satellite navigation systems (GPS) broke the historic pattern of fathers transmitting fishing skills to their sons as these technologies diminished the importance of local knowledge, intuition, and experience in locating a catch. Newcomers to a fishery who have the appropriate equipment can now map the localities where other fishers harvest their catch. Other improvements to winching gear, ropes and floats, and the introduction of self-baiting lines have also increased the efficiency of fishing operations.

McLean (1986: 83) observes that the nature of the fishing vessels based at Moeraki during the last three decades of the 20th century is very different in character from those operating earlier in the century:

“....since the late 1960s there has been a pronounced swing away from the narrow-beamed boats of the past to the beamy planing craft which make an increasing proportion of the modern fleet. These new craft provide much steadier working platforms than their canoe-hulled predecessors. They are also much faster. Whereas the old boats chugged out to the fishing grounds at a sedate eight or nine knots, modern boats can power their way through the water at 16-18 knots. Thus they are able to get around more pots in a few hours than their predecessors would have accomplished in a full working day. Fitted out with derricks and small winches to handle the large wooden and steel-framed craypots now favoured they are extremely capable little vessels if somewhat expensive. A new boat can cost anything up to \$250,000.”

The fleet at Moeraki comprises mainly small craft with a crew of two persons. These boats are very suitable for discrete fisheries such as rock lobster, flat fish and inshore reef fish (e.g. blue cod) which are inaccessible to the larger vessels that harvest the deep water fisheries. As vessels become more powerful there is a trend for them no longer to be domiciled in one port as they can harvest the quota of a particular species over a wider geographical area. Furthermore, the younger generation of fishers from Moeraki are gradually moving into deep water fishing where prospects appear more favourable, and skills have value internationally. This makes for a much more itinerant work-style.

Nowadays, operators fish most of the year round on their own quota, and quota which they are able to lease from other owners. Sometimes fishers may fill their quota for a particular species within a few weeks so their work may be sporadic. There has never been any union activity in the fishing industry at Moeraki, and fishers generally receive a share of the catch made by their vessels.

Fishers employ a range of methods that vary according to the species of their catch. One fisher, for instance, observed that he usually catches rock lobster between May and October, and then harvests other species from November to April.

Before the QMS was introduced in 1987 stocks of rock lobster, groper, and cod had become depleted. Most fishers were using pots to harvest rock lobster and blue cod, while employing set nets to catch other species. Since then fishers operating out of Moeraki have widened the range of species they harvest, sometimes travelling long distances outside their traditional fishing grounds to catch squid and tuna. Thus they have learned a wider range of fishing methods, and gained experience in deep water fisheries. Furthermore, the present fishing fleet based at Moeraki consists of greater proportions of trawlers and multi-purpose boats (i.e. trawl, pot and set net) compared to the period prior to the QMS when vessels operating out of the port were equipped for catching a narrower range of species.

The Moeraki Fishermans Association

The Moeraki Fishermans Association (MFA) was formed about forty years ago as a branch of the New Zealand Fishermans Federation. All fishers based at Moeraki belong to the MFA through which they have a share in the port's infrastructure such as the boat ramp, slipway and the wharf. Members of the various local associations around the coast provide services to a national communications network (VHF radio) by sharing local weather information, and keeping in touch with boats in passage. This radio service is not exclusive to fishers, but most people who use it have links to the industry. The MFA previously provided a “*send off*” for fishers who were leaving the community, but no longer does so as it makes it too difficult for them to return to Moeraki. It also supplies wreaths and makes arrangements for the funerals of fishers.

Recreational fishing charters

A recent innovation in the industry at Moeraki has been the development of chartering operations to cater for a growing demand from recreational fishers. A family partnership pioneered one of these ventures at the port three years ago. It converted a commercial fishing boat to charter survey standard by equipping it with additional safety gear. The customers come from Otago and Canterbury and are taken to the inshore fishery on the weekends to catch blue cod and groper. Yet the operators point out that two days of charter activity per week are insufficient to ensure the financial viability of this venture, and are looking to expand their charter operations to weekdays. The relatively healthy state of the inshore fisheries compared, for example, with cod fishing at Banks Peninsula or the Marlborough Sounds, suggests that there is scope for considerable growth in this commercial form of recreational fishing. Already, charter fishing activities are beginning to generate important flow-on benefits to the local economy in terms of demand for accommodation, food and beverage consumption.

