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WAITARA: SENSES OF PLACE IN 1998

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates and describes “senses of place” as experienced by 13 long-term Pakeha residents of Waitara in 1998. The town of Waitara is located on the West Coast of the North Island in New Zealand, and at the 1996 census had a population of 6,507 people. On 15 December 1997, the town’s main employer, the AFFCO freezing works plant, was closed. The effect of this closure on the town of Waitara has been devastating. The town has gone from a ‘working town’ to one in which the majority of its working age population are now dependent on State support as their primary source of income.

The primary objective of this study is to examine how sense of place is affected by economic restructuring. This study uses a combination of secondary quantitative analysis, to situate Waitara within the broad patterns of global and national restructuring, and in-depth interviews to describe 13 individual experiences.

This research documents that economic restructuring does indeed change places. The closure of the freezing works plant has left the town marginalised and disconnected from national and global economies. But more importantly the findings of this study support Massey’s (1994) assertion that there is no universal sense of place. The identity of places, and therefore our ‘senses of place’, are constructed through our contact with the outside world. Consequently, an individual’s sense of place is unfixed, contested and multiple and changes in response to processes occurring on a local, national and global scale.

Finally, this study challenges planners to incorporate local knowledge into planning processes. To focus on a more people-centred style of planning, where the community is empowered to take a more direct role in local decision-making processes.

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Waitara: Senses of Place in 1998

Denise Catherine Young

Abstract

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Places are important. As Hanson (1992, p582) states “ the idea that life is lived on the head of a pin, not anchored in space and time” is indeed science fiction. Place is the point at which human experience of the world occurs. To me Waitara is an important place. It is the place where I was born, where my mother was born and where my mother’s parents spent the majority of their lives. While I have not lived in Waitara since I was a young child, my affection for a place which I still think of as ‘home’ remains.

It has therefore greatly saddened me to observe, from the outside, the impact that rapid economic restructuring has had on the town of Waitara over the past ten years. Waitara is a single industry town. The economic well-being of the 6,507 people (the population as at the 1996 census) was still reliant to a large extent on the continuing prosperity of a much-contracted meat freezing works plant. The freezing works, which once employed 1,200 people at the peak of the season, through a series of wind downs and closures of individual chains was finally mothballed by Auckland Farmers’ Freezing Co-op (AFFCO), the plant’s owner, on 15 December 1997. On 10 November 1998 AFFCO announced that the plant would never re-open (National Radio, 1998). The impacts of the closure of the works on Waitara have been significant. The town has gone from a ‘working town’ to one in which the majority of its population are now reliant on state benefits as their primary source of income.

A number of previous studies of economic restructuring in New Zealand (Melser et al, 1982; Nicholls and Plesse, 1982; Britten et al, 1992; Peck, 1985; Conradson, 1994; Wilson, 1995 and Le Heron and Pawson, 1996) have documented the fact that restructuring does indeed change places. The devastating impacts of closure and economic recession are not unique to Waitara. There is no doubt that economic restructuring has left Waitara vulnerable to the entrenchment of long-term unemployment in a community more notable in the recent past for its stable and productive workforce. One question that remains is how restructuring affects the way in which long-term residents of Waitara view their town. The focus of this research is

on the human dimension of restructuring, as to how it ultimately affects our relationship and attachment to where we live, our “sense of place”. What are the elements which make up our attachment to a place? And how are these elements influenced by factors outside of our control, such as economic restructuring?

1.2 Relevance of Sense of Place to Planning

Recent planning theorists (Lucy, 1994; McLoughlin, 1994 and Sandercock, 1998) argue that strengthening the relationships of people with place should be a fundamental professional goal of planning in the 1990s. This view contrasts with that of other writers, such as Levy (1992, p81) who states that since the comprehensive plan lost its dominance the field of planning “does not seem to have any guiding principle or central paradigm”. Lucy (1994, p305) asserts that:

“planning does have a central principle. The central principle is healthy places nurture healthy people, and that public policies should aim at sustaining both healthy people and healthy places, not one or the other”.

McLoughlin (1994) pleads for planning to once again view itself as an interdisciplinary project aimed at achieving a rounded understanding of the places in which we live. He claims that planning should encompass sociological, economic, environmental and political perspectives without giving priority to any one of them.

Sandercock (1998, p204) argues for:

“An insurgent planning, one which is prepared to address issues of social, cultural and environmental justice in the cities and regions that are being shaped by these larger forces of economic and demographic mobility”.

Planning, Sandercock (1998) goes on to explain, needs an extended language to focus on the city of memory, the city of desire, and the city of spirit. She states that the question of a ‘planner’s knowledge’ is at the heart of planning epistemology. In particular, Sandercock (1998, p58) requires planners to ask themselves the following questions; What do I know? How do I know? What are my sources of knowledge? What is valid knowledge in planning? Who decides that? And who possesses knowledge that is relevant to planning?

Other planning theorists, Friedmann (1973, 1993), Healy (1992), and Forester (1989) also address the issues surrounding the source of planning knowledge. The question of different types of knowledge and its applicability to planning was first raised by Friedmann (1973) who questioned the growing polarity between knowledge processed by experts (whose knowledge was grounded in science-based, professional knowledge) and knowledge processed by actors (people). He claimed that the actors processed a great deal of experiential knowledge, which was not however acknowledged as having any validity in the planning process. Sandercock explained that “in the old model, [as alluded to by Friedmann, 1973] planning was concerned with making public decisions more rational,...Planning knowledge and expertise was thus grounded in positivist science” (Sandercock 1998, p204-205).

More recently, planning theorists have advocated the idea of planning as “communicative action”, which turns its back on the model of technical rationality and systematic analysis in favour of a more qualitative and interpretative mode of inquiry, seeking to understand the unique and the contextual, rather than arriving at general rules for practice (Healy, 1992 and Forester, 1989). They advocate a greater and more explicit reliance on practical wisdom. Planners must not only be able to hear words; they must also be able to listen carefully and critically to others. This study of sense of place is intended to contribute to this movement in planning towards a more interpretative conception of practice. It addresses both the substantive issues, by once again putting people and place at the heart of planning epistemology and issues of planning practice, by enabling people in their own words to describe the place in which they live.

This research is also an attempt to look beyond the regulatory constraints of the Resource Management Act 1991 (The Act), which places an understanding of sense of place, largely focused on an individual’s social connection to where they live, outside of the framework of sustainable resource management. Upton (1994, p2) writes:

“The Act is not about directing the wise use and development of resources in order to effectively promote and safeguard health, safety, convenience, and economic, cultural, and social welfare (to use the language of the Town and Country Planning Act).

Nor is it about balancing socio-economic aspirations and environmental outcomes. The Act is not designed as a social planning statute. I consider the Resource Management Act to be first and foremost an environmental statute.”

The singular focus of the Resource Management Act 1991 on the sustainability of the physical environment is further reinforced in the long title of the Act, which reads:

“An Act to restate and reform the law relating to the use of the land, air, and water”.

The proposed amendments to The Act reinforce its primary focus on the sustainable management of natural and physical resources (Ministry for the Environment, November 1998). In particular, it is proposed that the phrase “social and economic” be removed from the definition of environment in Section 2 of the Act. These amendments clearly limit The Act to the biophysical and physical environment.

McDermott (1998, p631) asserts that with the introduction of the Resource Management Act in 1991, planning in New Zealand was limited to the mediation of the environmental relations of production and consumption. Consequently, urban planning in New Zealand in 1998 largely ignores people, and in particular their sense of place, by focusing only on those elements of urban life, such as housing design, which are directly linked to resource use (Perkins and Memon 1993, p21). However, it is the assertion of this research that neighbourhoods, towns and cities are much more than houses. They are, when functioning well, the locations in which people find a positive sense of place (Perkins and Memon 1993, p22). Furthermore, gaining an understanding of the impact of economic restructuring on localities, such as Waitara, cannot be achieved by confining the debate and public process to environmental matters. People matter, and an understanding of “place” is important, for as Massey and Allen (1984, p5) point out “ a sense of place, a commitment to location and to established community, can be a strong element of people’s resistance to planners’ plans”.

To this end a people-centred focus for planning demands that planners move beyond the structures and constraints of the Resource Management Act. By building our understanding of place, this thesis aims to contribute to this broader concept of planning for the places that people know.

1.3 Thesis Aims and Objectives

The main aim of this research is:

To investigate whether sense of place, as experienced by long-term residents of Waitara in 1998, has been changed or altered by economic restructuring.

Objectives:

1. To identify a framework in which to explore sense of place.
2. To describe the different elements which make up sense of place as experienced by long-term residents of Waitara in 1998.
3. To explore the impact of economic restructuring on Waitara at both a macro (community) and micro (individual) level.
4. To make suggestions as to how an understanding of sense of place can improve a 'planners' knowledge of the places for which we plan.

The main aim and objectives of this research are achieved through the use of a combination of methodologies. An analysis of secondary statistical data provides a broad picture as to how economic restructuring has impacted on Waitara and its people at a macro-level. In-depth interviews are used to explore the impacts of restructuring on individuals in the town and to describe the unique factors and processes which contribute to their various senses of place.

1.4 Thesis Structure and Chapter Outline

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The balance of this chapter introduces Waitara, the site of the research. Chapter Two reviews the literature and theory of both sense of place and economic restructuring theory, in relation to its ability to provide a conceptual understanding of how place and sense of place are constructed. It outlines a theoretical framework on which the original research is based.

Chapter Three outlines the research methodology, research methods and techniques used in this research. It reviews the philosophies which informed the choice of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, and outlines the overall research design.

The research is divided into two parts; a detailed 'macro'-level statistical phase, combined with a series of 'micro' in-depth interviews. The chapter examines the advantages and disadvantages of the research methods and techniques.

Chapter Four analyses census data and other secondary sources to identify some of the broad changes which have occurred in the social and economic structure of Waitara from 1986 to 1996. This chapter discusses the main agents of change and provides a broad economic and social context in which to situate an individual's experiences of sense of place of Waitara in 1998.

