



Resource Community Formation and Change

A Case Study of Havelock

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INTRODUCTION

This paper reports the findings of a case study of Havelock. 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 Technology.¹ The other case studies of fishing communities in this series are Riverton (WP 24) and Moeraki (WP 25). The Havelock case study was selected because of the development of mussel farming as a major industry base for the area².

A variety of research methods were used in this case study, which primarily focuses on the economic and social history of Havelock since the early 1970's. These methods included an analysis of census statistics, a review of published documents about the town and fishing sector, including mussel farming, and six days of interviews in Havelock, Blenheim and the Marlborough Sounds during November 1999 and February 2000. Work by the authors on resource consent applications for mussel farms in Pelorous Sound over the same period added further insight into this key industry.

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 MUSSEL INDUSTRY IN THE MARLBOROUGH SOUNDS

Mussel farming was introduced to the Marlborough Sounds 20 years ago, and has since grown in scale to the point where it rivals the wine industry as the region's leading export earner. In 1998, the New Zealand Marine Farming Association commissioned a major review of the mussel industry (Donnelly, 1998), which for the first time provides a quantitative overview. In 1998, a total of 605 mussel farms occupied 2,867 hectares in four main producing regions around the country. By far the largest proportion of this mussel farming activity was taking place in the waters of the Marlborough Sounds - 478 farms (79 per cent) occupying 2,055 hectares (72 per cent). There are four main regions for mussel production in New Zealand: Golden Bay/Tasman Bay, Marlborough, Hauraki/Coromandel, and Stewart Island. The first three of these regions have had recent moratoria on new mussel farms. It is still permissible to apply for spat catching in Golden Bay/Tasman Bay but applications for full marine farming are still not allowed there. The Marlborough moratorium was removed in July 1999 when the new district plan became operative, resulting in numerous applications for resource consents.

During the year ended March 1998 there were 1,587 people directly employed in the industry in New Zealand on a full-time equivalent (FTE) basis. They comprised 1,453 full-time and 269 part-time employees. Mussel farming employed 259 FTE persons (221 full-time and 77 part-time and including 98 working owners), whereas 1,328 FTE employees (1,232 full-time and 192 part-time) were engaged in processing activities. Marlborough had the highest level of direct employment with 702 FTE (44 per cent) of the total number (Donnelly, 1998: 8-9). At a regional level, Blenheim, Picton, Havelock and Renwick contribute to the industry workforce, as well as to numerous ancillary businesses.

The New Zealand Marine Farming Association (NZFMA) is based in Blenheim. It is the industry umbrella organisation responsible for assisting marine farmers in their dealings with other parties. The NZFMA's

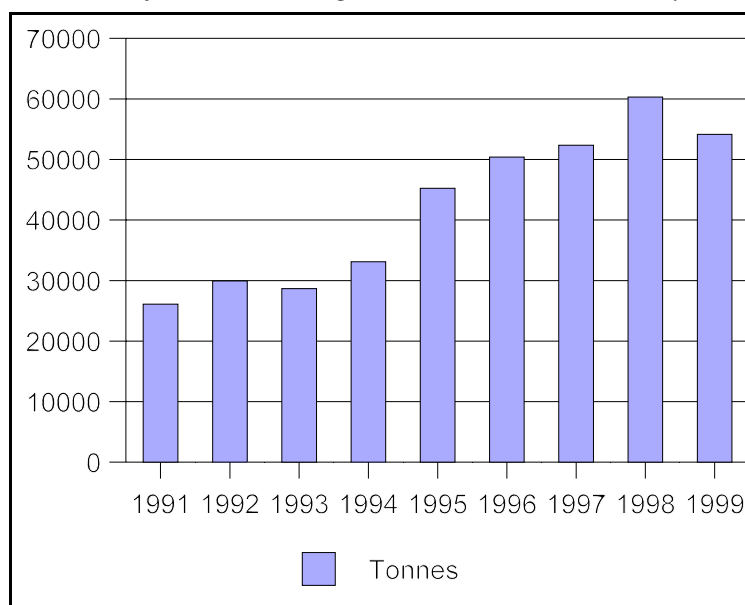
¹ Contract TBA 801. For further information on the research project contact Taylor Baines & Associates (PO Box 8620, Christchurch or by email: n.taylor@tba.co.nz).

² Evidence of James Baines on social impacts, for the application of Kukumara Partnership to Marlborough District Council for marine farms in Admiralty, Forsythe, & Beatrix Bays and Port Ligar.

interests are not confined to mussel farming, although mussel farms are by far the largest grouping of operators it represents. Amongst other matters, it is responsible for the development of industry codes of practice, including the recently published Environmental Code of Practice. By contrast, the Mussel Industry Council (MIC) is devoted exclusively to mussel farming, covering matters such as marketing and research. The MIC levies all growers and processors, and has spent about \$500,000 on global marketing during recent years.

Little quantitative data exists of the industry's growth over the last 20 years, although some indication is provided by the record of total annual harvests for Marlborough, Nelson and Golden Bay shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Annual harvest records for Marlborough, Nelson and Golden Bay



Source: New Zealand Marine Farming Association, Sept/Oct 1999.

Note: In 1993 algal blooms forced a complete closure of processing plants for six weeks.

Within the Marlborough Sounds, the western Sounds have always predominated for marine farms and associated work. At November 1999, records of the Marlborough District Council indicate there were 61 mussel farms in Port Underwood, Tory Channel, East Bay and Port Gore, leaving more than three hundred mussel farms located in the western Sounds. Occupational data from Statistics New Zealand confirm this geographical concentration of farms, and also provide indications of trends since 1986 - see Table 1 below.

Table 1: Marine farm workers Usually Resident population (NZSCO95 Occupation 6142)

Census Year	Havelock and environs	Remainder western Sounds	Picton and environs	Remainder eastern Sounds	Marlborough District
1986	0	42	3	9	75
1991	27	54	27	3	198
1996	39	39	27	6	213

Source: Statistics NZ (1997); data rounded to the nearest 3

Note: Marlborough District numbers are the District total.

Within Pelorus Sound, mussel farms were first introduced in the vicinity of Kenepuru Sound and Crail Bay. Industry sources report that perceptions of nutrient limitations led subsequently to the development of mussel farms in the outer Pelorus, a trend confirmed by the occupational statistics which show that in 1986, 30 out of 42 marine farm workers (71 per cent of those in the 'remainder western Sounds') lived in Kenepuru and Mahau Sounds, along Pelorus Reach or in Crail and Clova Bays. By 1991, this percentage had fallen to

39 per cent, remaining at this level in 1996. Two other trends have occurred in recent times regarding employment patterns, and they result from two different approaches to accessing labour for farming and harvesting. Some companies employ staff on four day rosters, where the staff are drawn from a wide catchment area (Nelson to Blenheim), and live on the harvesting boats for their four day shift before returning home. Others prefer to hire predominantly staff who reside near to Havelock, so that they can be available at short notice during the harvesting season. Mussel farms are not evenly distributed throughout Pelorus Sound. In some bays, ribbon development has occupied a very high proportion of the coastline - bays such as Squally Cove, Admiralty Bay, Port Ligar, Waitata Bay, Forsyth Bay, Beatrix Bay, Kauauroa Bay, Orchard Bay, Anakoha Bay, Crail and Clova Bays, South East Bay. At the other extreme, some bays have no mussel farms at all - Tennyson Inlet, Elaine Bay, Ketu Bay, Annie Bay, North West Bay - while some bays have only a few farms and no more than half their coastline is occupied - Hallam Cove, Richmond Bay, Fairy Bay, Nydia Bay, Kenepuru Sound.