REGIONAL AND LOCAL ECONOMIES

The regional economy

The people of North Otago are highly dependent on the agricultural sector for their economic well-being. The removal of agricultural subsidies during the mid 1980's, and a sequence of droughts in the 1990's has stifled economic growth in the region. Many farms in the Waianakarua area have been amalgamated to form larger units, with the result that a number of enterprises providing services to these farms have either closed or reduced the scale of their operations. There is a forest at Herbert which was first milled in 1981. The logs from the forest were delivered to sawmills at Palmerston, Herbert, Windsor, Waimate and Studholme by a contractor based in Hampden, but nowadays they are trucked to Port Chalmers and Timaru by a company based in Methven. The sawmill at Windsor has been closed, while the Herbert mill only processes small quantities of logs sourced from private lots on farms.

Oamaru is the regional service centre for the agricultural industry and rural townships of North Otago, and is also a fishing port. It has a wide range of retail shops that attract the custom of residents of its rural hinterland.

The local economy of Moeraki and Hampden

Moeraki has never had a population base of sufficient size to support even a small number of retail shops. Fifty years ago residents relied on the weekly visits of two grocers, two butchers and a draper based in Hampden to meet their needs. Nowadays many of them shop at national retail outlets in Oamaru, although several families still buy their groceries from the only local store at the motor camp. The nearest banks for residents of Moeraki and Hampden were at Palmerston, but the two branches there have been closed so they also have to travel to Oamaru for financial services.

Neither are there any firms based in Moeraki that either process fish or provide services to the industry. Formerly, there were packing facilities, but they are now closed and the catch is taken to Oamaru or Dunedin for processing. Although there is an electrician based in Moeraki, the services of other trades people such as plumbers and builders are available in the district between Shag Point and Maheno. More specialised skills for boat maintenance etc. may have to be obtained from as far afield as Oamaru and Dunedin, however, and this can add about a hundred dollars in travelling time to the cost of a job.

During the rock lobster boom, fishers were noted for being “flush with cash in their pockets” and spending generously at local outlets in Hampden.

Now, Moeraki has a range of other economic activities that do not seem to have close links with the commercial fishing industry. They include a motor camp, motels, a restaurant near the famous Moeraki Boulders, an importer and distributor of orthodontist consumables; and a firm that combines R & D services for customised, small-scale distillery equipment. The motor camp, motels and restaurant at Moeraki, and other firms providing food and accommodation in Hampden, however, have benefited from the development of Moeraki as a base for recreational fishing and the nationwide promotion of the Moeraki Boulders as a tourist destination which currently attracts about 400,000 visitors per year⁵. The nearby restaurant is particularly busy from the middle of November to May when up to 18 buses a day may stop there. Many of the patrons of the motor camp (now about 12,000 bed/nights per year) and the motels are New Zealanders who bring their boats for two to five days of fishing. The two charter operators with their parties of recreational fishers also help to generate custom for the food and accommodation sector in Moeraki and Hampden.

Hampden's business sector is also limited in scale. A school jubilee publication (Hampden School Jubilee Committee, 1989: 6-7), for instance, lists the following firms as operating in the township during the 1980's: the Hilltop Store; Hampden Takeaways - a fast food outlet; a grocery with petrol pump; the Hampden Garage, six motel units; the Hampden Tavern; and Hampden Transport. Most of these firms remain today. Much of the income of these firms comes from passing motorists who purchase fuel, food and refreshments. Over recent years the occupancy rate of the motels has grown steadily from the patronage of recreational fishers, people breaking their journeys between Christchurch and Dunedin, and visitors from overseas. The Hampden Garage services the farm machinery and fishing boats of local residents, but the volume of work from agriculture has fluctuated with the droughts, and the turnover generated by fishing has declined since the early 1990's. Many locals only make incidental purchases at the stores in Hampden as they prefer procuring their major items in Oamaru.

The Moeraki Promotions (Recreation & Heritage) Group (MAPG) was formed some years ago by local community enthusiasts. It has established two heritage trails, one at Moeraki in 1993 and another at Herbert in 1999, and collaborates with Tourism Waitaki and Tourism Dunedin to attract visitors to the district. The MAPG's promotional activities have included the publication of a recipe book and information pamphlets for tourists, the opening of an internet site for tourism enterprises in the area, and the hosting of several tourism seminars. It has sought to upgrade local amenities by commissioning a mural of a seascape on a store at Hampden, and erecting signage at the entrances to Moeraki and Hampden. The MAPG has also acted as a channel to provide community input on issues such as new public toilets for Hampden, and Transit NZ's plans for reducing the speed of traffic through that township.