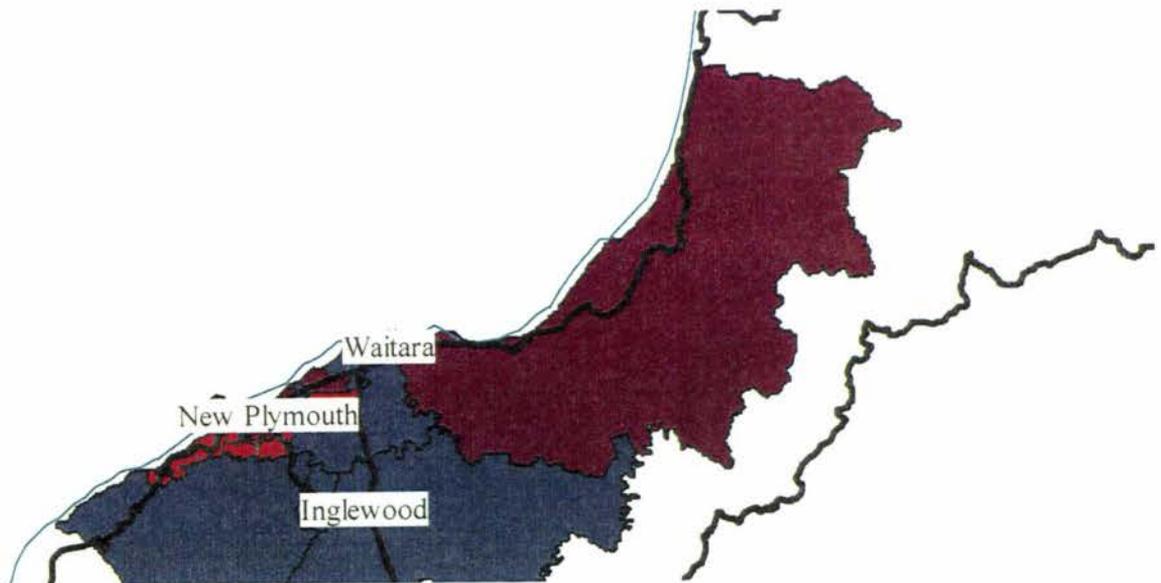
Chapter Five presents the findings of the in-depth research interviews and describes the effects of restructuring on long-term Pakeha residents of Waitara in 1998. This chapter also outlines the elements and processes which contribute to an individual respondent's sense of place.

The final chapter, through a process of synthesis of the qualitative and quantitative analysis, provides critical reflections in relation to theory and states the overall conclusions of the research.

1.5 Waitara: Present and Past

The purpose of this section is to briefly describe the context in which this research is set. The township of Waitara is located at the mouth of the Waitara River on the West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand (Figure One). The demographic characteristics of Waitara's population are summarised in Table One.

Figure One: Location map of Waitara



Source: Super map - Statistics New Zealand 1997

Table One: Waitara's key statistics at the 1996 census

Population:	Waitara has a usually resident population of 6,507 people.
Ethnicity:	62 percent of usually resident population are Pakeha/ European, 32 percent are Maori, 0.6 percent are Pacific Island and 0.6 percent are Asian. Waitara's Maori population is significantly higher than that found in the New Zealand population of 14 percent.
Education:	Waitara's population has fewer educational qualifications, when compared to the total New Zealand population. Only 1 percent of Waitara's population aged 15 years and over hold a university qualification, compared to 8 percent in the total New Zealand population aged 15 years and over.
Industry base:	Waitara is characterised as a manufacturing town. The majority of the town's full-time labour force are employed in occupations associated with manufacturing, metal trades, processing and labouring.
Personal Income:	The personal income of the Waitara population is significantly less than the personal income of the total New Zealand population. 66 percent of Waitara's population aged 15 years and over earn under \$20,000 per annum. 51 percent of Waitara's population aged 15 years and over receive at least one form of government support. Of those households in Waitara receiving government support, 23 percent receive the unemployment benefit, compared to only 19 percent of the total New Zealand population who receive government support.

Source: Statistics New Zealand, 1996 census

While Waitara is only 16 kilometres north-east of New Plymouth, the town itself has a distinct character and history which contributes to a strong sense of local identity. The town is laid out in a classical grid subdivision pattern, which is modified only where it touches the foreshore or on the periphery of the town where there is more recent development. The streets are wide and its low-density development provides a feeling of openness. The town's central retail area comprises a traditional strip development and contains a significant number of buildings of heritage value (Holman 1995, p35). The wide streets, heritage buildings, and semi-rural nature of the town provide the visitor with a feeling that they have entered a place in which time has stood still.



Figure Two: View of the main street of Waitara from Manukorihi lookout in 1995

Source: Taranaki Newspapers Ltd

Its location at the mouth of the Waitara River has frequently made Waitara an important site for both Maori and Pakeha. For more than 600 years, Maori people have occupied land adjacent to the River. Both the River and the coast provided early Maori with a valuable source of food. Physical evidence of Maori occupation and association with the land is still visible today. There are a number of pa sites and marae located along the Waitara river. These include the beautifully carved Owae marae, which is situated on Manukorihi hill above the township of Waitara and Pukerangiora Pa, which is located on a cliff top some 100m above the Waitara River. (Taranaki Catchment Commission and Regional Water Board 1986, p1).

European settlement began in 1841. By 1843 there were over 1,000 Europeans living in the greater Waitara area. However the occupation of land by the Pakeha created conflict between local Maori and the settlers. In 1860 this conflict escalated into the first Taranaki land war. In 1865 the purchase of the Waitara land was abandoned and the land was confiscated by the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). Today physical evidence of the land wars remains. Buildings such as military blockhouses, early cottages for military personnel, and an early butcher's shop which served the British troops have been conserved and reflect the town's European early history.

By the end of the nineteenth century North Taranaki was at peace and the area was developing into a highly productive agricultural district. By 1885 Waitara had a large meat chilling factory and an active shipping trade (Alexander, 1979, p36). Waitara was the first port in Taranaki to engage in overseas trade when, in 1823, the barque *William Stoveld* anchored off the mouth of the river and began trading with the Maori. The port soon became busy, and with the development of the freezing works trade flourished. It was even suggested that the main settlement for Taranaki should be situated on the banks of the Waitara River (Wright 1989, p174).

In 1902 the British based company, Borthwicks CWS, purchased the meat chilling factory. Borthwicks owned and managed the factory until 1988. The plant, although it has been extensively re-built and expanded over the years, remains on its original site. It is sited very close to the centre of the town, the only meatworks in New Zealand to be in this kind of location (Holman, 1995).

Until the closure of the freezing works in December 1997 the rhythm of its activities dominated much of the life of the town. The hooters signalled to the townspeople the time for morning tea, lunch, afternoon tea, and the end of the working day. The odours emitted from the works on a muggy day formed the butt of many jokes and were detested by many townspeople and visitors alike.

The dominance of the freezing works not only provided the town with a stable economic base, but also determined the main characteristics of the labour force. The loss of jobs experienced since the 1980's in New Zealand's manufacturing sector, and in particular the restructuring of the New Zealand export meat industry, have been felt unevenly within the town. There has been no new influx of industry to replace the freezing works. Waitara is facing a crisis of long-term unemployment.

In the early 1980's the construction of the two 'Think Big' energy projects in the areas surrounding Waitara provided the town's economy with a short-term boom, which masked the impact of a national economic recession. While the projects themselves did not provide any significant employment for local people, they did have a short-term beneficial effect on the town's retail sector. Between 1983 and 1986, 49 new businesses were opened in Waitara (Universal Business Directories).

The Think Big Projects also contributed to the development of new infrastructure in the town. In 1982, the Waitara bypass road was constructed. The bypass road re-aligned State Highway Three, so it no longer ran through the main street of Waitara. The trickle-down effects of the projects were however, short lived. The mature projects only required a minimum of staff to control their daily operations and this, combined with the fact that Waitara was no longer on the main highway, contributed to a decline in the town's retail sector. By 1987 the number of businesses closing in Waitara began to exceed the number of new businesses opening (Universal Business Directories). Waitara's economy was in decline.

Between 1986 and 1996 Waitara experienced a loss of 729 full-time jobs (Statistics New Zealand, 1997). However the population of Waitara has remained relatively stable in comparison to the number of jobs lost, with only a net population loss of 171 people within the same ten-year period (ibid). While Chapter Four provides a more detailed

statistical analysis of the impact of this job loss on the community of Waitara, the question remains as to why, with the closure of the freezing works, the town did not experience a much greater population loss.

CHAPTER TWO : SENSE OF PLACE - A CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Planning and geography share a common interest in space and place. Generally, planning has focused on the need to exert some control over society's spatial arrangements (Sandercock 1998, p33). Planning, as a discipline, has not obviously examined the history of, or people's attachment to, place. McLoughlin (1994, p112) outlines how town planning since the 1920's has become quite detached from an interest in the actual social process of production of urban form and urban crisis. Eric Reade (1987, cited in McLoughlin 1994) asserts that planners place great emphasis not on what is actually happening in the built environment, but rather on plans and the process of their production. Planning as a profession has established a dichotomy between social action and the management of physical space. Lucy (1994, p 309) concludes that:

“In the intellectual arenas where planning academics and professionals operate, the connections between people and place are not adequately conceptualized, researched, or related to practical operations”.

The main literature of place and 'sense of place' is found in the writings of human geography. While interest in place as a theoretical concept has greatly increased among human geographers in the last two decades, the concept of "genius loci" or "sense of place" is derived from an ancient Roman concept. Norberg-Schulz (1980, p18, quoted in Harvey 1996, p306-307) explains:

“*Genius loci* is a Roman concept. According to ancient Roman belief every 'independent' being has its *genius*, its guardian spirit. This spirit gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character or essence...The *genius* thus denotes what a thing *is*, or what it 'wants to be'. [Ancient man] recognised that it is of great existential importance to come to terms with the *genius* of the locality where his life takes place. In the past, survival depended on a 'good' relationship to the place in a physical as well as a psychic sense”.

The purpose of the following section is to examine how different theorists in human geography have interpreted the concepts of 'place' and 'sense of place', in order to develop a theoretical framework for this research. This chapter also briefly reviews

theories of economic restructuring, in order to explore the relationship between economic restructuring and the senses of place as experienced by long-term residents of Waitara.

2.2 Review of Literature on Place and Sense of Place

2.2.1 Positivism

Place and, in particular, sense of place became key concepts in human geography in the 1970's. The humanist conceptualisation of place was a response to the positivism which dominated the discipline of geography in the 1960's. Positivism, as promoted in the writings of Berry and Marble (1968), Harvey (1969), and Abler et al (1972), was based on the notion of scientific rationality and involved the use of mathematical models to define 'spatial interactions'. It was an attempt to explain in a scientific manner the spatial organisation of places. Space under the positivist model was viewed as objective (space is viewed as an empirical fact, indisputable and fixed) or relative (space is viewed as the relative placement of objects to other objects). Places in turn were viewed as objective, independent entities.

The abstract theories of positivism were translated into working models. Everything that was conceivably quantifiable was quantified. Theories were tested against objective data, experiments were viewed as repetitive and independent events. For example, positivist models measured the growth of cities as if each city was an "independent event"; as if there were no trade, capital flow, migration, or cultural and political influence between cities.

But as Harvey (1989,p3) points out:

"science can never be neutral in human affairs (it would otherwise be irrelevant); attempts to put ourselves outside history and politics at best produce well-meaning pseudo-sciences (of which positivism is one example) and at worst so break that chain of moral connection between what scientists do and what society does as to sanction the grossest forms of political and social irresponsibility."

While positivism fails to acknowledge people's irrational attachments to place, it is important to recognise that its theories provided much of the theoretical basis for the development of normative planning.

2.2.2 Humanist approach to place

By the 1970's, however, human geographers had begun to stress the importance of people's experiences of place and their sense of place. The work of early humanist theorists (Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977)) created a concern for the importance of place to human life, for place raised precisely the question of human meaning. They celebrated places as spaces given meaning by human feelings. Humanists defined space as "amorphous and intangible and not an entity that can be directly described and analysed" (Relph 1976, p8). Space, Relph went on to explain, "provides the context for places but derives its meaning from particular places". Space and time were viewed as social constructs. In particular, Tuan (1977) recognised that different societies produce qualitatively different conceptions of space and time.