Throughout Pelorus and the western Sounds, the mussel farming industry has been closely linked to several local communities, because of the requirement for people to manage and work the farms, harvest the crop and transport the crop to processing plants - French Pass, Elaine Bay, Okiwi Bay, Rai Valley and Havelock and its environs. Mussel farming has also become an essential adjunct to most coastal, pastoral farms, as a supplement to traditional farm income. In contrast, processing of mussels is concentrated far less in Marlborough than are the farming operations, with plants in Havelock, Nelson, Blenheim and further afield.

HAVELOCK AND ITS DEPENDENCE ON NATURAL RESOURCES

Havelock, at the head of Pelorus Sound, is 41 kilometres west of Blenheim on state highway six. The township is the service centre for the mussel farming and processing industry in the western Marlborough Sounds.

Just over 110 years ago, Havelock was a boom town. It lay midway between the goldfields of Wakamarina and Cullen Creek. Gold was discovered in the bed of the Wakamarina river in 1863. Shortly afterwards there were populations of 1,000 at the Forks and Deep Creek. Havelock became “a life-line for food supplies and equipment” to the goldfield, and many tradesmen, hotel keepers and other businessmen established their enterprises in the settlement (Congdon, 1961: 4). A flax mill had been established at Ruapeka by the 1870's, and this new venture boosted commercial activities at Havelock. Furthermore, the saw milling industry in the district sometimes attracted nine or ten vessels to the wharf to transport timber. There was also a renewed rush to the goldfields during the 1870's that attracted diggers needing equipment and supplies to the township (*ibid*: 13).

After the gold and timber was exhausted Havelock became a base for farming and fishing (trawling). Dairy farming has been an important activity in the district for much of the 20th century, but the processing factories in the district at Havelock, Canvastown, Rai Valley and Linkwater have been closed as the industry has rationalised its processing facilities. Milk from the district is now taken to the Koromiko plant at Tuamarina near Blenheim.

By the 1950's and 1960's much of the farm land in the Marlborough Sounds had reverted to the bush. Yet it became popular with domestic visitors as more holiday homes were built and resorts such as Te Mahia and The Portage were revived. The local fishing industry was in decline as species such as flounder and snapper had been over fished. Large areas of exotic forest were planted over the last 30 years. Nowadays the logs are taken by truck to Blenheim or Nelson for milling, or exported unsawn.

The large Havelock marina has been built in stages since the 1970's to service the holiday visitors, and there are plans for its further expansion. Associated with the marina there are a number of tourism ventures including charter boats, water taxis, and the well-known “mail” boat. There is also a motor camp and a number of motels, shops and restaurants at Havelock. As well as hosting these tourism ventures, the township functions as a service centre for agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mussel farming.

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

Demographic characteristics

Unlike many rural communities, the population of Havelock increased by 63 per cent between 1976 and 1996. Apart from the early part of the 1980's when the population declined by eight per cent, the number of residents in the township grew rapidly (see Table 2). In 1996 the usually resident population of Havelock was 504.

Table 2: *Havelock - changes in the usually resident population 1976-1996*

Census Year	Havelock		New Zealand	
	No. of Persons	% change in pop.	No. of Persons	% change in pop
1976	309	-	3,098,900	-
1981	360	16.5	3,143,307	1.4
1986	333	-7.5	3,263,283	3.8
1991	423	27.0	3,373,929	3.4
1996	504	19.1	3,618,302	7.2

Source: New Zealand Census 1976-1996

Just 44 per cent of Havelock's residents in 1996 (see Table 3) indicated they were living at the same address as five years before, while 26 per cent of them had moved to the township from other parts of the region. There was also a considerable influx of newcomers to Havelock from other regions of New Zealand during that five year period; with 24 per cent of the township's residents reporting they had lived outside Marlborough in 1991.

Table 3: *Place of residence of Usually Resident Population of Havelock - five years before 1996*

Place of residence	Havelock Per cent of Population
Same usual address as 1996	43.9
Same territorial authority	26.1
Same regional council, different territorial authority	-
Different regional council, same Island	13.4
Different regional council, different Island	10.2
Not specified - New Zealand	4.5
Overseas	1.9
Total number of Persons	471

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

The age-sex structure of Havelock's population in 1996 (see Table 4) was markedly different from the national population. The township had a high dependency ratio (0.64 cf. 0.53 for NZ), with relatively more residents aged 65 years and over compared with the country as a whole and rural centres in particular. Furthermore, males predominated in Havelock's population (a M/F sex ratio of 1.14 cf. 0.97 for NZ) - the reverse of the national pattern of females slightly outnumbering males.

Table 4: *Age-sex structure of the population of Havelock 1996*

	Havelock		New Zealand	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
% 0 - 14 years	18.7	26.2	24.1	22.0
% 15 - 64 years	62.6	58.8	65.7	65.0
% 65 years & over	18.7	15.0	10.3	13.1
Total Number of Persons	273	240	1,777,464	1,840,839

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Social characteristics

Other census statistics illustrate social characteristics of the population of Havelock. Half of the families (cf. 37 per cent for NZ) were of the couple only type, and the proportion of one parent families (5 per cent cf. 18 per cent for NZ) resident in the township was much lower than existing in the national population (see Table 5). Forty-four per cent of residents aged 15 year and over (cf. 32 per cent for NZ) held no educational qualifications (see Table 6), while only 20 per cent (cf. 26 per cent for NZ) possessed tertiary level qualifications. The high proportion of residents without educational qualifications, together with other census data relating to income support payments and household incomes that are examined later in this paper, suggest that Havelock's residents are relatively disadvantaged when compared with the national population.

Table 5: *Family Types in Havelock 1996*

Family Type	% of families	
	Havelock	New Zealand
One parent family	4.8	17.7
Two parent family	45.2	44.9
Couple only	50.0	37.3
Total number of families	126	949,497

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Table 6: *Highest educational qualifications held by the residents of Havelock - 1996*

Highest educational qualification	% of residents	
	Havelock	New Zealand
University & other tertiary	19.7	25.8
Secondary	20.5	26.5
No qualifications	43.9	32.2

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

INDUSTRY, WORK AND OCCUPATIONS

The development of marine farming in Pelorus Sound

Over the last three decades of the 20th century, Havelock experienced the transition from wet fish to marine farming. This transition into mussel harvesting arose from the decline of small-boat wet-fishing, and the collapse of the scallop industry. In the 1970's most mussels were harvested closer to Havelock, in Kenepuru and the inner Pelorus Sound, while fishers had to travel nearer to Nelson and Picton to catch wet fish and scallops.