Employment and occupational status

Businesses based in Moeraki employ staff who reside in a variety of places in the district. The three most significant non-fishing businesses in or near Moeraki employ staff who live in Moeraki (6) and Hampden (10) but also in Palmerston (3), Oamaru (2), Kakanui (1) and Shag Point (1). Some residents of the district around Moeraki and Hampden, particularly women with qualifications who are returning to paid employment after raising a family, travel 45 minutes south to Dunedin for work.

A large number of residents were employed in activities beyond the boundaries of the Hampden in 1996 (see Table 8). Although the township had 87 residents in the labour force, only 36 persons reported that they actually worked there. The main sources of employment for residents of Hampden were the community/social/personal (24 per cent), agriculture/forestry/fishing (21 per cent), and wholesale/retail/hospitality (17 per cent) sectors. Workers in the township itself, however, were concentrated in just four sectors of the local economy: wholesale/retail/hospitality (33 per cent), community/social/personal (25 per cent), agriculture/ forestry/fishing (17 per cent), and transport/communication (17 per cent).

⁵

Estimated from the counter on the Department of Conservation's track at the Moeraki Boulders.

Table 8: Sectoral distribution of the workforce of Hampden - 1996

Sector	Residents of Hampden	Persons whose workplace is at Hampden	New Zealand Workforce
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	20.7	16.7	9.2
Mining	3.5	-	0.3
Manufacturing	10.3	-	14.3
Electricity/gas/water supply	-	-	0.5
Construction	3.5	-	5.8
Wholesale/retail/hospitality	17.2	33.3	22.3
Transport/communications	6.9	16.7	5.3
Financial/business	-	-	13.1
Community/social/personal	24.1	25.0	23.0
Total number of persons	87	36	1,630,812

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Residents of Moeraki (47 per cent) and Hampden (33 per cent) had lower participation rates in the labour force than the national population (59 per cent) in 1996. Moeraki's residents had a much lower rate of unemployment than the national average (3.9 per cent cf. 4.9 per cent), as Table 9 reveals, while the rate of unemployment among Hampden's residents (5.6 per cent) was higher than that of the country's workforce.

Table 9: Employment status of the residents of Moeraki and Hampden - 1996

	Wages & Salary %	Self Employed & Employer of others %	Unemployed %	Full-time %	Part-time %
Hampden	22.5	7.7	5.6	23.6	9.0
Moeraki	23.3	16.7	3.3	-	-
New Zealand (TLA)	43.5	11.0	4.9	45.0	13.6

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Note: Data were unavailable for full and part-time status for residents of Moeraki.

The workforces of Moeraki and Hampden had higher proportions of persons engaged in agriculture and fisheries occupations than was the case nationally in 1996 (see Table 10). People following sales and service occupations, moreover, comprised about a fifth of their workforces, and Moeraki had a greater proportion of high status white-collar workers than the national pattern.

Table 10: Occupational status of the workforces of Moeraki and Hampden - 1996

Occupational category	Hampden % of workforce	Moeraki % of workforce	New Zealand % of workforce
administrators/managers	7.1	21.4	11.6
professionals & technicians	17.9	21.4	22.6
clerks	7.1	7.1	13.3
service/sales	21.4	21.4	13.9
agriculture & fisheries workers	17.9	14.3	9.4
trades workers/machine operators/elementary occupations	28.6	7.1	24.3
Total Number of Persons	84	42	1,630,812

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Note: (1) Occupational data was not available for Moeraki and Hampden in 1976. (2) The statistics may not accurately reflect the occupational composition of the workforce at Moeraki due to Statistics New Zealand protecting confidentiality by rounding counts in multiples of three.

Household incomes and welfare benefits

The household incomes of the residents of Moeraki and Hampden in 1996 were relatively low by national standards (see Table 11). Just over a third of Moeraki's households, and almost half of Hampden's households reported they had incomes of less than \$20,001 per annum (cf. 23 per cent for NZ), while only 17 per cent of the former's households and four per cent of the latter's households indicated they received incomes of over \$50,000 (cf. 27 per cent for NZ).