Both Relph and Tuan took a phenomenological approach to place. Phenomenology, Buttner and Seamon (1980, p148) explained, "strives for the actualization of context. As a way of study it seeks to meet the things of the world as those things are in themselves and so describe them". Phenomenological geography seeks to understand how people live in relation to everyday places, spaces and environments. It seeks to understand the essential structures of the human experience.

This approach was adopted because, according to Relph (1976, p4), "the foundations of geographical knowledge lie in the direct experiences and consciousness we have of the world we live in". Through these phenomenological philosophies, humanist geographers sought to recover the essence of the experience of place. Place, according to Tuan (1977, p54), "is a calm centre of established values". Relph (1976, p38) stated that "to be attached to places and have profound ties with them is an important human need".

"To have roots in a place is to have a secure point from which to look out on the world, a firm grasp of one's own position in the order of things, and a significant spiritual and psychological attachment to somewhere in particular"(ibid).

However, with all its promise of and attention to understanding the 'human experience' of place, phenomenology fails to fully explain the relationship between an individual's sense of place and events occurring in the world outside one's immediate realm of experience. For example, it is important to note that places can also be oppressive and imprisoning, and that this may be influenced to a large extent by factors occurring outside that place. Relph (1976, p41) explained that "there is a sheer drudgery of place, a sense of being tied inexorably to this place, of being bound by the established scenes and symbols and routines". He went on to assert that drudgery:

"is always a part of profound commitment to a place, and any commitment must also involve an acceptance of the restrictions that place imposes and the miseries it may offer. Our experience of place, and especially home, is a dialectical one - balancing a need to stay with a desire to escape" (Relph 1976, p42).

While Relph (1976) identified that places involve restrictions he does not explain how these restrictions affect and influence people's experiences of place. He also assumed that there are certain aspects of place about which everyone would feel similarly. For example, while Relph (1976, p58) outlined that "for different groups and communities of interest and knowledge, place has different identities", he does not discuss the potential conflict which may result from these different identities, or the possibility that there are no shared or common experiences of place.

Related to the Humanist concept of place is the concept of placelessness, which describes the modern day situation arising out of the pressures of the market and globalisation where people no longer identify with or have a sense of place. Alvin Tofler (1970, p91-94, quoted in Relph 1976, p33) suggested that in the modern western society of the 1970's many people feel at home wherever they are with people of similar interests, regardless of the particular place they are in. Relph (1976) outlined how place is being destroyed, rendered 'inauthentic' or even 'placeless' by the sheer organisational power and depth of penetration of the market. Tuan (1977, p198) also discussed the concept of an inauthentic sense of place as "being rooted in a place is a different kind of experience from having and cultivating a 'sense of place'".

However, this concept of "placelessness" fails to acknowledge any sense of moral responsibility beyond the world of immediate sensuous and contemplative experience.

The rejection of globalisation puts a place and an individual's sense of place in a time-space vacuum, with no larger context. It produces a romantic and selective understanding of the places in which we live. It is the phenomenologist inability to incorporate the wider structures outside of a person's everyday experience which has drawn criticism from both Marxist and feminist geographers.

2.2.3 Marxist geography

During the 1980's Marxist geographers such as Massey and Meegan (1982) and Massey and Allen (1984) began to examine the geography of job loss. Massey and Meegan (1982) challenged the general neo-classical economic assumption that jobs are lost in an industry because that industry is itself in decline. This assumption, they asserted, was too simplistic and failed to explain the unevenness of the decline of the British manufacturing sector in the 1960's, as to why job losses were occurring in some areas and not others. Massey and Meegan's analysis provided a link between the conceptualisation of employment decline and geography.

Massey and Allen (1984) developed this idea further and sought to theorise place as manifesting specificity within the context of general processes. This work raised a fundamental methodological question about the need to "keep a grip on the generality of the events, the wider processes lying behind them, without losing sight of the individuality of the form of their occurrence" (Massey and Allen 1984, p9). Looking only at the general process does not adequately explain changes occurring in particular places. Massey and Allen urged geographers to once again focus on the local.

Marxist geographers, such as Massey (1984, 1989) and Harvey (1990, 1996), emphasised that there is a need to acknowledge that we live in a world of universal tension not only between personal and interpersonal social relations, but also between the local and the global. Put more simply, Harvey (1996, p316) asserts that

"what goes on in a place cannot be understood outside of the space relations which support that place any more than the space relations can be understood independently of what goes on in particular places."

Marxist theorists promoted the need for a new understanding of place which recognised that place construction, as with capitalism, is a process which creates tensions and conflict. In particular, there needs to be an implicit recognition of the influence of the speculative element of capitalist development, which often pits one fraction of capital against another. The tension between place-bound fixity and spatial mobility of capital therefore forces places to change. As Harvey (1996, p 296) states “old places have to be devalued, destroyed and redeveloped while new places are created”. The history of capitalism, Harvey concludes, is “punctuated by intense phases of spatial reorganisation”(ibid). For example, Harvey (1989, p6) links urbanisation and capitalism in the following way:

“The study of urbanisation is a study of that process as it unfolds through the production of distinctive way of thinking and acting among people who live in towns and cities. The study of urbanisation is not the study of a legal, political entity or of a physical artefact. It should be concerned with processes of capital circulation; the shifting flows of labour power, commodities, and capital; the spatial organisation of production and the transformation of time-space relations; movements or information; geopolitical conflicts between territorially-based class alliances; and so on”.

In order to understand the process of place construction, then, we must also examine the general conceptions of capital accumulation. Harvey (1996, p297) contends that “space-time relations have been radically restructured since around 1970 and this has altered the relative locations of places within the global patterning of capital accumulations”.

Urban places which once had a secure status now find themselves vulnerable to economic recession. Harvey (1990) coined the term “space-time compression” to explain this process of globalisation, with its vast reorganisations of capital as regional and local economics are increasingly locked in, not so much to national economies, but directly to the world economy.

Harvey (1990) asserts that the influence of the market and globalisation has created a greater, rather than a lesser, quest for place and personal identity. The collapse of spatial barriers has resulted in a need for people to cling to:

“place and neighbourhoods or nation, region, ethnic groupings, or religious belief as specific marks of identity. Such a quest for visible and tangible marks of identity is readily understandable in the midst of fierce time-space compression” (Harvey (1990, p427).

This position is also supported by Watts (1991, p 10 quoted in Benko and Strohmayr 1997, p126) who states that “globalization does not signal the erasure of local difference, but in a strange way its converse, it revalidates and reconstitutes place, locality and difference”.

Later work by Massey (1991, 1992, 1993 and 1994) further develops this concept of globalisation and asserts there is a need to develop a new understanding of place which incorporates the influences of globalisation into the local experience. A new understanding of place, Massey (1993, p64) summarises, should be progressive, one which would fit in with the current global-local times. She (1992, p12) proposes the following progressive understanding of place:

“If space is conceptualised in terms of a four-dimensional ‘space-time’ and, as hinted at above, as taking the form not of some abstract dimension but of the simultaneous co-existence of social interrelations at all geographical scales, from the intimacy of the household to the wide space of transglobal connections, then place can be reconceptualised too.

Given that conception of space, a ‘place’ is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location. And the singularity of any individual place is formed in part out of the specificity of the interactions which occur at that location (nowhere else does this precise mixture occur) and in part out of the fact that the meeting of those social relations at that location (their partly happenstance juxtaposition) will in turn produce new social effects.”

Massey’s understanding of place contains four key concepts (1994, p155). First of all, the concept of place is absolutely not static. Places are conceptualised in terms of the social interactions which they tie together. These interactions are themselves not motionless things, they are processes. In this way places may also be viewed as processes.

Second, places do not have boundaries in the sense of division which frame simple enclosures. While boundaries are useful for the purpose of the study of a particular place, they are not necessary for the conceptualisation of a place itself. Places themselves are defined through their linkages to that which is ‘outside’. The specificity of place derives from the fact that each ‘place’ has a distinct mixture of the wider and

more local social relations. The identity of place is in part constructed out of positive interrelations with elsewhere.

Third, places do not have single, unique 'identities'; they are full of internal conflicts. Massey (1991, p276) states " for places, certainly when conceptualised as localities, are of course not internally contradictory. Given that they are constructed out of the juxtaposition, the intersection, the articulation, of multiple social relations they could hardly be so". Places are shared spaces and consist of a number of different but connected settings for interaction.

Fourth, and finally, none of the first three concepts denies place nor the importance of the uniqueness of place. The specificity of place is continually reproduced. This does not mean that the past is irrelevant to the identity of place, rather that there is no internally produced essential past. Instead of looking back with nostalgia to some identity of place which it is assumed already exists, the past has to be constructed. This progressive understanding describes a sense of place which according to Massey (1993, p66) "is extra-verted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local".

2.2.4 Feminism and place

Feminist geographers have been pioneers on the frontier of theories about space and gender. McDowell (1983, cited in Spain 1992, p7) argued that urban structure in capitalist societies reflects the construction of space into masculine centres of production and feminine suburbs of reproduction. Places, space and our sense of place are gendered through and through (Massey, 1994). Feminist geographers Hanson (1992) and Rose (1993a and 1993b) are critical of the way in which humanist geographers describe place as a key organising concept yet have dealt with it as if it were completely ungendered. Rose (1993b, p44) goes on to state that early humanist geography "makes its claims about being able to access the essence of place in a highly authoritative manner". She asserts that these claims are masculinist because the essence of place is theorised in terms of an implicit masculine norm. Humanist geography falsely assumes that the experiences of men can represent all experiences.

In particular, a group of feminist geographers argued in 1984 (quoted in Rose 1993b, p44) that:

“humanists tend to show a general concern for the way in which ordinary people are subject to various forms of authority, rather than analysing the specific forms of exploitation and oppression that occur”.

Rose (1993a, p 71) explains that geographers have perceived “place” as an enigma, which is very often characterised through images of the domestic maternal home. In the humanist tradition Tuan (1977, p147) claimed that “hearth, shelter, home or home base are intimate places to human beings everywhere”, while Relph (1976, p39) asserted that home is “an irreplaceable centre of significance”.

However, the humanist view of place as “home” fails to acknowledge that the concept of “home” is a contested zone, especially in gender terms, where the socially sanctioned authority of men is pitted, in numerous cultures, against the authority of women rooted in the routine of the home. For many women their home may be a “prison house” rather than a “castle” as Tuan (1977) and Relph (1976) would lead us to believe. Overall, feminist critiques challenge us to confront the relativity of all knowledge about place and in particular to recognise that our gender influences the way in which we experience place.

For as Massey (1994, p187) writes;

“space and place, spaces and places, and our sense of them (and such related things as our degrees of mobility) are gendered through and through. Moreover they are gendered in a myriad of different ways, which vary between cultures and over time. And this gendering of space and place both reflects and has effects back on the ways in which gender is constructed and understood in the societies in which we live”.