The gross returns from mussel farming were \$15,000 per long line in 1976. This sum was equivalent to the average wage of that time, but new entrants to the industry sometimes overlooked the considerable costs of harvesting. By early 1976 about 200 applications had been received to operate mussel farms in Pelorus Sound. Some of these applications were from commercial fishers.

There were many families operating the mussel farms during the 1970's. They followed the Japanese system of farming by adapting some techniques from that mode of production, and developing some new techniques. However, the lifting gear from the Japanese system was not introduced to farms in Pelorus Sound, and in the view of one of our informants "*all mussel farmers from that time have bad backs*". In these early days a lot of manual labour was required to operate the farms. Seeding, for instance, was undertaken by school children at home. They fed spat into nylon stockings (weighted with stones) in return for pocket money. One harvester developed the "*Kenepuru dance*" whereby mussels were trampled off the ropes after they had been hauled up onto a boat or platform. This procedure was superseded by the use of a winch and shackle to strip mussels off the line. Some harvesters even tried using concrete mixers, but the mixers cracked the shells. Finally, a rotary screen was developed to strip the mussels, and this is still the basic method being used today.

Shortly afterwards, some people set themselves up as contractors, specialising in harvesting and farm servicing, while share farming arrangements also evolved as people became aware of the amount of time required by these operations. The influx of people into Havelock was initially driven by people wanting to establish their own mussel farms; then the farms began to employ people for servicing and harvesting, and subsequently mussel processing created a demand for more labour. The first specially designed factory for mussel processing was established at Havelock in 1981. Prior to its opening, mussels harvested in the district were processed at plants in Nelson, Motueka and Blenheim.

A serious downturn in the industry occurred in 1983 which lasted for about 10 months. There was a glut of mussels, and the price dropped. The industry developed alternative markets, and a degree of orderliness came into marketing activities even though competition continued between individual companies. Highly mechanised harvesters with larger capacities were also introduced during the 1980's.

Mussel farms

The ownership of mussel farms has changed radically over the last 25 years. There are fewer 'hands-on' owners as economies of scale have prompted family operators to sell out to large companies which employ contract workers to harvest the mussels. Moreover, there has been considerable aggregation of farm/licence ownership, with two companies, Pacifica and Sanford, (see Table 7) owning about 150 farms between them.

Table 7: *Marlborough mussel farm ownership*

Interest	Farm nos. in Marlborough
Talleys	19
PBA	21
Marr/Skeggs	~20
Pacifica	~80
Sanford Ltd	65*
Sealords	~36 (est.)**
Marlborough Seafoods Ltd	21
Total for listed owners	~260 (55%)

Source: Field interviews.

Notes: * in at the beginning;

** approx. 4,000 green weigh tonnes p.a.

Sanford Limited is a publicly listed New Zealand company that is a major player in the fishing industry. It has expanded into aquaculture by purchasing relatively remote sites of excellent environmental quality, by establishing processing plants, and by market development. Sanford became the country's largest producer of mussels in 1988, and by 1992 owned over 50 mussel farms in the Marlborough Sounds. These mussel farms are vertically integrated with the company's processing plant at Havelock which not only handles their harvest, but also that of other farms in the area (Sharp, 1998: 73-75). Sanford operated five harvesting boats in 1999, and employed about 180 people (85 per cent of whom were full-time workers) in its harvesting and processing activities at Havelock.

Farm productivity has increased considerably over the past decade. Higher yields per hectare have been the result of 'better management techniques', as well as greater levels of mechanisation in seeding and harvesting that are associated with large-scale commercial operations. There has also been considerable investment in a new generation of harvesting vessel in recent years. Normally the larger companies use vessels that are solely dedicated to harvesting, and use smaller boats for maintenance activities.

The Mussel Industry Council collects monthly harvest data for the Marlborough-Nelson region. It estimates that between March 1992 and March 1999 mussel output in the region grew by 39,626 tonnes (see Figure 1 above) - a compound growth rate of 13 per cent (Donnelly, 1998: 7). Harvesting is determined by the condition of the mussels and also by water quality. Rainfall can lead to the closure of mussel farming areas as the result of water contamination from high sediment levels in the rivers or run-off from nearby land containing bacterial contamination from livestock. While it is a relatively infrequent occurrence for all the Marlborough Sounds to be closed for harvesting at one time due to rain, some individual areas have been known to be closed for up to 200 days in a year.

Processing capacity

Demand by processors for mussels far outstrips what existing farms can produce. Processing capacity has always exceeded output from the farms. In recent years, this processing capacity has become increasingly dedicated to mussels. Factories have been built in the expectation of high growth in mussel production, and founded upon an assumption of 'new water' for mussel farming.

Donnelly conducted a survey of 18 mussel processors; of whom all but one responded. Five were involved only in the processing of mussels, while the other 12 also operated mussel farms. During the year ended March 1998 the industry processed 67,019 tonnes of mussels. Nelson, with 23,928 tonnes, and Marlborough, with 21,816 tonnes, produced 69 per cent of the total green weight of mussels. Canterbury processed 11,575 tonnes (17 per cent), Hauraki 8,400 tonnes (13 per cent) and Southland 1,300 tonnes (two per cent). Marlborough and Southland processors obtained their total supply of mussels from local farmers, while other regions imported raw product from Marlborough and Southland for processing in their factories (Donnelly, 1998: 8).

While the Rai Valley processing plant burnt down in early 1999, other processing capacity growth is imminent. Sanford Ltd has already announced a planned expansion of its Havelock factory to double production capacity from the present 8,000 green weight ton per year. Several reports suggest that a refurbished processing plant in Picton may begin operation soon. The Marlborough Seafood's site outside Blenheim has capacity for 80 per cent expansion from 10,000 to 18,000 green weight ton per year.

The principal processors in the Nelson-Marlborough region are documented in Table 8.

Table 8: *Principal regional processors - Nelson/Marlborough*

Company	Location	Open in 1989	1999 staff #	Product transfers
Talleys	Motueka Blenheim	yes just	n.d.	depot at Havelock
Sanfords	Havelock	yes	179	depot/factory at Havelock
Marlb. Seafoods	Blenheim	yes	~134	truck from harvester
Sea Health	Richmond	no	75	truck from harvester
MacLab	Nelson	no	n.d.	truck from harvester
Sealords	Nelson	no	~272 80% of 340 total staff	truck from harvester, via Elaine Bay
Nelson Ranger	Picton	yes	n.d.	truck from harvester
Pacifica	Rai	yes	closed	n/a
Pacifica	Christchurch	yes	160-200	truck from harvester

Source: Field Interviews

The present shortage of mussels for processing is causing concerns in some quarters of the industry. Some suggest that accepting smaller mussels so as to maintain supplies while market prices are high may compromise future markets. Regardless of this risk, the processing of smaller mussels tends to increase the unit processing costs and wage rates, both being based on weight.

Various estimates suggest that some 80 per cent of mussels from Pelorus Sound come across the wharf at Havelock, with the remaining 20 per cent exiting vessels via Elaine Bay, French Pass, and Okiwi Bay.