Table 11: Distribution of Household Incomes in Moeraki and Hampden - 1996

Household income range	per cent of households		
	Hampden	Moeraki	New Zealand
\$20,000 & under	48.9	35.4	22.9
\$20,001 - \$50,000	30.6	35.4	32.9
\$50,001 & over	4.1	17.7	27.1

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Census data regarding income support reinforce this picture of Moeraki and Hampden as relatively low-income communities which are heavily dependent on transfer payments from the government. The main forms of income support the residents of Moeraki received in 1996 were national superannuation (62 per cent of total benefits cf. 40 per cent for NZ) and the unemployment benefit (13 per cent of total benefits cf. 20 per cent for NZ). Fifty-eight per cent of Hampden's the residents (aged 15 years and over) received at least one form of income support in 1996 (cf. 35 per cent for NZ). The main forms of income support they received were national superannuation (47 per cent of total benefits cf. 40 per cent for NZ) and the unemployment benefit (23 per cent of total benefits cf. 20 per cent for NZ).

INFRASTRUCTURE AND AGENCIES

Local government and infrastructure

Before 1989 Moeraki and Hampden were under the jurisdiction of the Waitaki County Council. Waitaki County Council amalgamated with the Oamaru Borough Council to form the Waitaki District Council (WDC) which is based in Oamaru. The citizens of Moeraki and Hampden are represented by the Waihemo

Community Board and elect representatives of the Waihemo ward to the Waitaki District Council. Should they have any business to conduct with council officers they must travel either to Oamaru, or to the nearest service centre some 17km south of Moeraki at Palmerston.

The WDC is responsible for the water supply and the sewage treatment scheme at Moeraki. The piers, and other facilities, at the port are privately operated, and the WDC does not provide funds for their operation and maintenance.

The rural water scheme was established in the district during the early 1960's with the assistance of voluntary labour. It currently serves about 400 households in Moeraki, Hampden and their hinterland. It operates on a points scheme; with a point for households in the two settlements being the equivalent of 200 litres per day, and a point for rural households representing 300 to 400 litres per day. The water supply is drawn from the Big Kuri stream near Hampden, but has been seriously affected by a recent series of droughts in North Otago. In particular there have been shortages of water over the last two years as a consequence of higher draw-offs for gardens in the settlements and livestock on the farms.

The residents of Hampden continue to depend on septic tanks to dispose of their wastewater. Before the new wastewater treatment plant was opened at Moeraki in September 1999, households there also used septic tanks. The whole settlement of Moeraki is now reticulated, with the treated effluent being discharged into a stream which subsequently enters the bay at a point near the Moeraki Boulders. The scheme is operated by Whitestone Roding, a local authority trading enterprise, under contract to the WDC, and is monitored by independent consultants. Property owners incurred a connection cost of \$10,000 per section, and annual sewage rates of \$460, to fund the construction and operation of the plant, and some people have found it difficult to meet these costs. There was some friction within the community when the scheme was being publicly debated with two committees being established - one to support the proposal and the other to oppose it.

The divisions, or contrasting attitudes, apparent around the new sewerage system for the village have been seen before in Moeraki (as in other small communities) - old-timers who thought the septic tanks were fine, and did not like the cost or could not easily afford it, farmers near the site, crib owners and people with low incomes were against the scheme; newcomers or business people and residents wishing to subdivide their properties, or who took exception to the smell and water contamination were in favour of the scheme. Some supporters of the scheme claimed that it will provide opportunities for further development at Moeraki (e.g. the construction of holiday homes), but any assessment of its economic impact would be premature given that it has been in operation only for a short period.

Similar divisions occurred over the introduction of the Moeraki water supply in the 1960s, and more recently with the *mataita* proposal for managing some of the coastline. Perhaps this is a symptom of small community responses to sudden or significant change, apparently imposed from outside.

Moeraki and Hampden each have community halls. The hall at Moeraki was built in 1911, and five years ago it was refurbished with a grant from the Lotteries Commission. Residents use it occasionally for weddings and neighbourhood parties. The volunteer fire brigade at Hampden is funded by the WDC, although two of our informants consider its equipment to be inferior to that used by urban brigades.

The Resource Management Act and the fishing industry

A representative of the Moeraki Fisherman's Association observed that the Resource Management Act does not appear to have had a lot of impact on the activities of fishers based at the port. However, its implications may become more significant on the land, as Moeraki's commercial base goes through a transition from marine-based to land-based. Since the Act's inception some fishers have on occasions experienced confusion

when dealing with the WDC, while others have reacted to what they believe to be the bureaucratic interference of council officers in their activities.