With the new wave of feminist thinking in the 1970s also came a spate of research on women and the urban environment. In particular, this research identified that “[w]omen face problems of such significance in cities and society that gender can no longer be ignored in planning practice” (Leavitt 1986, p 181). In support of the arguments presented by feminist geographers, feminist planners, such as Hayden (1980, 1984), who wrote widely on the topics relating to women and the design of a western urban city, also acknowledged that women’s experience of place is different from that of

men. However, Sandercock and Forsyth (1992, p53) assert that, while significant amounts of research in relation to gender exist in the field of urban design, “feminist planners are still struggling to incorporate the issue of women’s safety into land-use planning”.

2.2.5 Place as part of a structuration process

Historical geographers such as Pred (1984) and social geographers, such as Eyles (1985) have drawn on the theories of the sociologist, Giddens, in interpreting places as part of a structuration process. Eyles (1985, p4) describes the theory of structuration as a concept which involves a duality of structure. It “expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency” (Giddens 1979, p69, quoted in Eyles 1985, p4). Structure refers to rules and resources, organised as properties of social systems, which in themselves consist of reproduced relations between individuals or groups, organised as regular social practices. Agency refers to a continuous flow of conduct, involving actual or contemplated causal interventions in the process of living (Eyles 1985, p4).

In terms of structuration theory, sense of place is not merely a phenomenon that exists in the minds of individuals, but one that develops from and becomes part of everyday life and experiences. However, there is a need to examine the structures, mechanism and forces beyond our immediate observation.

Eyles and Pred also challenged the notion that people’s sense of place is a uniformly experienced phenomenon. Eyles (1985) argues that different life-style and life-cycle groups, and social classes, may have differing senses of place of the same location. Eyles (1985, p122-126) lists the dominant sense of place or ideal- types that arose from his research as follows:

1. Social sense of place - place has social significance and social ties have place significance.
2. Instrumental sense of place - place is a means to an end and its significance depends on whether or not goods, services, and opportunities are available.
3. Nostalgic sense of place - people are dominated by feelings toward place at some time other than the present.
4. Commodity sense of place - place is seen as an ideal place which is quiet, safe, and has certain valued facilities and types of residents.
5. Platform/stage sense of place - place is like a stage on which life is lived out.

6. Family sense of place - place is family interactions and attachments.
7. Environmental sense of place - place is not important for its social, familial, or traditional meanings but as an aesthetic experience. Place is something to be lived in itself.

In his 1985 study the 'social' ideal type was the most frequent sense of place identified by the individuals surveyed. Eyles made the following comments to explain the significance of this finding, when he wrote (1985, p132-133):

“The 'social' sense of place is not only activity-related but also owes much to the importance attached to people, specifically family, neighbours and friends, in shaping and defining life in general. That appears to be a trivial remark. It is necessary to make it to establish the social meaning and relevance of place. We interact and identify specifically with 'people like ourselves' in a locality. Patterned, stable and harmonious social relationships represent an important dimension for a happy life. Interacting with or simply living close to, people perceived to possess similar attributes provides a sense of belonging; it symbolises a sense of identity with people and place”.

It is important to note that Eyles himself recognised that “ideal-types are not theories. They do not provide a mechanism of explanation” (Eyles 1985, p129). His study is important, however, because it highlights the importance of micro-factors, such as personal characteristics, circumstances, place-in-the world and place in the social and economic order, that shape and influence an individual's sense of place. For example, an event such as bereavement may result in a 'nostalgic' sense of place, where an individual's sense of place is dominated by feelings of the past. An individual's sense of place is therefore not fixed, but changes in response to changes in personal circumstances. His research suggested that even within a group of individuals that are of the same social economic class and race, their sense or senses of place may vary.

Under the Resource Management Act 1991, a planner can only address an individual's environmental sense of place. Even the definition of amenity values under The Act must be rooted in natural and physical qualities and characteristics (Upton, 1996). However, Eyles's 1985 study of a semi-industrial town found that only two out of the 162 respondents surveyed indicated that their sense of place was derived from the natural environment of a locality. He concluded that “ place is not an independent phenomenon which people sense or experience in its own right. Life, existence, place-in-the-world, seem to intrude and become manifest in sense of place” (Eyles 1985, p129). The inability of the Resource Management Act to address these social factors,

which are not associated with the physical environment, largely position an understanding of the meanings people derive from a place outside the Act.

2.2.6 Cultural or post-modern geography

In contrast to the Marxist geographers, recent cultural and post-modern geographers have tended to focus on the individual identity. In this section the term 'cultural geographers' refers to the body of literature written since the writings of Carl Sauer. Post-modernist writers (such as Lyotard, 1984, and Rorty, 1979, quoted in Harvey, 1989, p7) have questioned whether any kind of meta-theory (such as that proposed by Marx) is legitimate at all. In particular, the rise of the post-modern attitude or outlook has been especially decisive in opening up possibilities of dialogue between explanatory paradigms by challenging all claims to universal truths. Ley (quoted in Agnew and Duncan 1989, p5) asserted that "the post-modern struggle for place is viewed as part of a wider struggle over the definitions of culture and attempts to 'rehumanize' urban space".

Other postmodern writers, such as Rutherford (1990), also reject Marxist arguments that there is a direct correspondence between the economic base and political identities. Instead Rutherford's writing focused on the cultural politics of identity and difference. Identity, asserted Rutherford (1990, p19):

"marks the conjuncture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live within. Each individual is the synthesis not only of existing relations but of the history of these relations. [She/]He is a précis of the past. Making our identities can only be understood within the context of this articulation, in the intersection of our everyday lives with the economic and political relations of subordination and domination. There is no final deciding logic that masters and determines this complex structuring of identity".

The idea that identity is never a static location, but contains traces of the past and what is to be is also supported by Hall (quoted in Rutherford 1990, p22). He wrote:

"identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation" (ibid).

Cultural geography's explanation of place is also concerned with describing people's distinctive understandings of the world. Cultural geographers have focused on the individual's sense of place, or the identification with a place engendered by living in it (Agnew and Duncan 1989, p2). Anderson and Fay (1992, p9) highlighted "the need to take seriously people's ideas and values, especially those which are constitutive of broader moral and material systems". Cultural geography recognised that the process by which cultural understandings are constructed and reproduced through time and space is complexly negotiated. It involves not just the struggles of powerful groups to secure conceptual and instrumental control, but also the struggle of weaker groups to resist definitions that exclude and marginalise them (Anderson and Fay 1992, p8). Senses of place are often also sites of conflict.

Cultural geographers also argued that the everyday knowledge of ordinary people - however distorted, contradictory, partial and biased, makes its own contribution to macro social and spatial structures, economic and political arrangements, environmental quality and other conditions (Anderson and Fay 1992, p10). However, post-modern and cultural geography's focus on individual identity has tended to produce a highly subjective sense of place. There is a tendency for description of place to be constructed "as otherworldly utopias by world-weary dreamers" (Women and Geography Study Group, 1997, p9). Moore (1997, p89) also warns that this focus on individual identity can lessen the importance of 'place' as a concept, outlining the problem as follows:

"Despite studies of the historically, geographically, and culturally specific struggles over territory, rarely do the politics of place occupy critical ground. Ironically, as the procedural, dynamic, and power-saturated aspects of identity have become prominent features of cultural studies, they threaten to become relatively naturalised fixtures of the contemporary theoretical landscape, the backgrounds against which analyses carve themselves out".

Post-modern thought, with its focus on individual struggle for identity, has tended to obscure rather than reveal the fundamental issues of place construction. For while the notion of personal identity has been problematised and rendered increasingly complex by recent debates, the notion of place and its construction has remained relatively unexamined (Massey 1992, p11).

2.3 Changing Understanding of Place

There are many valid, if partial, ways of viewing place. As the modern, scientific conception of place has been challenged since the 1960's, so the notion of any meta-theory or universal explanation of how places are constructed or experienced has been undermined (Table Two). The neo-Marxist conception of place as the site of accumulation and production has been modified by the recognition that places and our senses of place are also influenced by individual characteristics, such as gender. Feminist conceptions in turn have been challenged by the more individualistic and individualising tenets of post-modernism. However, the irony of post-modernity may be that, despite its emphasis on the individual and the unique manifestations of complex forces at any one place, there are also underlying common factors, such as the forces of the global economy, which inherently link places.

These theories and approaches to place overlap and compete. Yet they may all be valid to a degree, each contributing to an understanding of the elements of place and reflecting an intellectual if not social construction appropriate to its time. Hence, in the 1990's, improvements in technology and communication mean that places are directly linked into a global communication system, and thereby into global production systems. We can no longer ignore the impact of globalisation on our everyday lives, and on the place which we called 'home'. Our lives are also increasingly mobile; we may move a number of times in our lifetime in search of employment or lifestyle opportunities. Generations no longer rest within each other. Grandparents or cousins are rarely seen; many of us do not know where our ancestors are buried. An individual in the 1990's may have several places which they call 'home'. The humanists' concept of placelessness is no longer relevant in the 1990's, nor is the positivists' view that places are individual entities.

Table Two: Summary of main theories on place from 1960's until 1990's

Year	Theory	Main concept of place
1960's	Positivism based on the notion of scientific rationality. Involved the use of mathematical models to define 'spatial interactions',	Places are viewed as independent entities. They are subject to rational analysis, and described in uniform or modernist manner.
1970's	Humanists phenomenological approach created a concern for the importance of place to human existence.	Place seen as the calm centre of established values. Often described in terms of the domestic home. Belief that a sense of place was universal, i.e. everybody experienced a similar sense of place.
1980's	Structuration based on the concept that place construction expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency.	Place not only exists in the minds of individuals, but are us shaped by mechanisms and forces beyond our immediate observation.
1980's – 1990's	Marxist place construction viewed as the outcome of a process of global capital accumulation and local sources of reproduction.	Place, as with capital, viewed as a process. Places defined by interrelationships with the outside world. Globalisation has intensified the quest for place.
1980's – 1990's	Feminism space and place are gendered through and through. Explains, in particular, occurrences of masculine centres of production and feminine suburbs of reproduction in relation to the organisation of modern cities. Questions ways of knowing.	Places are gendered, in that men and women experience place differently. Place, when linked with humanist view of domestic home, often viewed as a contested zone which oppresses women. Stresses the need to question knowledge and ways of knowing in relation to place construction, as often in the past these have centred on masculine norms.
late 1980's to 1990's	Post-modernism (modern cultural geographers) focus on the individual and search for individual identity.	Sense of place is viewed as being highly subjective. It is important to question, through dialogue, universal truths. Place viewed as part of a wider struggle over definitions of culture and individual identity.

Understanding the evolution of thinking on place and its historical specificity is important in understanding the treatment of place in planning practice. Positivism, with its emphasis on scientific rationality, informed the rational comprehensive planning models of the 1960's and 1970's and is reflected in the writings of Faludi (1986, cited in Sandercock 1998, p62). According to Faludi the ideal planner appears as rational, detached, a-political, confident in the universality of planning principals to protect the public good. The Humanists and the social geographers, such as Eyles, stressed the

importance of a return to a focus on the individual, the non-rational and on every-day experience, which is reflected in Friedmann's (1973) questioning of planning's reliance on expert knowledge. Other critical theorists, including feminist and Marxist have also criticised the rational planning model. Feminist theorists argue that knowledge in planning is loaded with assumptions about the appropriate relations (of subordination and domination) between the sexes (Sandercock 1998, p70). Feminist planners, including Levitt (1986) and Hayden (1980, 1984), highlight the need for urban designers to recognise that men and women experience place differently. Neo-Marxist theorists have alerted planners to the need to integrate local planning issues with processes occurring on a national and global scale.