Transportation services by road are provided by several companies. The operator with the largest share appears to be Transport Nelson Ltd (TNL), with a local operational base at Rai Valley. Other companies are Wilders and Mainfreight. TNL currently run nine trucks out of Rai Valley, down from a peak fleet of eleven earlier in 1999.

Labour and work

Two approaches to accessing labour for farming and harvesting are apparent. For example, Elaine Bay Aquaculture employs staff on four day rosters. The staff are drawn from a wide catchment area - from Nelson to Blenheim - and live on the harvesting boats for their four day shift before returning home. In contrast, Pickering, Brownlee and Antunovich Ltd (PBA) hire predominantly staff who live near to Havelock, so that they can be available at short notice during the harvesting season. Promoters of the large MacLab proposal in Admiralty Bay are reported as intending to build staff accommodation nearby in order to encourage people to live in the community. Men can obtain jobs harvesting mussels by working 14 to 16 hours per day on shifts of four days on/off. Although pay rates are moderate (i.e. \$9.50-13.50 per hour for crew and \$15 per hour for skippers), long hours may increase earnings.

Work was organised on a more casual basis when mussel processing began in Havelock. That pattern had developed from processing scallops with staff being called to work when the catches were landed. The working week was five and a half days. All the openers and packers were women, and a few men did the heavy lifting. In those days, hygiene standards were given little consideration. Openers would smoke on the job, and there were no restrictions on types of clothing and jewellery, etc. Scallops were brought ashore in sugar bags, but mussels were landed in bins rather than sacks. Later cookers and mechanised washing were introduced, and hygiene standards were tightened. Nowadays, those standards, and the requirements of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, are very strict.

When the mussel harvest grew in volume, and supply became more regular, the employers began to formalise these working arrangements. They wanted people to work full-time from 7 am to 3.30 pm. This was particularly disadvantageous for women with dependent children, and some of them lost their jobs as a result of this change. At that time workers were affiliated to a union, and when Sanford took over the factory at Havelock it remained unionised until the Employment Contracts Act provided the opportunity for a single site agreement to be negotiated. However, it appears that increased mechanisation of the processing operations at the factory has not reduced the workforce.

The various jobs in Sanford's factory at Havelock continue to be divided along gender lines. Cleaners, cooks and boat workers are male positions, openers and graders are equally divided between males and females, while the clerical staff are all women.

Most processing companies now operate a two-shift arrangement, five days a week - typically up to 200 days per year for the day shift. In a typical recent season, the night shift might run up to 180 days per year, depending on the mussel harvest. A large number of Maori are employed on the night shift at Sanford's factory. Furthermore, women with children tend to work on the night shift, although their sleeping during the day may make parenting difficult. When working mothers take leave during the school holidays, they are usually replaced by students. Some people work in the processing factories for a short spell while they wait for longer term employment in the bigger centres. For couples, employment on two separate shifts provides a high income, but such a lifestyle may put stress on family relationships.

A person with long experience in the industry observed that a job in the industry is still not considered 'permanent' work even though processing continues for 10 months of the year. In her view it is more difficult for workers at the plants to obtain mortgages, and they often have to pay higher deposits on their houses. Employment in the mussel industry is also vulnerable to disruption from harvest closures due to algal blooms.

Blenheim processors report recent difficulties in retaining staff after the short closed season in the July-September period. Work and Income NZ described the complementary nature of skills in the seafood processing and viticulture industries, and in some instances the resulting competition for labour may have led to the staff retention problems described. Competition for labour has become more intense as the seasons for these industries extend and their "off" season reduced.

Environmental constraints and issues

When mussel farming began in the Marlborough Sounds twenty years ago, the conditioning period from spat to harvesting was of the order of 12 months. Recent trends suggest that this conditioning period is extending to between 18 months and two years, and the change is usually explained locally as an indication of the limited availability of nutrients for farming, particularly in the inner bays where production has predominated to date.

The poor mussel harvesting season in 1999 comes after four good growing seasons, exhibiting a considerable increase in production. Explanations for this reversal in trend are not conclusive. However, three main possibilities have emerged - (i) a lag effect from the moratorium imposed several years ago; (ii) localised constraints on nutrient uptake; and (iii) genetic factors to do with spat source.

Comments are coming in from mussel farms about variations in mussel growth on different lines within individual farms, implying the possibility of localised constraints on nutrient uptake. Alternatively, there are suggestions that biological or genetic differences between Golden Bay and Kaitaia mussel spat may be influencing growth patterns later in the growing cycle, irrespective of nutrient factors. The different conditioning period for Kaitaia spat is also seen as contributing to gaps in the seeding programme on some farms, adding more pressure on the supply situation to processors. At present the mix of spat by source

region is approximately 80:20 in favour of Kaitaia spat. It has been suggested that a prudent risk strategy might be to alter this mix towards 60:40 in order to produce more even growth, consistency of product, and more even harvesting patterns.

Whatever the reason, the low 1999 harvest is accentuating the supply constraints experienced by processors. Increasingly they are seeing the potential for growth in production and exports constrained by the limitations on water space within the 200 metre coastal ribbon, and the limitations on areas where mussel farming is allowed. As a result, there are now a large number of applications for new farms in deeper water. But there are other potential environmental constraints and issues that can arise for new marine farms, including visual effects, navigation hazards and effects on recreational users.

REGIONAL AND LOCAL ECONOMIES

The regional economy

Most of the recent economic growth in Marlborough has been based on viticulture, marine farming, forestry and tourism. Moreover, there is a complementarity of skills between viticulture and fish processing (i.e. high manual dexterity) that improves the employment prospects of workers moving between the two sectors.

For most of the twentieth century, the Marlborough Sounds was synonymous with pastoral farming and summer recreation on land, and a mix of commercial and recreational fishing on the water. As late as the 1950's and 1960's, much of the land supported significant numbers of sheep and cattle. In most of the Marlborough Sounds, this pastoral farming has receded in the face of diminishing export opportunities, falling returns and rising costs. By the mid 1990's, the land around Admiralty Bay was amongst the last remnants of pastoral farming in the district. Shearer (1997) noted that 80 per cent of the mainland catchment area draining into Admiralty Bay was still in pastoral production, carrying in excess of 13,000 sheep and 500 cattle. In contrast, less than 20 per cent of the catchment draining eastwards into Port Ligar, Waihina Bay and Waitata Bay remained in pastoral production, having once supported 10,000 sheep. Similarly, stock numbers in Forsyth Bay and Beatrix Bay are now extremely low (Shearer, 1996, 1997, 1999). Some pastoral farmers between Elaine Bay and French Pass have developed mussel harvesting operations to diversify their income stream.

As Table 9 shows, the level of commercial fishing based in the Marlborough area has declined markedly over the past 25 years, particularly the Havelock-based activity. The figure for 1997 would have been even lower but for two reasons. Some skippers are now involved in the fast growing mussel industry. Secondly, official statistics include very small boats (sometimes little more than dinghies) used by those who are licensed to take scallops. Picton has become the residual base of traditional commercial fishing in Marlborough.

Table 9: *Registration of fishing vessels by port*

Year	Havelock	Picton & Blenheim
1976	78	164
1980	60	156
1984	49	92
1997	13	80

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.