Some people within the Moeraki community want fishers to 'clean up' some of their practices. Several residents, for instance, have voiced concerns about the presence of pots and nets lying on the shore. They have asked the WDC to intervene, and council officers have usually adopted a mediating role in these disputes between fishers and residents.

In the area of natural resource management there is growing interest and local support for the *mataitai* application - a restricted area around the coastline, managed by the marae, for the benefit of all locals.

Housing

The settlement at Moeraki has grown in an unplanned way. The hills on which it is situated are very susceptible to slips particularly behind the port facilities, and the land has been polluted by leakages from septic tanks. Some of the building practices used to construct cribs have been poor. There are numerous baches at kaiks one and two that are sited on land leased from Maori owners. The new sewage scheme, described previously, provides residents of Moeraki with the opportunity to further subdivide their properties. One resident estimated that there is enough land available for up to 200 additional sections at the settlement. Further development may be restricted, however, as much of the bay is unsuitable for buildings with fixed foundations. Property owners must be able to move their buildings should slippages occur.

Most property in the settlement is sold privately through local connections. Recent purchasers of property in Moeraki have been retired people from the area between Dunedin and Timaru, people wanting a holiday home (e.g. farmers from Central Otago), and some low-income families seeking cheap housing. Before the sewage scheme began operating it was possible to purchase cribs in the settlement for between \$25,000 to \$35,000 each. Since then, their selling prices have increased by up to \$10,000.

The tenure of dwellings in Moeraki and Hampden varied from the national pattern in 1996. Table 12 shows that over three quarters of the dwellings in both settlements were occupied by their owners (cf. 66 per cent for NZ), while just over a tenth of them were rental properties or provided rent free by an employer. Most of the owner-occupied dwellings, moreover, were unencumbered by a mortgage.

Table 12: *Tenure of Dwellings in Moeraki - 1996*

Form of Tenure	per cent of dwellings		
	Hampden	Moeraki	New Zealand
Provided rent free	4.1	-	3.7
Rented	6.1	11.1	22.9
Owned with a mortgage	32.7	27.8	35.2
Owned without a mortgage	42.9	50	31.1
Total number of dwellings	147	54	1,276,332

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Hampden, as Table 13 indicates, had relatively more unoccupied private dwellings (24 per cent cf. 18 per cent) than is typical for rural centres in New Zealand. The large number of empty houses in the township has been associated with a decline in the population during the 1990's. Some houses, formerly occupied by elderly persons who are now deceased, remain unsold as there is little demand for property in the town. Other dwellings, however, have been purchased by people from Central Otago as holiday cribs, and are unoccupied for most of the year. A real estate agent interviewed described Hampden as "*a sticky market*" where sections can be purchased for between \$2,000 to \$3,000. He explained that some buyers may have to purchase two

sections to have a sufficient area for the 60 metre soakage trench that is required for adequate septic tank treatment.

Table 13: *Unoccupied Private Dwellings in Hampden - 1996*

	Number of Occupied Private Dwellings	Number of Unoccupied Private Dwellings	Total Private Dwellings	Unoccupied Dwellings as per cent of Total Private Dwellings
Hampden	147	46	193	23.8
All Rural Centres	29,349	6,275	35,624	17.6

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Health

Public health services were coordinated from Timaru until 1998, and two district nurses covered the area between Shag Point to Maheno. A declining population, together with a need to maintain the skill levels of the nurses, led to a reorganisation of the service. Waitaki District Health Services, which has taken over Oamaru Hospital from Health Care Otago, established a team of 15 nurses and a case manager based in Oamaru which provides public health services for the whole of the Waitaki District. A registered nurse travels to the area between Shag Point and Maheno on Tuesdays and Fridays to visit patients who have been referred by general practitioners and hospitals. Some other health care services, such as home help, have been contracted out to private sector organisations. Like elsewhere in New Zealand, the emphasis of health care has shifted from hospitalisation to more service delivery in the home environment.

Moeraki and Hampden have not had a resident doctor during the last two decades. There are three general practitioners based in Palmerston (15 minutes by car from Moeraki). One of the doctors from Palmerston conducts a half-day surgery in Hampden every week. There is an ambulance service based in Oamaru, and the doctors based in Palmerston are also called out to road accidents and other emergencies.