The influence of the highly subjective post-modern theories on planning is less clear. Post-modernism and its application to planning is a contested zone. According to Goodchild (1990, p134) the post-modern sense of fragmentation is readily interpreted as leading in the direction of individualism and market-orientated interventions. Other theorists argue that the post-modernists' emphasis on discourse and communication supports a more communicative style of planning practice, with a greater use of local knowledge and the practical wisdom of everyday people (Forester 1989, Healy 1992 and Sandercock 1998).

More importantly, the feminists, Marxists and post-modernists all emphasise a widespread disillusionment with the principle of comprehensive town planning. While the feminist and Marxists are more prescriptive than the post-modernists, all theories have contributed to a paradigm shift away from rational comprehensive planning. They point to a new style of planning which leads to an acceptance of the tensions and contradictions that have long existed in planning practice and yet which have been largely ignored by an emphasis on comprehensiveness and technical rationality.

The challenge presented by this research is to develop a theoretical framework which examines the different elements contributing to senses of place as experienced by individuals in Waitara in 1998. As outlined in the previous chapter, Waitara's tradition as a 'freezing works' town has made it vulnerable to outside forces. Marxist theories of place, as adapted by Massey (1991, 1992, 1993 and 1994), emphasise the need to examine place and sense of place as articulated moments in networks of social relations.

Places, according to Massey, are defined through their linkages with the outside world. Massey's analysis of place provides a progressive and consistent analysis of the different elements which contribute to place, and sense of place, at a macro (or locality) level.

The question posed in this research also requires an analysis of place at a more personal or individual level. Eyles' 1985 study examines senses of place at the micro (or individual) level. It emphasises the need to listen to an individual's personal experience, to recognise that personal circumstances, such as age, gender, employment and stage in life, influence an individual's sense of place.

By adopting a theoretical framework which is informed by both the works of Massey, a Marxist geographer, and Eyles, a social geographer, this research attempts to explore the concept of place at both a locale (macro) level and an individual (micro) level. The connection to macro level restructuring theory is vital in understanding how an individual's sense of place is influenced by the wider processes of economic restructuring.

A research strategy combining different types of knowledge, in particular a statistical analysis of place with people's stories, is also reflective of the 'new' direction in planning proposed by Healy (1992), Forester (1989) and Sandercock (1998), whereby planning is viewed as a communicative and interpretative process. This research draws on both reason and people's stories to provide an enriched account of Waitara in 1998. It acknowledges that there is no one predefined way in which to understand how places are constructed and that the role of the planner is to listen and participate in respectful discussion, as well as to undertake processes of more formal technical analysis.

2.4 Review of Economic Restructuring Theory

Since the 1970's the term "restructuring" has become a frequently used word in the New Zealand vocabulary. By the mid 1980's, this term was frequently used to describe the once-only changes needed in the New Zealand economy to overcome our internal failings and make the country internationally competitive. "Restructuring", Le Heron and Pawson (1996, p5) wrote "was directed at 'restoring competitiveness', 'reintroducing the free market' and 'giver greater investor autonomy'". It was justified

by neo-classical and neo-liberal economic theory and analysis, which is essentially 'placeless'. The social impacts of restructuring were often overlooked.

It is beyond the scope of this study to explore in detail the context of those 'forces' which contributed to the causes of the restructuring of the New Zealand economy since the 1970s. Rather, this research addresses the impacts of restructuring. A number of theorists, namely Massey and Meegan (1982), Massey (1984, 1995), Harvey (1996), Johnson (1989), Fagan (1989), Le Heron and Pawson (1996) and Johnston (1991) have addressed the impact of restructuring. Massey (1984) analysed the impacts of economic restructuring which has taken place in the UK since the 1960's in her publication *Spatial Divisions of Labour*. She proposed that we need to look at economic restructuring as the product of the differentiated and intersecting social relations of the economy.

Restructuring, Massey went on to state, creates a "whole new set of relations between activities in different places, new spatial forms of social organisations, new dimensions of inequality and new relations of dominance and dependence" (1995, p3).

Restructuring is not just about the loss of jobs, it is, according to Massey (1995, p4), about the "creation of a new space". Restructuring not only affects the nation's economy, it also changes the social structure of the places in which we live.

Restructuring is therefore viewed as an agent of change.

Massey (1984, 1995) explored the major implications of the economic restructuring which has occurred in the UK since the 1960's on social structure and gender. Her analysis of social structure centred on the effects of restructuring on the British working class. While her analysis is not directly transferable to this research, there are a number of parallels that may be drawn between Massey's analysis of the impact of restructuring on the social structure of the coalfield towns of South Wales, the North-East of England and Central Scotland, and the closure of the AFFCO plant at Waitara. Firstly, the towns outlined in Massey's study were all dominated by the coal mining industry. As with Waitara, they were single industry towns. Workers in the mines, as in the freezing works, forged strong work place bonds which were carried over into arenas of non-work activity, such as sporting teams and cultural groups. The closure of the mines and the freezing works not only affected the workers themselves, but, through workers' involvement in social and cultural institutions, the wider community. These industries not only dominated the economic base of the town, but also its social structure.

Secondly, both the mining and meat processing industries are male dominated, which has resulted in a lack of local paid employment for women.

In relation to gender, similar studies (carried out by McDowell, 1989, quoted in Women and Geography Study Group 1997, p118-119) outlined how the “de-industrialisation, or the decline in employment in manufacturing in the UK has tended to mean the loss of jobs previously defined as male, while the growth of the service sector has been associated primarily with the increasing employment of women”. However, McDowell warned that many of these new jobs have not only been lower paid than the (male) jobs lost, but are increasingly part time, short term and/or temporary.

While the coal mining towns in Massey’s (1995) and McDowell’s (1989) studies have had an influx of new service sector industries which provide employment for local women, the same cannot be said about Waitara. Waitara’s crisis of redundancy is becoming a crisis of long-term unemployment, which affects both men and women. The dominance of the freezing works in Waitara restricted growth of other industry sectors. The closure of the freezing works has not led to growth of the town’s service sector, simply because the town does not have a service sector of any significance.

Another key theme in Massey’s work is the relationship between the global and the local. The study of industry and production and thence location, Massey (1995, p15) argued, “must be set in the context of broader social processes, both inside and outside the firm itself”. The decision to close the AFFCO meat processing plant at Waitara can therefore be viewed as a response to changes occurring in economic and political environments at both a national and international level.

While Massey’s work is useful in defining broad concepts, Australian geographers, including Fagan (1989) and Johnson (1989), warn of the dangers of applying it blindly to countries outside of the UK. Johnson (1989) criticises Massey for her ready use of the ‘variable’ of class, as represented by the British class system, in her analysis of the impacts of restructuring on social structures. On these grounds it is also questionable whether analysis based on the British class system is readily transferable in analysing changes occurring in New Zealand’s social structure. For, as Fagan (1989, p671) is careful to point out in relation to the application of Massey’s work to the

internationalisation of the Australian steel industry, “the generalisations about the restructured geographies cannot be parachuted simply onto the Australian industrial landscape”.

Johnson’s analysis of the National Union of Mineworkers’ Strike of 1984-1985 also illustrated that an understanding of a place “involves uncovering the multivariate and inter-related nature of its culture” (Johnson 1991, p133). The arguments put forward by Johnson (1989, 1991) and Fagan (1989) support the need to adopt a restructuring model which provides a New Zealand context in order to fully understand the changes occurring in Waitara.

Recent work by a group of New Zealand geographers (Le Heron and Pawson 1996) offers a geographic restructuring (GR) model which links the global effects of restructuring to the national and the local within a New Zealand context. A powerful element in the model is that it gives views both of external and internal structural change for the past decade in New Zealand. It offers an approach which may be used to comprehend more fully the influences at work in any context. The GR model emphasises six interrelated themes:

- “Periods of restructuring are times of *intensified* change in a broader capitalist historical context.
- Change in the organisations, industries and regions of a nation springs potentially from influences originating at *all* geographic scales.
- Change is always a *composite* of the intersections of economic, cultural and environmental processes.
- *All* processes are mediated by various kinds of regulatory arrangements prevailing over different territorial units.
- The *character* of change in organisations, industries and regions comes from the particular mix and interactions of processes and regulatory structures operating within a nation.
- The *particular* crisis conditions that lead to restructuring in each nation will differ” (Le Heron and Pawson 1996, p6).

This model enables the restructuring which has occurred in New Zealand since the 1970’s to be viewed as a fusion of global, national and local influences. It acknowledges that “changes begin in places and impact on people in other places through processes operating at a variety of scales” (Le Heron and Pawson 1996, p6-7).

For capitalism, as well as promoting development and expansion, is also prone to periods of intensified restructuring or crises. Crises arise in capitalism when an investor finds it particularly difficult to generate adequate profits from production. These crises are an inherent feature of capitalism (Britton et al 1992, p6). Cloke and Goodwin (1992, quoted in Wilson 1995, p417) outline that the period since the 1970's has been one of accelerated political and socio-economic change in advanced capitalist societies, due to the onset of global economic recession.

2.6 Conclusion

As planners we act on and with places. Planners must therefore be aware of both the wider forces that shape places and the unique characteristics of that place, including sensitivity to the residents' senses of this character. For as geographers have shown, the character of a place is not only influenced by global or local forces but a unique combination of global, national and local forces which occur only at that location.

The GR model is a basis for conceptualising place that allows explicitly for the external forces while also acknowledging the more unique and local forces that shape the places we plan for. It provides a basis for both understanding place and the planner's role as an actor or agent in a particular place.

3.1 Introduction

This section outlines the methods used in this research. It aims to explore the “reflective” nature of the choice of research methodology and methods, for as McLafferty (1995, p437) points out,

“[t]he very acts of framing a research problem, collecting data, deciding on a set of methods, and interpreting or presenting findings are colored by our beliefs, theories, and experiences”.

Sarantakos (1998, p32) defines a research methodology as “a model, which entails theoretical principles as well as a framework that provides guidelines about how research is done in the context of a particular paradigm”. Research methods “refer to the tools or instruments employed by researchers to gather empirical evidence or to analyse data” (ibid). The first part of this section will address the more substantive issue of the selection of a research methodology. The second part of this section will outline the research methods and techniques used.

The literature on place and sense of place does not lend itself to one set of beliefs, values and techniques which calls for the adoption of a specific research methodology. This situation is acknowledged by Johnston (1991, p69) who states that one of the major difficulties with much of the literature on regional geography - both the ‘traditional’ and the so-called ‘new’ - is that there is no obvious methodology or consistent methodology to systematically differentiate places.

This view is supported by Klodawsky (1996, p184) who, in her review of Massey’s (1994) publication *Space, Place and Gender*, criticised Massey for the fact that she “does not provide the reader with many guideposts as to what would be an appropriate application of her arguments to a geographic study”. Moss claimed that “research design as part of a geographer’s methodological orientation is given little attention in the social geographic literature” (1994, p31).