Indeed, the current situation in Havelock is reported as involving no more than two or three commercial fishing vessels operating with any regularity, a pattern that has occurred for some years. The use of long-lines and nets for commercial fishing has been banned inside Tawero Point, although scallop dredging is still

permitted. Examination of the employment statistics by occupation reflects the progressive move out of traditional commercial fishing into marine farming. The numbers of fishing skippers and deck-hands usually resident has declined markedly during the 1986 to 1996 period in the western part of the Sounds, and concentrated more on Havelock and Elaine Bay which are the service bases for marine farming. Some of them have shifted the base of their fishing operations to other ports in Tasman and Golden Bays to take advantage of other parts of Fisheries Management Area 7, or because the needs of their growing families have dictated a move to a larger centre. A similar concentration on Picton has occurred in the eastern part of the Sounds, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Fishing skippers and deck hands Usually Resident population (NZSCO95 Occupation 61411)

Census Year	Havelock and environs	Remainder western Sounds	Picton and environs	Remainder eastern Sounds	Marlborough District
1986	15	21	24	12	102
1991	18	18	24	9	87
1996	12	6	36	3	108

Source: Statistics NZ (1997); data rounded to the nearest 3.

Note: Marlborough District numbers are the District total.

There is little documented information on recreation and tourism trends in the western part of the Marlborough Sounds. However, the Marlborough Sounds generally are recognised as an important recreation and resort area, hosting a wide range of recreational pursuits including fishing, swimming, yachting, power boating, canoeing, water skiing, under-water diving and scenic cruises.

Interviews suggest that there are about 15 one- or two-person charter fishing operators based in Havelock, and another five water taxi operators.³ Of these, half are confined to ‘river limits’ within the heads, while the other half are allowed to venture further afield by virtue of their ‘extended river limits’ licences. It is the larger boats in fishing charter operations (more than 50 feet in length) which visit outer parts of the Sounds. Within Pelorus Sound, a lot of charter fishing trips from Havelock travel within the area south of Tawero Point to bays such as Fairy Bay. In larger boats, visitors are generally more interested in going further afield - to D’Urville Island and the Chetwode Islands. This is also true of those who visit French Pass for fishing. Several people interviewed in Havelock made the observation that there are significantly fewer charter fishing parties now than there used to be. One person indicated that the peak had occurred around 1992 and current passenger numbers were approximately half the peak level. This drop was attributed variously to increases in weekend work, the relative costs of chartering boats, and increased competition for discretionary recreational spending.

In earlier times, land-based recreation in Pelorus and Kenepuru Sounds was based around guest houses, and later was enjoyed largely by those with houses and baches. This changed with the development of serviced accommodation and the advent of walking tracks such as the Queen Charlotte and Nydia walkways. In Pelorus, the focus of lodge developments and serviced accommodation has been in two general areas - the outer Pelorus (including Waterfall Bay, Bulwer, Waitata Bay, Hallam Cove, Richmond Bay, Forsyth Island) and Kenepuru Sound. Of these two, Kenepuru is the major area. Havelock and its immediate environs has also experienced considerable growth in servicing tourism, as indicated in Table 11. There was a universal slump in tourism in the middle of this period of growth, coinciding with the aftermath of the 1987 stock-market crash and subsequent recession. However, between 1986 and 1996 considerable growth was evident overall, and Havelock experienced one of the highest rates of growth of any area in Marlborough.

³ There were 10 charter boats and two water taxis operating from Havelock in 1986 (Ministry of Works & Development, 1986: 27).

Table 11: Occupations in Accommodation, Catering and Travel Attendants/Guides Usually Resident population (NZSCO95 Occupations 1226, 512, 511)

Census Year	Havelock and environs	Remainder western Sounds	Picton and environs	Remainder eastern Sounds	Marlborough District
1986	30	39	192	18	822
1991	21	36	150	21	765
1996	45	42	207	36	1068

Source: Statistics NZ (1997); data rounded to the nearest 3.

Note: Marlborough District numbers are the District total.

The evolution of commercial tourism activities has added to the diversification of the Marlborough Sounds economy since the mid 1970's along with forestry and marine farming. These developments are also linked with the substantial recent and planned investments in new infrastructure by Port Marlborough. The construction of new wharf facilities in Shakespeare Bay to cater for log exports is well advanced.

The local economy of Havelock

The mussel industry has provided Havelock with a catalyst for survival by giving the township a new identity based on a common theme and symbol. Investment in the industry has provided a better infrastructure for other sectors of the local economy. The recreational users of the marina, for instance, have access to a better channel and port facilities than would otherwise exist. There are also a lot of economic flow-on effects to local firms such as engineering workshops, boat builders, mooring suppliers, slipway repairs, transport operators, retail shops, the local hotel, and garages. These effects have generally been positive since the boom in mussel farming began around 1985, although several of our informants commented that the algal bloom which closed mussel harvesting for several weeks in 1993 put a lot of strain on the local economy.

Not all of the flow-on effects are retained within the local economy however. Although Sanford's factory obtains its raw products from the Sounds, hires employees from the district, and purchases fuel and incidental supplies and services from local firms, it obtains other inputs from further afield. For example, the factory sources its packaging from Christchurch and obtains some services from Blenheim and Nelson. Transport Nelson Ltd is a big operator trucking mussels in Marlborough, with its principal local depot at Rai Valley. However, its transport operations and markets extend much further afield.

Local people acknowledge that tourism is also of growing importance to the economy of the township, although one described it as "*an immature tourist market*". The tourism sector employs many local residents, including part-time and casual work. Malcolm (1999: 25), a travel writer, describes Havelock as a "town of character" where "old wooden buildings have been retained and many of them tarted up and put to good use as museums, antique or craft shops and restaurants". In the main street, a restaurant called 'Mussel Boys' has been opened which uses mussels as a predominant part of its menu to attract domestic and international visitors travelling along the Picton to Nelson coastal route (Malcolm, 1999: 26). 'Mussel Boys' uses one tonne of mussels per week for most of the year, employs six to eight permanent staff (mainly from Havelock), and up to 12 casual employees (usually backpackers) during the peak summer season. The visitors attracted by the restaurant often patronise the antique and craft shops in the township. By its nature this type of custom is seasonal, and a local retailer estimates that two-thirds of their annual turnover is generated between Boxing Day and Easter. There are also several charter firms, cruises or fishing trips as noted above.

Havelock's location on state highway 6 is a mixed blessing. Although it provides residents with good access to services outside the township and generates income through visitors, it also draws residents away from local shops to national retail outlets in Blenheim. There is no bank in Havelock but cash can be obtained from local firms through EFTPOS. Havelock also acts as a service centre for residents of the Sounds. People

occupying holiday homes, for instance, purchase their goods at the supermarket in Havelock, while permanent residents of the Sounds often have their groceries delivered by the Beachcomber mail boat. The life of a typical retail firm in Havelock is short. One informant noted that only three of the present firms in the township had been operating eight years previously, while most had changed hands once or twice during that period. But nowadays the retail sector in the township is thriving compared with its state twenty years ago when a few firms struggled to survive. The boom in the mussel industry since 1985, and the recent growth of tourist interest, has helped to restore the buildings on the main street and renewed business confidence in the township.