A mobile health clinic, operated by Te Waaka Haora a Rohe, spends a day in Moeraki two or three times a year. People of all races from Shag Point to Hampden are invited to attend these clinics. The clinics provide a health screening service which refers people for further treatment.

The nearest hospital is at Oamaru, but now it provides only day-care services. Anyone requiring specialist services has to travel to Dunedin hospital for treatment. There is a daily bus service based in Hampden that enables people to travel to Dunedin for hospital appointments between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. There are several rest homes in Oamaru, Totara and Palmerston, that cater for the needs of the elderly people of the district.

Education

The school at Moeraki opened in 1890 with an attendance of 29 pupils that grew quickly to over 70 (Anon, 1936). Even in 1954, Moeraki School had between 20 and 30 pupils, from four-year-olds through to Form 2. One long-time resident described it as being *“like one large extended family”* incorporating both maori and pakeha, since even at this stage there were very few newcomers to the village - *“mainly when a new light-house keeper arrived with his family; one criterion for selection was that he have several children!”*. By 1988, however, the school had only one classroom, and was closed because of a falling roll.

The nearest primary school for children from Moeraki is at Hampden. The Hampden Primary School has two teachers and caters for pupils up to the level of Form 2. Over the past 20 years, the school roll has fluctuated around 40 to 50 (a low of 34 and a high of 56), although it has been very stable during the last five years. The nearest secondary school for children from Moeraki and Hampden is the East Otago Area School in Palmerston, and there is also a four teacher primary school (to Std 4 level) in that town.

Hampden Primary School draws its pupils from farming families around Hampden, fishers' families from Hampden and Moeraki, and from families residing in the area from Waianakarua to the north. The farming families are stable in numbers, but there is growing uncertainty about the prospects of fishers' families. As fishing becomes a less viable occupation, fishers and their wives look to places like Oamaru for work. In some instances this means that it is easier for parents to take their children into Oamaru for school, rather than to arrange and pay for childcare after school each day.

Training

While there is no formal apprenticeship system for inshore fishers, all newcomers to the industry now have to obtain masters' tickets for vessels down to six metres in length. Other qualifications required by the government include tickets for radio operators, deck hands and first aid. The training courses for fishers at Dunedin have ceased, but there is a course for Maori in Oamaru, a full range of courses available in Nelson, and new courses at Timaru and Lyttleton.

The system of training in the industry combines practical experience with training courses at a Polytech or other tertiary educational provider. By accumulating experience and qualifications fishers can advance their careers through acquiring a series of tickets from deck hand, through inshore skipper, coastal skipper, and mate, to deep sea skipper.

Agencies

Residents of Moeraki and Hampden travel to Oamaru when they require the services of a government agency. They have depended on that regional centre for social services for many years.

COMMUNITY

The nature of the community

The timing of this research case study coincides with a community at the low point in a cyclical trough. Two of our informants described Moeraki as "*not a close community*" and "*a divided community*", while a third observed that the community has eroded over time as a whole generation of young people had gone elsewhere to find work. Another noted that many present inhabitants of Moeraki are 'outsiders' - either complete newcomers to the place, or people from the old families who loosened their links several generations ago and are now returning. There are post-war babies (people in their 40s and 50s) who are now coming back to Moeraki - 'coming home'.

This stands in stark contrast to the close-knit community which existed in the nineteenth century and which had begun to re-emerge after the Second World War. The populations of Moeraki and Hampden and their rural hinterland, moreover, were portrayed by other informants as being "*under stress*" and "*in survival mode*" due to the combined effects of the droughts and debt burden on farmers, and the financial pressures on fishers.

With a population of some 100 residents and a relatively high proportion of holiday homes, Moeraki lacks many of the resources required to sustain a high level of social activity. There are not many points of connection within the settlement that can provide a social focus for the community. The closing of the primary school 12 years ago left a big gap in the lives of residents. Moreover, this loss was compounded when the role of the local shop changed in the early 1990's from a place where many residents would gather and talk to a business that is mainly patronised by campers.

A range of causes and symptoms of community decline is evident - not only did the school close, the church had been moved; the Coronation Hall (pakeha hall) was no longer used for dances and playing table tennis, etc., even though it retained strong sentimental value; the marae was the only substantial meeting place

remaining in the village. Locals had recently refurbished the Coronation Hall so it could be used for social functions but it is used only a few times a year, however, for 21st birthday parties, weddings and the Waianakarua Garden Club function. Many of those interviewed commented that it is many years since Moeraki experienced a significant social event - a marked contrast with Moeraki/Hampden in the 1960s boom when the social life was strong and the annual Moeraki Ball was a two-day event drawing people from Oamaru.