However, Massey and Allen (1984, p9) stated that in relation to understanding place,

“the fundamental methodological question is how to keep a grip on the generality of events, the wider processes lying behind them, without losing sight of the individuality of the form of their occurrence. Pointing to general processes does not adequately explain what is happening at particular moments or in particular places”.

What is at issue, Massey and Allen (ibid) went on to explain “ is the articulation of the general with the local (the particular) to produce qualitatively different outcomes in different localities”.

The methodological issue raised in this research is to address how an individual’s sense of place is affected by the general processes of economic restructuring.

3.2 An Interpretative Approach (Informed by Marxism and Feminism)

This research is informed by a number of different philosophical approaches.

A review of the literature on research methodology (Eyles and Smith 1988, Sarantakos (1993, 1998) suggests that an adoption of an interpretative approach would promote an understanding of individuals’ senses of place. Eyles and Smith (1988, p2) described the main task of interpretative geography as uncovering “the nature of the social worlds through an understanding of how people act in and give meaning to their own lives”. Interpretative geography is “in sum concerned with the understanding and analysis of meanings in specific contexts”(ibid). Interpretative approaches “help focus attention on the study of specific locations”. (Eyles and Smith 1988, p3). Interpretative research “helps to interpret and understand the actor’s reasons for social action, the way they construct their lives and the meanings they attach to them, as well as to comprehend the social context of social action” (Sarantakos 1998, p38).

Interpretativists view reality as a set of subjective meanings which call for the adoption of qualitative methodologies (Sarantakos 1998, p60). Qualitative research is broadly defined by Sarantakos (1998, p45-46) “as everything that is not quantitative”. One of the main characteristics of qualitative research is that it attempts to capture reality as it is seen and experienced by the respondents. It involves interaction with a small number of

respondents, who are chosen in a non-random manner. Information is generally gathered verbally. It aims to understand people, not measure them (ibid).

However, the adoption of an interpretative approach alone does not address Massey's methodological challenge to understand both general underlying causes, while at the same time appreciating the importance of the specific and unique. Marxist philosophies, such as those adopted in the writings of Massey (1984, 1989, 1991 and 1995) and Harvey (1990 and 1996) stressed the importance of understanding the influences of the global accumulation of capital in the analysis of the impact on economic restructuring at a local level, Massey (1995, p289) explained:

“Local uniqueness matters. Capitalist society, it is well recognised, develops unevenly. The implications are twofold. It is necessary to unearth common processes, the dynamic of capitalist society, beneath the unevenness, but it is also necessary to recognise, analyse and understand the complexity of unevenness itself. Spatial differentiation, geographical variety, is not just an outcome: it is integral to the reproduction of society and its dominant social relations”.

Massey urges researchers to look at the macro processes that are restructuring local political economies and focus on the change these macro processes are generating, whether they are linked to urban development schemes, constitution of place, or national government responses to recession-sensitive local economies. Marxist geographers stress the need to investigate the impacts of shifts, adjustments in the macro level on a place-specific micro-diversity. They support the use of both quantitative methods to uncover macro processes and qualitative methods to understand the impacts on the micro level.

In determining methodological choice recent feminist geographic literature (Staeheli and Lawson, 1995; Moss, 1994 and 1995; McLatterty, 1995; Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi, 1995 and Rose 1997) has raised issues in relation to the need to carefully examine the collection and quality of data and to question what is being measured. Of particular relevance to this research is the stance taken by these writers that there is no 'objective truth'.

For as Moss (1995, p444) writes:

“There is no presupposed vantage point in the search for truths in poststructuralist thought. Objectivity is not equated with a truth; rather, such thought permits the possibility of multiple truths. Care must be taken to assure that the subject is not split via choice of methods into an object separate from its subject. What multiple truths means for quantitative methods is that counting must be situated within a partial account of an indivisible subject/object”

It is important therefore, where possible, to explicitly state the bias of both quantitative and qualitative data. In relation to quantitative data there is a need to recognise the limitations of empirical data. For as Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi (1995) write “[q]uantification brings with it some heavy baggage”. In particular, they point to the need to be wary of the tendency to derive analyses of universal causality from inferential statistics. For there are many aspects of human experience not amenable to quantitative description and analysis.

While Moss (1994) is careful to point out that there is nothing feminist about a method, feminists use of a method, in particular their insistence on making the position of the researcher known, is significant. Feminists, such as Linda McDowell (1992a, p409 quoted in Rose 1997, p305), challenge researchers to “recognise and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice”. This process of acknowledging the role of the researcher is commonly referred to in feminist literature as reflectivity. A more detailed discussion on how reflectivity is incorporated into this research is outlined later in this chapter.

The choice of research methodology in this research is therefore an interpretative approach which is informed by Marxist and feminist philosophies. Interpretative approaches support the use of qualitative methods to explore an individual’s sense of place. Marxist philosophies support the use of a combination of both quantitative methods, such as an analysis of census data, and qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews, to examine both general and unique processes which contribute to an individual’s sense of place. Finally, feminist philosophies challenge the researcher to examine carefully the bias of both quantitative and qualitative data and its consequence for interpretation. In relation to qualitative data there is a need to acknowledge and state the position of the researcher, as this influences the way in which this study is conducted.

3.3 Role of Both Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

The methodological issues raised in this research involve the need to address both the general processes of economic restructuring and the specific elements which contribute to an individual's sense of place. In order to address both the 'general' and 'unique' processes there is a need to adopt both quantitative and qualitative methods.

In general, there are two parts to this research - a detailed 'macro' level statistical phase, combined with a series of 'micro' in-depth interviews. The quantitative-qualitative dualism is vital to understanding how an individual's sense of place is influenced by the wider processes of economic restructuring. Quantitative analysis provides a sense of where this research fits in socially, economically, politically and spatially. Qualitative methods document and expose an individual's sense of place, and enable research 'subjects' to have a voice.

The reliance on secondary quantitative data to explain the contours of differences, or the unevenness of the impact of restructuring in Waitara, compared to New Plymouth and total New Zealand population, is subject to two main limitations. Firstly, the ability of census data to show patterns of change is affected by the consistency of categorisation of the data across time frames and the type of questions included in census questionnaires. Secondly, while census data can plot job loss, which indicates the unevenness of the impact of global restructuring on Waitara over the last ten years, it cannot quantify individuals' suffering and hardship.

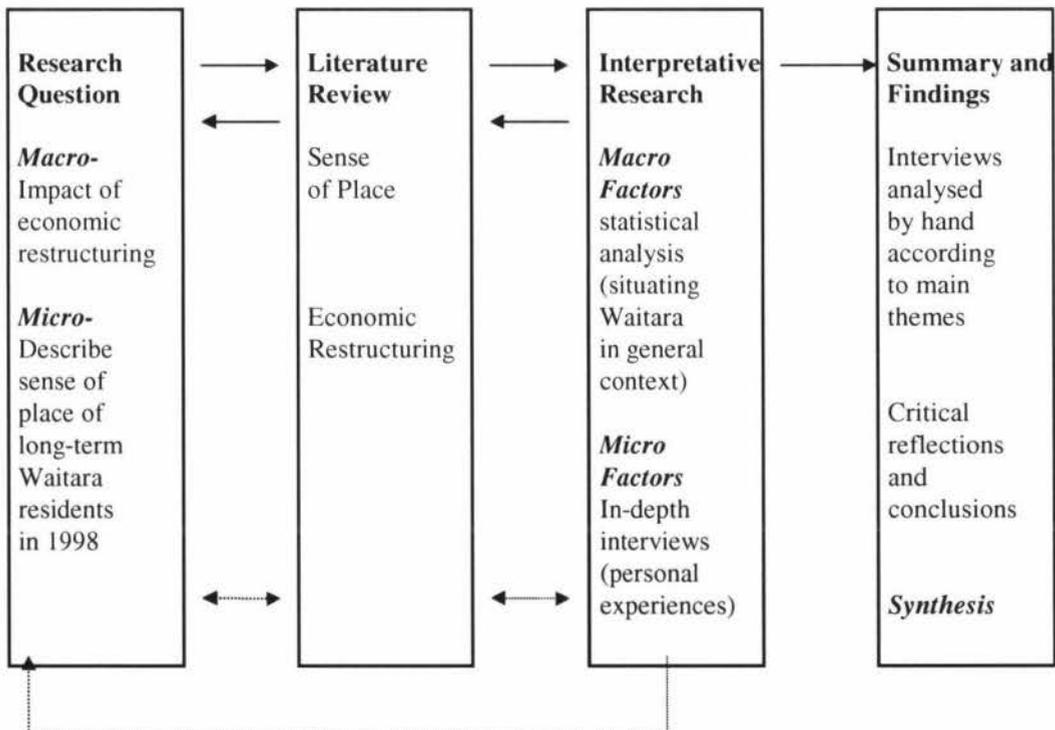
In contrast, the use of qualitative methods (in-depth interviews) enables the researcher to explore aspects of human existence, such as an individual's feelings, thoughts and the meanings they attach to places, which are not amenable to quantitative description. In this research, the use of qualitative research methods, in particular in-depth interviews, enriches the research by attempting to capture and describe how respondents feel about living in Waitara in 1998.

The main limitation of qualitative methods relates to the lack of transferability of the research findings. This research is both temporally specific, as it relates to sense of place

as experienced by individuals in 1998, and spatially specific, as it relates only to Waitara. The inability to make generalisations from the qualitative aspects of this research leaves it open to the criticism of being limited to a 'case study'. However, to make this criticism would be a short-sighted dismissal of the aims and objectives of this research. Qualitative research offers insights and contributes to an understanding of place and the processes which contribute to the construction of places.

Given the main aim of the research is to investigate how individuals' senses of place have been changed or altered by economic restructuring, it should be recognised that there is no 'standard experience' of living in a place at a particular time. To search for representativity in this study would be to limit analysis of 'sense of place' to a historical recording of social statistics. In turn, to focus only on the 'unique' (people's experiences of place) would also equally limit our understanding as to how processes, such as those described by statistics, influence an individual's daily existence.

Figure Three: Research design and methodology



Note: The use of broken or dotted lines in Figure Three represents that the study was designed in such a way that the empirical research undertaken is continually (re)informing research questions and relevant literature.

Figure Three shows the overall design and methodology used in this research. It is the thoughtful integration of both qualitative and quantitative methods which enables this research to address both the general and unique forces which influence and impact on an individual's sense of place. This practice of using multiple data collection methods is commonly referred to in research methodological texts as triangulation (Glesne and Peshkin 1992, Baxter et al 1997 and Sarantakos 1993, 1998). Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p24) claims that the "use of multiple-data-collection methods contributes to the trustworthiness of the data" and can "increase confidence in research findings".

3.4 Research Design and Methods

3.4.1 General issues

This section addresses the reasons, strengths and limitations of the research methods and techniques employed in this study.