The growth of marine farming and ancillary enterprises, and the development of tourism activities, have diversified and strengthened the economic base of the district. Individual enterprises have also diversified their income streams as various activities (e.g. pastoral farming) have been combined with mussel harvesting. Pelorus Promotions has been established to further the business interests of Havelock and its hinterland, and has delegated one member of its committee to review mussel farm applications in the district.

Community leaders have met with varying levels of success, however, when implementing programmes designed to diversify and strengthen the local economy. Small town politics have sometimes made it difficult for people to work together, and splinter groups have formed around some issues. There is also the problem of critical mass to be overcome before Havelock can effectively promote itself as a tourist attraction, although it has considerable potential to be part of a 'Top of the South' marketing strategy.

Employment and occupational status

Many people commute from other places in the district to their workplaces in Havelock. About half of the 160 people who are employed at Sanford's factory, for instance, reside in Blenheim, Renwick, the Rai Valley, and other parts of the Sounds. Table 12 reveals that 285 people reported that they were employed in the township in 1996, while only 219 residents reported they participated in the workforce. The main sources of employment for residents of Havelock were the agriculture/forestry/fishing (26 per cent), wholesale/retail/hospitality (19 per cent), manufacturing (18 per cent), and community/social/personal (12 per cent) sectors. Workers in the township itself were also concentrated in these sectors, with almost a third of them being employed in the manufacturing sector (cf. 18 per cent for the township's residents).

Table 12: Sectoral distribution of the workforce of Havelock - 1996

Sector	%Residents of Havelock	% Persons whose workplace is at Havelock	% New Zealand Workforce
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	26.0	29.2	9.2
Mining	-	-	0.3
Manufacturing	17.8	31.3	14.3
Electricity/gas/water supply	1.4	1.1	0.5
Construction	5.5	4.2	5.8
Wholesale/retail/hospitality	19.2	18.7	22.3
Transport/communications	2.7	4.2	5.3
Financial/business	6.9	4.2	13.1
Community/social/personal	12.3	7.4	23.0
Total number of persons	219	285	1,630,812

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Note: Percentages do not add to 100 because of rounding errors and numbers not specified.

Residents of Havelock had a slightly lower participation rate in the workforce than the national population (56 per cent cf. 59 per cent for NZ) in 1996 (see Table 13). Relatively more of them identified themselves as either self employed or employers (13 per cent cf. 11 per cent), and their unemployment rate was lower than the national average.

Table 13: Employment status of the residents of Havelock 1996

	Wages & Salary %	Self Employed & Employer of others %	Unemployed %	Full-time %	Part-time %
Havelock	39.7	13.0	4.6	43.5	12.2
New Zealand (TLA)	43.5	11.0	4.9	45.0	13.6

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

The workforce of Havelock almost doubled over the two decades from 1976 (see Table 14). Although the composition of the workforce in 1996 was broadly similar to what it had been twenty years earlier, the proportion of residents in the administrators/managers category grew from two to eight per cent. The proportions of service and sales (from 15 to 12 per cent), and agricultural and fisheries workers (from 22 to 19 per cent) in the workforce of Havelock, however, declined over these two decades.

Table 14: Occupational status of the workforce of Havelock - 1976 & 1996

Occupational category	% of workforce	
	1976	1996
administrators/managers	1.8	8.2
professionals & technicians	9.0	9.6
clerks	6.3	6.9
service/sales	15.3	12.3
agriculture & fisheries workers	22.5	19.2
trades workers/machine operators/elementary occupations	38.7	39.7
Total Number of Persons	111	219

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Note: Percentages do not add to 100 because of rounding errors and numbers not specified.

Household incomes and welfare benefits

The household incomes of Havelock's residents in 1996 were relatively low by national standards (see Table 15). Twenty-nine per cent of the township's households (cf. 23 per cent for NZ) indicated they had incomes of under \$20,001, while only 16 per cent (cf. 27 per cent) reported incomes over \$50,000 per annum.

Table 15: Distribution of Household Incomes in Havelock - 1996

Household income range	% of households	
	Havelock	New Zealand
\$20,000 & under	29.4	22.9
\$20,001 - \$50,000	32.9	32.9
\$50,001 & over	16.4	27.1

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Note: Percentages do not add to 100 because of rounding errors and numbers not specified.

Census data regarding income support reinforce this picture of Havelock as a relatively deprived community which is dependent on welfare payments from the government; with 41 per cent of the residents (aged 15 years & over) receiving 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 (55 per cent of total benefits cf. 40 per cent for NZ), the unemployment benefit (14 per cent of total benefits cf. 20 per cent for NZ) and accident compensation (7 per cent of total benefits cf. 6 per cent for NZ).

INFRASTRUCTURE AND AGENCIES

Local government and infrastructure

The Havelock Town Board first met on 4 November 1871 (Congdon, 1961: 14), and it administered the township until 1957 when it became a county town under the jurisdiction of the Marlborough County Council. After local body amalgamation in 1989, Havelock became part of the Marlborough District Council (MDC) which is based in Blenheim. The Marlborough Sounds ward, of which Havelock is part, has three councillors. In the 1980's most elected representatives had roots in Havelock, but since the county was absorbed into the MDC local geographical representation has not been so evident in local government affairs.

The MDC employs a local worker to keep the township tidy, and maintain the cemetery and domain. The sewerage was installed about 13 years ago at a cost of around \$3,000 per household. It removed the constraint of low density development (i.e. a minimum lot size of 600-700 square metres) resulting from soils that were unsuitable for the operation of septic tanks. Water is supplied by bores, with any shortfall augmented from a storage reservoir on a hillside south west of the township (Ministry of Works & Development, 1986: 58-59). Since the 1980's parking in the town centre has been a major issue for the community, and the recent growth of business activities and visitor numbers has further exacerbated traffic congestion. Other traffic issues identified by the Ministry of Works & Development (1986) planning study were the safety hazards of heavy trucks using the main highway through the township, and the upgrading of the access route to the port.

The planning study commissioned by the Marlborough United Council (Ministry of Works & Development, 1986) proposed an eastern marina as the preferred port development option. Under this option all industrial activities were to be confined to the southern part of the port; the existing tourism operator's marina was to be expanded and developed; and a new marina for private berths developed in the eastern part of the port. It was also recommended that scientific research be undertaken to minimise the impact of the new marina on the Kaituna marshes. This new marina was completed at the beginning of the 1990's, and a port official estimates that about half of the harbour's income is derived from pleasure boats.

District planning and the mussel industry

Port Marlborough intends investing in new infrastructure at Havelock, but with more emphasis on marine farming than pleasure craft. There are several factors restricting further processing of mussels at Havelock. Present constraints on industrial expansion due to a lack of serviced industrial land at the port is expected to be remedied in the near future. Port Marlborough is awaiting the decision on its resource consent applications for major redevelopments that would extend the harbour basin, widen the channel, and create 22,000 square metres of industrial space on a new reclamation at the southern end of the port. The Port Company's initiative has been prompted in part by projections from the NZMFA for future mussel production, and the associated expectation for up to six new large mussel barges/boats in the next few years. The industrial space would provide for more processing activity or for an expansion in the ancillary services such as marine engineering, boat maintenance and repair and the providers of mooring equipment and floats.