One newcomer resident commented that there is a sense of division within the community between maori and pakeha, explaining that some pakeha resent both the treaty settlements, and ongoing issues such as Ngai Tahu's request to have management rights over fishing activities along the coast. However another point of view is that this represents more a division between traditional families and newcomers to Moeraki. It was pointed out that the rebuilding of the marae facilities in 1986 was founded on the commitment of a few maori families as well as traditional pakeha families. Furthermore, continuing close links between maori and pakeha of the traditional families is evident at such family occasions as tangis and funerals which are always shared occasions.

While in the past community organisation centred on commercial fishing, there is virtually no community organisation now amongst the few remaining active fishers - until someone needs help in the community. Most community activities have disappeared - the social activities like the euchre club; the committees are gone; many of the church congregation on Sunday mornings are relative strangers (newcomers) and it is difficult to sustain people's interest in local initiatives. Even the marae had become less active as a local meeting place (although it is now much used because it is the marae for all Moeraki Runaka affairs). The ultimate meeting place now is the pub - the Hampden Tavern, for drinks, meals, lotteries and sports on TV. This is a big change from the time ten years ago when local places like the school, the hall and the marae were more vibrant community meeting places.

Permanent residents of Moeraki often have strong links to the community at Hampden. There is in fact a high degree of interdependence between the two settlements some of which has become evident earlier in this paper. Several fishers whose vessels operate out of the port at Moeraki live in Hampden. And people from Moeraki patronise the tavern and shops and belong to voluntary organisations in Hampden, while children from the port attend the primary school there.

Hampden was described by one of its residents as "*a very mixed community*" comprising fishers, meat workers employed at the Pukeuri Freezing works, casual labourers, and workers at the McCrae's mine. Other residents observed that over the last few years some unemployed people and their families from localities had moved into the unoccupied houses in the township.

Community organisations

There are very few community organisations based in Moeraki. The Moeraki Domain Board existed for almost a century before becoming defunct in 1960. A Reserve and Recreation Committee was formed in 1984, and members worked on Centennial Park and the Whalers memorial for the 150th anniversary of the settlement. The Moeraki Yachting and Boating Club caters for visitors with pleasure craft and has a club house near the boat ramp. Moeraki also has an Anglican church which is occasionally used by any denomination for services, and a Seventh Day Adventist chapel.

Residents of Moeraki also belong to community organisations that draw their members from a wider catchment area. They include the Waianakarua Garden Club (80-90 members), the Waianakarua Lions Club (35-45 members), the Hampden Tennis Club, the Hampden Bowling Club, Hampden Senior Citizens (30 members), and Hampden Plunket Group. Rural depopulation, however, makes it difficult for some of these organisations to survive. Fifteen years ago, for instance, the Hampden Tennis Club had two senior teams (of eight persons) and three junior teams comprised of residents of Hampden and Moeraki. Nowadays, it has one combined team consisting of people from Herbert, Waianakura, Hampden and Moeraki, and it sometimes struggles to get a complete team on the courts.

Social problems

The crime rate in the Moeraki-Hampden area is not high. There has not been a noticeable surge of offences associated with the economic stagnation of recent years. The main issues requiring police attention in the area are traffic accidents, thefts from cribs, marijuana cultivation in the Herbert Forest, disputes between neighbours, and domestic arguments.

The police officer based at Hampden attends a lot of road accidents. Many of these are on the open road, although two people have been killed outside the police station in Hampden over the last two years. Transit NZ is intending to alter the speed restrictions on the state highway which passes through the township from 70 kph to a two stage 80/60 kph limit to reduce the hazard.

The thefts from cribs are very episodic. This type of offence is most prevalent during summer when there are more transient people in the district. Sometimes a series of thefts can be linked to one transient individual.

Marijuana is planted on a large scale in the Herbert Forest with crops to the value of millions of dollars being discovered by the police over the last decade. These crops have been planted by people from Oamaru who view this activity as an alternative way of making a living.

Much of the police officer's time is spent attending disputes between neighbours, and domestic arguments. He also devotes time to networking with local residents as they provide him information about what is happening in the district.