Selection criteria and sampling issues

As the topic defined to a large extent the place where the research would be undertaken, the first substantive issue was to formulate some criteria to direct who would be included in the study. As previously stated, a review of the literature on place gave no indication as to who, and what number of respondents should be included in the qualitative part of this study. Time and resource constraints also signalled that the research would need to focus on a particular section of the Waitara population, rather than attempting to represent the entire population.

Two main factors, ethnicity and length of residency, informed selection criteria for the qualitative section of the study. Participants would need to be European/ pakeha, and have lived in Waitara for the majority of the last twenty years. A review of literature on place, in particular Eyles 1985 study, indicated that length of residency and knowledge of events which had occurred in the past had a strong influence on an individual's current sense of place. A period of twenty years was chosen, as this would enable people to have experienced living in Waitara when it was relatively prosperous, as well as in its current

times of economic recession. It was also relatively easy from historical and census data to construct a brief sketch of the major changes in Waitara in the past twenty years in which to situate respondents' stories. The decision to exclude ethnicity as a factor in this research is discussed below.

Eyles's 1985 study also points to a number of other factors such as gender and age which can influence an individual's sense of place. An analysis of the composition of the Waitara population over the past ten years also indicated that age may be a significant factor in relation to an individual's attachment to place. The initial sample was stratified in an attempt to allow for the influences of age and gender. Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p25) explained that in qualitative inquiry "[s]tratifcation means thinking in terms of important variables related to the problem". However, "the open nature of qualitative inquiry precludes the ability to know either all of the important selection criteria or the number of observation or interview sessions necessary to gather adequate data. The selection strategy evolves as the researcher collects data" (ibid).

A purposeful sampling technique was used to recruit the first five respondents. Baxter et al (1997, p513) described purposeful sampling as the search for "information-rich cases. Such respondents are at ease and talk freely with the researcher so that a great deal can be learned about the research question." These respondents were identified by informants who had lived in the Waitara community for a number of years. A snowballing sampling technique was also used, whereby respondents would often recommend other people who would meet the research criteria.

Baxter et al (1997) pointed to the need to be mindful of self-selection bias when using snowball sampling techniques. Self-selection bias can also lead to a possible skewing of the sample characteristics. This is particularly relevant when interviewing retired people, who often recommended other older people to interview. In the current study retired people were easy to contact and had spare time, compared to respondents with young families.

The first five interviews were all with people aged 60 years and over. There seemed to be a general consistency in their stories. To ensure all sub-groups of age and gender within the research setting (i.e. pakeha/ European people who had lived in Waitara for the

majority of the last 20 years) were given a voice, younger respondents were subsequently sought. Respondents were recruited until “redundancy” or “saturation” occurred, with no new themes or constructs emerging.

In total 13 people were interviewed. The small sample size combined with the non-random way in which respondents were selected limits the transferability of this research. However, the advantages of gaining willing participants, who presented information rich studies, outweighed the disadvantages and question of bias in such a small non-random sample.

Reflexivity

Feminist theory challenges the norm of objectivity that assumes that the subject and object of the research can be separated and that personal experiences are unscientific. Feminists emphasise the importance of reflexivity, the connections between researcher and subject, and the distinct perspectives of each (Harding, 1987, quoted in McLafferty 1995, p440).

In particular, England (1994) argues that the researcher’s positionality and biography directly affect fieldwork and that fieldwork is a dialogical process which is structured by the researcher and the participants. England asserts that in research inter-subjectivity and reflexivity play a central role. Reflexivity “is self critical sympathetic introspection and self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher” (England, 1994, p82). The reflective ‘I’ of the researcher challenges the observational distance of neo-positivism and subverts the idea of the observer as an impersonal machine.

The researcher cannot conveniently tuck away the personal behind the professional, because fieldwork is personal. A researcher, as England (1994, p85) points out, “is positioned by her/his gender, age, ‘race’/ethnicity, sexual identity, and so on, as well as by her/his biography, all of which may inhibit or enable certain research insights in the field”. As a researcher I acknowledge that I am a pakeha woman in my early thirties, university educated from a working class background, all of which influenced the way in which I related to the people interviewed and how they in turn related to me.

Conradson and Pawson's (1997) study of the local impacts of restructuring in Reefton, a small rural town on the West Coast of the South Island of New Zealand, illustrated how the background of the researcher can influence the outcome of the research. The study involved the construction of accounts of workplace change, which was undertaken by identifying and interviewing key informants within the town and former employees of the seven major workplaces within the town. This information was gathered by Conradson, whose consideration of 'positionality' in the research process was necessary to enhance the chances of successfully acquiring it.

Conradson (Conradson and Pawson 1997, p1385) described his positionality as paradoxical:

“as a ‘West Coaster’ himself, albeit from another town, he shared in an identity that is a basis of a regional solidarity that tends to transcend the differences and parochialism of the places within ‘the Coast’. In conducting research this identity enabled him to relate with Reefton people as something of an ‘insider’ at the same time, however, he was an ‘outsider’ in that Reefton, like many small towns, is traditionally wary of strangers, particularly those that represent large city-based agencies such as universities”.

Like Conradson my positionality is also somewhat paradoxical. I was born in Waitara, and lived there for the first five years of my life. My mother, until then, had lived in Waitara her entire life. But more importantly, Waitara was the home of my maternal grandparents. My grandparents were active in the Waitara community. My grandmother was instrumental in establishing the Waitara Old Folks Association and was the association's first secretary. My grandfather was the local train driver, a railway man and a Galilee war veteran. The “Easton clan” is a recognisable Waitara family. These family connections enabled me to relate to the people of Waitara as an “insider”.

However, the fact that I have spent the majority of my life living in other places and had a university education also positioned me as an ‘outsider’. As well as emphasising the factors which allowed me to gain access to members of the Waitara community, Gilbert (1994) points to a need to acknowledge and address the differences between the researcher and the researched.

Audrey Kobayashi (1994, p76, quoted in Rose, 1997, p307) supports my inclusion of education as a factor which positions me as an outsider, when she states that:

“all academic women are privileged to some degree since they have access to the middle-class luxuries, such as education and professional status, that are still relatively inaccessible for most women of all backgrounds”.

However, England (1994, p86) also asserted the need to recognise “that the research relationship is inherently hierarchical”. While reflexivity can make us more aware of the power imbalances it cannot remove them. There is still a difference between the researcher and the researched.

“We do not conduct fieldwork on the unmediated worlds of the researched, but on the world between ourselves and the researcher. At the same time this ‘betweenness’ is shaped by the researcher’s biography, which filters the ‘data’ and our perceptions and interpretations of the fieldwork experience” (ibid).

My research into the effects of economic restructuring on the Waitara community does not mean that I can speak for this community. This is a world that is already interpreted by the people who are living their lives in it and this research is only an account of the “betweenness” of their world and mine.

Ethical conduct

Patton (1990, p 353) writes:

“Interviews are interventions. They affect people. A good interview lays open thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and experience not only to the interviewer, but also to the interviewee. The process of being taken through a directed, reflective process affects the persons being interviewed and leaves them knowing things about themselves that they didn’t know - or least were not aware of - before the interview.”

Patton (ibid) asserts that an interviewer needs to develop an ethical framework for dealing with the prospect that in interviews people may expose things that they never intended to reveal. The ethical framework in this research was guided by the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and Teaching Involving Human Subjects (Massey University, 1997). The major principles of this code are social sensitivity, truthfulness, minimising of harm, confidentiality and informed consent.

Social sensitivity

The code requires researchers to recognise the power relationships involved in their work particularly where there are age, race, cultural, religious, class or gender disparities between researchers and participants. The issue of race, in particular whether it was appropriate for a Pakeha researcher to interview Maori respondents, posed an ethical dilemma in the design of this research. At the 1996 census 32 percent of Waitara's population were Maori. Recent writings (Bishop 1994; Teariki et al 1992 and Walker 1995) raise a number of concerns in relation to role of the non-Maori researcher in conducting research which involves Maori. These concerns are related to the tendency in the past to design research into the lives of Maori people to answer research questions that have benefited the researchers and the non-Maori academic community rather than Maori people themselves. As a result Maori people have also become increasingly concerned over the past century about the 'capture' of their past by others (Bishop and Glynn 1992, quoted in Bishop 1994, p178).

While the literature dealing with this issue does not prohibit non-Maori researchers conducting research which involves Maori people, it does pose the question as to how Maori people will benefit from the research (Bishop 1994; Teariki et al 1992 and Walker 1995). Maori, "are concerned about the deconstruction, recreation and reconstruction of their past and their social institutions by others" (Walker 1995, p4). Researchers need to question their ability as to whether "they are intellectually capable of understanding" things Maori (ibid).

Consequently, Walker (1995, p16) argued that the researcher needs to address whether the research is:

- "Consistent with the tikanga (customs) and ritenga (processes) of iwi Maori.
- Consistent with the concept of tino rangatiratanga - Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi.
- Characterised by collective responsibility.
- Supportive of hapu or iwi autonomy.
- Focusing on maximising the benefits to the group and not solely benefiting an individual.
- Availing itself at the delivery end, to tribal development.
- Involving Maori from the conceptual stage.
- Able to ensure that as a result of this work equity for Maori will ensue.

- Able to ensure that Maori will be empowered by the process by which the research was completed”.

If none of these questions can be responded to positively, then the research, with Maori as a subject, should not proceed. The current research is focused on the importance of sense of place, and how this is affected by economic restructuring. While this issue may be important for the iwi and hapu of Waitara it is not clearly focused on the issues of tikanga maori or tino rangatiratanga. It informs academic research which is founded in the eurocentric discourse of geography, economic restructuring and planning. The insights it may reveal may be of value to Maori, however the researcher, as the instigator and principal beneficiary is unable to make such a judgement. For these reasons and because there is insufficient time to develop a more intuitive process of research design, Maori subjects have been omitted.

Other ethical issues

Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p33) recognise that gaining access to research participants “is a process”. The first step in gaining access to research participants was to gain the approval for the research from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. The application to the Ethics Committee addressed issues such as the minimisation of harm both to researcher and respondents. This recognises that participants may experience emotional and mental stress when questioned over the effects of economic restructuring on their lives. Participants, on becoming stressed, were not prompted for further questions related to that topic and they were then given the option of continuing then, continuing at a later date, or withdrawing from the study. Participants were not asked questions relating to personal income levels or redundancy payments.

Confidentiality

The issue of conducting research in a small town, where people generally know each other, also raises issues of confidentiality. All information collected remained confidential. However, participants were made aware, via an information sheet, that the material may be used for publication and would form part of a piece of academic research. No personal names, street addresses or individual occupations have been included in the thesis.

Truthfulness and informed consent

The ethical issues of truthfulness and informed consent were largely addressed through the development of an information sheet and consent form (Appendix Two). The information sheet introduced the researcher to the potential respondent giving contact details of both the researcher and thesis supervisor, the purpose of the study, the respondent's role as a prospective participant, details about the recording, security and end use of information and respondents' rights as research participants. The consent form addressed the need under the Privacy Act 1993 to gain informed consent. All respondents signed this consent form prior to the commencement of an interview.