Apart from the industrial infrastructure, the existing population size of Havelock constrains substantial growth in processing there. Several local observers point to a shortage of housing and suitable land and a limited water supply as factors which may limit the growth of the resident population.

Five years ago, there was a big rush on mussel farming applications, until the coastline space ran out. The introduction of the Coastal Marine Zone 2 designation in the new district plan has led to a new rush of applications. The NZMFA reports a general distaste amongst industry members for ‘smothering’ applications. However, the very large farm application for Beatrix Bay (660 hectares) is from a consortium of existing mussel farmers in the nearby ribbon areas, and is evidently motivated by the desire of existing users for ‘rational development’ of the marine resource.

Under different legislation, applied after resource consent has been obtained, the Ministry of Fisheries has recently refused one permit for mussel farming, and may decline others as its criteria is an “undue adverse effect on an existing fishery” whether it be commercial, recreational or traditional (iwi). Unlike the quota management system for other marine species, moreover, there is no formal reporting to the Ministry of Fisheries of the tonnages of mussels harvested.

Other planning issues raised by our informants included the importance of maintaining buffer zones between marine farms and land uses such as forestry, and the return of mussel shells to the bays from which they were harvested so the supply of minerals in the water can be sustained.

Housing

In the mid 1980's housing density in Havelock was low due to the problems of sewage disposal. Older dwellings on the uphill side of the main street and in Cook Street commanded the best views of the harbour, while newer houses had been built at the southern end of the township, and above the estuary to the north. Only 14 new dwellings had been built between 1981 and 1986 as there was a shortage of residential land. Low cost housing was in short supply, and some people were using caravans at the motor camp for permanent accommodation (Ministry of Works & Development, 1986: 11-12). The Council was reluctant to issue new building permits until the sewerage was installed about 13 years ago.

The housing stock was first boosted in 1985 when the owner of a block of motels at the southern entrance to the township converted them to rental units. Further subdivision followed the completion of the sewerage scheme, when there was a burst of building activity.

The tenure of the township’s housing stock varied from the national pattern in 1996. A relatively high proportion of dwellings were owner occupied, with 34 per cent of them being owned without a mortgage, while another 28 per cent were owned with a mortgage (see Table 16). Moreover, as Table 17 indicates, Havelock has relatively few unoccupied private dwellings (15 per cent cf.18 per cent), which is typical for rural centres in general.

Table 16: *Tenure of Dwellings in Havelock - 1996*

Form of Tenure	% of dwellings	
	Havelock	New Zealand
Provided rent free	3.1	3.7
Rented	23.4	22.9
Owned with a mortgage	28.1	35.2
Owned without a mortgage	34.4	31.1
Total number of dwellings	192	1,276,332

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Table 17: *Unoccupied Private Dwellings in Havelock - 1996*

	Number of Occupied Private Dwellings	Number of Unoccupied Private Dwellings	Total Private Dwellings	Unoccupied Dwellings as per cent of Total Private Dwellings
Havelock	192	35	227	15.4
All Rural Centres	29,349	6,275	35,624	17.6

Source: New Zealand Census 1996

Land for residential and industrial development remains limited in Havelock, and the housing shortage persists. Many people who work in the township reside in other parts of the district, and some would probably choose to live in Havelock provided they could find affordable accommodation. House rentals are relatively high for a rural centre (i.e. \$170-180 per week for a three bedroom house); particularly for workers employed by processing factories or marine farms at rates around \$10 per hour.

Health

Health services in Havelock are provided by a medical centre staffed by a general practitioner, two part-time practice nurses, and a receptionist; a pharmacy agency with a same day service; and a volunteer ambulance service. The medical centre was built by the local Lions Club and gifted to the Community Association in 1993. It is let to the general practitioner for a nominal rent. A Plunket nurse, a public health nurse, and physiotherapist visit the township on a weekly basis, but local residents must travel to the hospital at Blenheim to receive more specialised treatment. There is an after hours centre at Wairau which allows the general practitioner in Havelock some time off by providing medical services in the evenings and at weekends. The general practitioner treats the injuries of workers from Sanford's factory, and estimates that around 10 per cent of his patients are visitors to the district, although this varies with the season.

A resident recalls that between 1979 and 1986 the ambulance service and local doctor were under pressure from injuries in the mussel industry, and from overcrowding in the motor camp which caused outbreaks of illness. The volunteer ambulance service began operating after the cottage hospital in Havelock closed in 1966. Nowadays the ambulance service has only four qualified and practising volunteers as it is difficult to recruit people for basic training. Calls currently average eight per month; with more of them being medical emergencies rather than accidents.

Education and training

Havelock has a primary school and a mobile kindergarten. Older children travel to Blenheim to attend secondary school, although a few of them attend the Rai Valley Area School. There are also several other primary schools in the district at Canvastown (two teachers), Linkwater (two teachers), Waitaria (one teacher), and French Pass (one teacher).

The roll at Havelock Primary School peaked prior to the mussel boom. It fell from 109 to 81 between 1981 and 1986. There were also 14 children in the kindergarten at that time (Ministry of Works & Development, 1986: 13). Over the last decade there has been some growth in the roll, and in 1999 the school had 95 pupils and four classrooms. The boom period attracted families with school age children to the township, but there is also a high turnover rate of pupils at the primary school. Some parents only work in the township for a short period while awaiting long term employment in places such as Blenheim or Nelson, while others move around the region because of the seasonal nature of work in the mussel industry.

The mobile kindergarten operates in Havelock for two and a half hours a week. It has 14 children on the roll, plus some others who are under the qualifying age. The kindergarten is based at the RSA Hall, and has two teachers. There is also a play group which is organised by parents.

Young people who have left school must travel to Blenheim or Nelson to attend training courses. Until recently training for mussel harvesting and processing has been work based rather than at tertiary institutions. People employed by Sanford Ltd, for instance, often progress through several jobs. They may start in the factory, but should they express an interest in working on the boats they may occasionally be given work on a boat before they eventually secure full-time employment on the water. Sanford's also provides in-house training for its workers in the use of equipment and health and safety practices. Nowadays, the polytechnics at Blenheim and Nelson provide courses in seafood processing and aquaculture, and these courses have helped to establish a pool of job-seekers with relevant skills for the industry.

Social-service agencies

The post office in Havelock closed ten years ago, but was reopened immediately as a private agency providing limited services. There are two members of the police based in the township. Residents must travel to Blenheim to access the services of other government agencies such as WINZ or the Inland Revenue.

COMMUNITY

Cultural values

A nucleus of older established families still reside in Havelock and the Marlborough Sounds. One informant described these families as an "*old guard*" who feel they "*own the town*" and resist change. In comparison, an old timer said he could walk down the street and see no-one he new anymore! Another informant suggested that while the established families have been wary of newcomers, they have become more tolerant of them. Havelock has a high turnover of residents, and new arrivals become more quickly accepted as 'locals' nowadays.