Maori

Moeraki was the place where the Ngai Tahu tribal claim originated in 1846 - eight generations ago. The Moeraki Runaka's traditional *takiwa* extends from the Waihemo River in the south to the Waitaki River in the north, and west into the mountains, with shared responsibility (several other runaka including Otakoa, Waihemo and Arowhenua) in areas from the foothills westwards, including the high country lakes.

Maori have had camping areas (kaik) at Moeraki from the 13th century. Taoka, son of Ruahikihiki, established a pa there in the late 1700's, but the site was vacant when the whalers arrived in 1836. A settlement of Ngai Tahu was reestablished shortly after the arrival of the whalers at kaik two. Later the older permanent dwellings along the kaik road were removed and the marae was shifted to its present site on the edge of the Maori Reserve. Ngati Ruahikihiki, Taoka's sub tribe, remain a principle hapu of the Maori community at Moreaki.

Not many Maori families reside in Moeraki these days; they left to find employment in Dunedin and other places as long ago as the depression years. Many have settled elsewhere, and only visit Moeraki for meetings and family gatherings. The local runaka meets every month, but sometimes only local residents of the hapu are able to attend these meetings.

Maori were 14.7 per cent of the population of Moeraki (cf. 14.5 per cent for NZ) in 1996. Most Maori families residing in the settlement are from the Ngai Tahu tribe, and a small number of families identify themselves as Waitaha.

The potential for resurgence in the maori community at Moeraki is linked closely to the significance of the Ngai Tahu claim - and its successful settlement. This provides both a revitalised focus of community development as well as access to substantial tribal resources which can be applied to commercial and community development.

The runaka now owns the school building (runaka office) and grounds (leased to the camp ground), the school house and the marae hall. While much of this has sentimental value, it also looks ahead - investing

in the whole community and its future. The marae facilities are used much more now, by a variety of groups in the district, as well as for runaka consultation activities. The runaka employs two full-time and two part-time staff. Full-time staff are the marae administrator and a projects officer. The runaka is well resourced for Te Runaka O Ngai Tahu (like 17 other runaka within Ngai Tahu). This central funding supports the administrator's position and provides access to grant funding for which they have to be very accountable to their runaka. The runaka and putea (funds held by a charitable company) are quite distinct.

The runaka is looking to invest locally - in developments which will benefit the whole community. Learning from the lessons experienced in recent maori business development elsewhere, the strategy will aim to avoid focussing business initiatives just on the social goals (i.e. full employment) and emphasise bottom-line viability as the basis for sustainable employment.

Women

Commercial fishing is a male dominated occupation, and women have generally not worked on the vessels based at Moeraki that harvest the inshore fisheries. Elsewhere in New Zealand women have become skippers of vessels working in both the inshore and deep water fisheries, and some companies are actively encouraging married couples to work together on the larger boats. Women are highly valued for their skills in the fish processing industry, but they have been unable to find that type of employment at Moeraki since the packing shed at the port was closed.

The employment opportunities for women residing in Moeraki and Hampden are limited. Some of them commute to Oamaru and Dunedin as they are the main income earners or they need to supplement the household income, or it may be for lifestyle reasons.. There is now also an growing trend for women in North Otago to return to paid work once their children have left home. This can be for a variety of reasons - personal financial independence, social contact, or financial necessity for the household.

Elderly people

About a quarter of Hampden's population were aged 65 years and over in 1996, and Moeraki has a large number of widows and widowers amongst its population. Elderly residents have access to the medical services described in a previous section, and should home help become necessary it can be provided by other people residing in the district.

The retired people in Hampden are mainly locals. The township has three pensioner cottages which were built 13 years ago and have never been vacant. The Senior Citizens Club has members from Hampden and Moeraki. Members have bimonthly bus trips in summer, and weekly games afternoons in the hall between May and September.

CONCLUSION

The communities of Moeraki and Hampden appear to be at a low point in their resource community cycle. However, a significant local economic transition is in prospect. This coincides with the arrival of new people into the community, not only for tourism but also for other new business ventures, not linked with the traditional fishing resources, but also not constrained by the relative isolation. This demonstrates the increasing diversity of linkages beyond the immediate locality - services from Oamaru, Palmerston and Dunedin; markets for goods and services that extend even further afield; and investment resources derived from tribal links between Moeraki and Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu. While the upgrading of infrastructure (WWTP) has the potential to trigger a new episode of property development, the Ngai Tahu settlement has the potential to trigger new investment in a range of local enterprises. Nevertheless, growth in the local communities is likely to be steady rather than dramatic.

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