Mussel farming and tourism have brought newer families to the district who have different values regarding commercial activities and the environment. Some newcomers are drawn by the economic opportunities provided by the mussel, forestry and tourism industries, whereas other people are attracted by the lifestyle sustained by the scenic beauty and natural resources of the district. There has been a gradual shift from an extractive to a sustainable approach to the environment, although respondents considered there is a residue of 'rape and pillage' attitudes amongst some members of the community. A number of people operating businesses in Havelock or working in marine farming and processing commute from Blenheim, and they are less involved in community activities than residents.

The existing hotel caters mainly for 'locals'. A new hotel has been completed and it will provide a service of a more cosmopolitan, lounge bar character and operate an 'a la carte' restaurant. It confirms the increasing cultural influence of visitors to the town, while offering an alternative drinking climate to locals.

Havelock has adopted a new identity as the "Mussel Capital of the World", but, as was noted in the earlier section about the local economy, there can be considerable social tension around community and development issues.

Community leadership and organisations

The Havelock Community Association owns the camping ground that generates income. That income has been used to fund community projects and provide assistance to local sporting organisations. Operators in the mussel industry (e.g. Sanford Ltd) also support local community activities through sponsorship, fund raising, and assisting people to organise community events. The district has a wide variety of sports clubs, but many of them are now organised on a district basis with members drawn from a wider catchment area.

Netball, for example, formerly had a lot of territorial rivalry with teams representing the Rai Valley, Canvastown, Havelock, etc, but now has a premier team representing the Pelorus area.

Over recent years it has become difficult to recruit volunteers to manage community organisations. People are working longer hours, and more women have joined the workforce to supplement family incomes. Although many well-educated people have arrived in the district since the 1980's, their participation in local organisations has been limited because their primary goal has been to establish their business ventures. Other people seeking employment in the mussel industry were transient workers who lacked the skills that organisations required. Several organisations, such as Scouts, Guides, and the Softball Club, which depended on voluntary labour (particularly of women), have become defunct. Others, like the Lions Club, Masonic Lodge, or the local ambulance service, have struggled to maintain their activities.

Social Problems

Alcohol and drug abuse, relationships with marital partners, and coping with the changes associated with retirement are the major social problems for residents of Havelock. Drinking is part of the traditional lifestyle of workers employed in the mussel industry and commercial fishing activities. While there are a significant number of low-income families and beneficiaries, it is reported that very few people in the township are “destitute”. Interpersonal relationships, particularly between marital partners, are of concern to the community. Some of these arise through shift work. Those who need counselling services are referred to agencies in Blenheim and Nelson. There are also reports of women, who have retired to Havelock with their partners, suffering from depression due to losing contact with their network of family and friends.

Maori

People identifying themselves as Maori comprised 12 per cent of the population of Havelock in 1996 (cf. 14.5 per cent for NZ). The local iwi is Ngati Kuia, while other iwi closely associated with the district are Rangitane and Ngati Koata. The marae of the Ngati Kuia is at Te Hora near Canvastown.

Ngati Kuia own a fishing company based in Nelson which leases quota from the Maori Fisheries Commission. They fund their administration and research, and make educational grants from the revenue derived from fishing quota. They have also become involved with marine farming with the goal of supplying better employment opportunities for their people. Ngati Kuia have concerns about the negative effects of large scale marine farming on environmental sustainability in the Marlborough Sounds, and on sacred sites such as the Chetwodes and Titi Islands. They have objected to an application for a marine farm at Anakoha Bay as their people are starting to return to the land there. Their objection is based on customary rights and is something of a test case. Furthermore, they have objected to various parts of the proposed harbour development at Havelock. The local dump (now site of the transfer station) was located near sites and a waterway which are ‘sacred’ for Ngati Kuia.

As Maori groups become more active and better resourced (through settlements and fisheries income) to ensure that their interests are taken account of, community tensions have increased. Some community interests now consider “Maori” are holding up various developments.

Youth and women

Younger residents of Havelock, unlike their counterparts in other rural towns in New Zealand, have reasonable prospects of finding employment within their community. The major issues they confront are drug abuse, a lack of leisure activities, and the limited job opportunities (apart from the mussel industry), particularly for young women.

There are few women working on the vessels which harvest mussels even though they are generally considered to be good sorters. In the few cases where women do work on the vessels, they are either owner/operators themselves or are related to the owner/operator of a marine farming enterprise. Women are more dominant in the processing of mussels, as has been discussed previously, and those who have children often work on the night shift.

CONCLUSION

Havelock has a classic history of economic and demographic cycles based on natural resource extraction and utilisation, including gold, native forests, farming and wet-fishing, exotic forestry tourism, and, most recently, marine farming. In earlier times, primary production supported a range of local processing, including sawmills, dairy factories and fish processing. Now a great deal of primary production from the area is processed further afield, including a large proportion of the mussels. The town is currently in a “boom” phase - developing a base in farming, forestry, tourism and marine farming, with the latter two industries poised for further growth.

There are a number of key extra-local influences on the Havelock community. Of particular importance is its close proximity to Blenheim through modern roads and vehicles. There is easy access to social and other infrastructure such as a regional airport and the South Island ferry terminal. It is also easy for income to “leak” out of the community towards a much greater range of shops in Blenheim and Nelson. The community is part of a larger, regional, labour market, with complementarity between work and skills in sectors such as pastoral and marine farming, viticulture and fish processing, tourism and forestry.

The marine farming industry has seen major changes in resource ownership, with major industry players consolidating their interests in farming and processing. A strong national industry association (NZMFA) has developed and is based in the area. There has been considerable evolution of mussel farming and harvesting technology and employment has become more formalised with mechanisation and site contracts. Hygiene standards have led to a whole new work culture.

The regulatory and policy environment is important, at both the territorial and central government levels. Key influences include the MDC’s policy to focus on Pelorus Sound for marine farming, the RMA, OSH and conservation policy and activities.

There are evident changes in social structure and the culture of industry and local society. There has been a gradual shift from an “extractive” to a “sustainable” mentality of resource use. Mussel farming has brought new families to the area, who are involved in entrepreneurial activity. There has been an increase in multiple job sharing and wife/husband partnerships across sectors, although a strong gender segregation of roles remains in marine farming. While the community has adopted formally a new identity as “Mussel Capital of the World”, there are frictions between old and new ways. Over time, however, the old families are fading, and there is much less geographical parochialism.

Local strategies are needed to tackle key community issues and constraints to development. These include the limited availability of housing, maintenance of an adequate, and affordable, water supply and sewerage system, and parking and traffic congestion on the main street. While there are obvious benefits from high levels of employment and relatively few, obvious social problems, alcohol and coping with retirement and social change are community concerns. The main economic challenges are to achieve further diversification of the industry and economic base and increase potential income sources for individuals. But there are limited numbers of active people to support a range of local organisations and initiatives. New owners of businesses have other priorities, and full employment and shift work reduce the number of available people to provide leadership. It is sometimes difficult to get people to work together and focus on an agreed strategy.

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