Once Ethics Committee approval was given, the next step of gaining access to potential research respondents was to identify a series of key informants (Table Three). Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p51) assert that:

“ the informant plays a variety of roles, limited only by researcher imagination and informant willingness and capability, such as making introductions, alerting the researcher to unexplored data sources, and helping to develop theories grounded in the data”.

Table Three: Role of informants

Date	Informant	Role of Informant
March 1998 July 1999	Local Body representative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provided summary of events in Waitara's economic development in the last 20 years, through newspaper clippings • Provided up-dated information on council initiatives • Listed names of other community workers to contact
March 1998	Facilitator of the Waitara Resource Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gave an overview of the fate of the workers made redundant from the AFFCO plant in December 1997 • Listed names of people to interview
April 1998	Waitara Oral History Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allowed researcher to address their monthly meeting to outline purpose of the research • Suggested names of people to interview and commented on the willingness of those people to participate • Provided advice and support on how to approach oral histories
April 1998 – October 1998	Family and family friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suggested names of people to interview • Introduced researcher to potential people to interview
July 1999	Senior Planner – New Plymouth District Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussed implications for Waitara of the Proposed District Plan, which was notified in November 1999.
July 1999	Waitara Community Police Officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreted crime statistics for Waitara from 1994 – 1998

3.4.2 Research techniques

Quantitative methods

In order to identify the wider patterns that affected people's senses of place an analysis of secondary statistical information was undertaken from the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996. The data for 1986, 1991 and 1996 was extracted from the supermap data base, and cross tabulations were constructed to show the major changes in the social and economic structure of Waitara. To link the local to the region and national cross tabulations were also constructed by comparing data on Waitara to that of the New Plymouth urban area and the New Zealand total population.

The main advantage of using census data is that the data is not subject to sampling errors. However changes in the way in which questions have been asked or data has been categorised between census periods limits the comparability of the data across census periods. To compensate for the incompatibility of census data, in relation to industry

classification, data was also sourced from Universal Trade Directories from 1983 to 1996. Data from Statistics New Zealand Business Directories provided more up-to-date information.

It is also important to note that the data available from the census is predetermined by the questions asked on the census questionnaires. For example, the census does not question people about the value of their homes, or the type of leisure or sporting activities they participate in. Information on the housing prices and housing turnover was obtained from the Real Estate Institute of New Zealand. Crime statistics were provided by the Police statistician. Photographs were also purchased from the Daily News photography library. The photographs illustrate visually the changes that have taken place in Waitara in the past twenty years.

The use of secondary quantitative data, as described above, was analysed in relation to its ability to situate Waitara within the broader patterns of social and economic restructuring. This enabled an indicative picture of the unevenness of the impact of economic restructuring on the community of Waitara to be developed.

Qualitative research methods

It is not possible to observe feelings, emotions and thoughts which make up an individual's attachment to a place. We also cannot observe events which have taken place at some previous point in time, which may have influenced those feelings. We simply cannot observe the meanings which people attach to places. These factors dictated that in order to find out about an individual's sense of place in Waitara in 1998 there was a need to interview people.

The purpose of interviews was to find out about the feelings and emotions and thoughts both in the present and the past which contributed to an individual's sense of place. It was also important that respondents were able to express their understandings of Waitara in their own terms. These requirements dictated the choice of techniques from among the following.

Informal conversational interview

The informal conversational interview relies entirely on the spontaneous generation of questions, without questions being prepared in advance. This type of interview allows the interviewer maximum flexibility to pursue information in whatever direction appears to be appropriate. Patton (1990, p281) states that the informal conversation interview “is particularly useful where the researcher can stay in the setting for some period of time, so that he or she is not dependent on a single interview with a respondent”. However, given time and resource constraints imposed by the researcher living approximately 300 kilometres from the site of the research, each respondent could only be interviewed once. The single use of this type of interview was not appropriate in this research.

Standardised open-ended interview

In contrast to the informal conversational interview all interview questions in a standardised open-ended interview are written out in advance exactly the way they are to be asked during the interview. Questions must be phrased in an unambiguous way and be easily understood by the respondent. Standardised questions must also be meaningful in terms of the respondents’ experiences.

Patton (1990, p 285) states that the “basic purpose of the standardised open-ended interview is to minimise interviewer effects by asking the same question of each respondent.” The standardised open-ended interview also makes data analysis easier because it is possible to locate each respondent’s answer to the same question, and to group questions and answers which are similar.

However, there exists no routine definition of place, nor is there a checklist available in which to measure a person’s sense of place. This study is exploratory in nature, so that it is not possible to accurately predict the elements which contribute to an individual’s sense of place, nor to determine exact questions in advance. The use of a standardised open-ended interview is therefore not appropriate in this research.

General interview guide

The most appropriate way to elicit the information was through the use of a general interview guide. This involves the preparation of a list of questions or issues that are to be explored in the course of an interview. However, in contrast to the standardised open-ended interview, the exact wording and order of the questions are not worked out in advance.

A checklist of topics to be covered by all respondents was developed by reviewing the literature on place and analysing statistical and historical information on Waitara. The checklist included questions relating to an individual's life and family history, their work history, their non-paid work history, and more specific questions addressing the changes in Waitara in the last twenty years (Appendix Two).

The wording of the questions asked was not worked out beforehand, but tailored as far as possible, to each individual. Questions were asked in an order appropriate for the interviewee. The aim was to ensure that the questions have the same meanings for all respondents and to engage in 'conversation' to set the respondent at ease.

The schedule was loosely structured so that respondents were asked questions about themselves first. These questions were designed to be easy to answer and to reassure the respondent that the following questions were manageable. They were intended to assure respondents that there were no "right" or "wrong" answers. They enabled a rapport to be established, where possible, between the interviewer and the respondent. The second half of the interview focused on questions about Waitara. In order to stimulate respondents' memories each respondent was provided with a timeline of recent closures and events in Waitara in the last 30 years (Appendix Two).

The use of an interview guide approach had two main advantages. Firstly, the informal nature of the interviews allowed the respondents to talk freely about their everyday life. Secondly, it enabled a more systematic and comprehensive approach to analysis of the interviews, as all topics outlined in the guide were addressed by all respondents.

Interview process

A single pilot interview was conducted to determine the appropriateness of the interview checklist. It clarified whether the items contained on the checklist were relevant and appropriate and the types of questions that could be raised within those topics.

All interviews were conducted in the respondents' own homes, at the request of respondents and were tape recorded. This provided a verbatim account of the interview, and also enabled the interviewer to be more attentive to the interviewee. Field notes were not taken during the interview to avoid any increase in distance between the interviewer and respondent. All tapes were coded to ensure the privacy of the individual.

Analysis of interview data

Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p127) write that the analysis of qualitative data;

“involves organizing what you have seen, heard and read so that you can make sense of what you have learned. Working with the data, you create explanations, pose hypothesis, develop theories, and link your story to other stories. To do so, you must categorize, synthesize, search for patterns, and interpret the data you have collected”.

Baxter et al (1997, p504) point out there are no standard procedures for analysing interview text. This does not however exclude the researcher from attempting to elaborate as to how the data got transformed into concepts and theories. In this research data analysis was undertaken solely by the researcher. While Patton (1990, p349) writes “because the raw data of interviews are quotations, the most desirable data to obtain would be full transcriptions of interviews”, entire interviews were not transcribed. The second part of the interview, relating to the changes in Waitara in the last 20 years were, however, fully transcribed.

Data from the interviews were analysed according to main themes, with the use of the checklist allowing for inter-interview comparisons of emergent ideas. These ideas were then translated into themes. Miles and Huberman (1994, quoted in Sarantakos 1998, p324) state that “interpretations are strengthened by trends and patterns shown in the

data". Where possible, verbatim quotations were used to support the existing body of literature on place.

3.5 Conclusions

The use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies enables this research to explore both the general and unique factors that contribute to individuals' senses of place of Waitara in 1998. The methodology recognises that in order to gain an understanding of the impact that economic restructuring has had on an individual's sense of place, there is a need to undertake analysis at both a general and an individual level.

Quantitative methods address the impact of global changes at the general or community level. This analysis links changes in the global and national economy to changes occurring in Waitara's local economy. Qualitative methods focus on the unique or individual experiences of place and economic restructuring. These methods allow for a more personalised account of the effects of global restructuring to be constructed and recognise that an individual's personal circumstances can also influence their sense of place.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RESTRUCTURING OF WAITARA FROM 1976 TO 1996

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two it was established that the origins of local restructuring are linked to processes occurring on a national and global scale. This chapter describes the local processes of restructuring in Waitara from 1976 to 1996, identifying some of the macro level impacts on the Waitara community. Analysis across geographic scales reveals the broad contours of difference between Waitara, the wider New Plymouth urban area and New Zealand as a whole. Identifying the distinct characteristics of the Waitara population aids in understanding the effects of economic restructuring.

A number of different data sources were used to document the effects of restructuring, with census data as the primary data source. Changes in the categorisation of industry statistics between the 1991 and 1996 census limits the discussion of the changes taking place based on this data, however. Area boundaries were also changed between the 1981 and 1986 census. Information drawn from Universal Business Directories is also subject to limitations as not all retail and service industries within the Waitara area are listed in the directories. Finally, additional data is sourced from Statistics New Zealand Business Directories, although this is limited to business units, which are GST registered, rather than people.

4.2 Description of Local Restructuring

4.2.1 Changes to Waitara's manufacturing sector

1986 to 1996 was a time of turbulent change for the people of Waitara. Within this ten-year period Waitara lost a total of 729 full-time jobs, the majority (639) were lost from the town's basic industries sector (Statistics New Zealand, 1997). A range of private sector employers contributed to these losses (Table Four).

Table Four: Sources of job loss in Waitara 1985 – 1998

Year	Industry	Number of jobs lost
1985	Wool-Scouring Plant	*
1987	Subaru Car Factory	130
1988	Workers at Swannndri factory made redundant	37
1989	AFFCO down-sizing	400
	Solasodine Extraction Industries	50 (approx)
	Duncan and Davies close exporting business	*
	Moa- nui Co-op Dairies Ltd closed Brixton plant	*
1991	Swannndri factory closes	69 (approx.)
	Moa-Nui Dairy factory at Brixton closes	*
1992	Fresha Fisheries close Waitara operation	*
1993/4	AFFCO down-sizing	450
1997	AFFCO mothballs Waitara plant	150
1998	Jaymak Manufacturing clothing	22

Note: * Number of job loss unable to be determined

These figures relate to all employees who lost their jobs, not just employees who lived in Waitara. However, it is assumed that in relation to the freezing works, the majority of the employees lived in Waitara.

Source: UBD Business Directories, The Daily News, Taranaki United Council (1988) McDermott Fairgray (1993) and Alexander (1979).

While the losses were from a wide range of predominantly processing and manufacturing firms, the down sizing and eventual closure of one single plant, the freezing works, accounted for the loss of 1,000 full-time and part-time jobs. All other closures were unlikely to account for more than half that number among them (Table Four).

The restructuring of New Zealand export meat industry as an agent of local change

Le Heron et al (1991, p112) state that “an industry is the product of interdependent investment decisions”. This section attempts to examine some of the interdependent factors at a global and national level which influenced the decision by AFFCO to close its meat processing plant at Waitara on 15 December 1997.

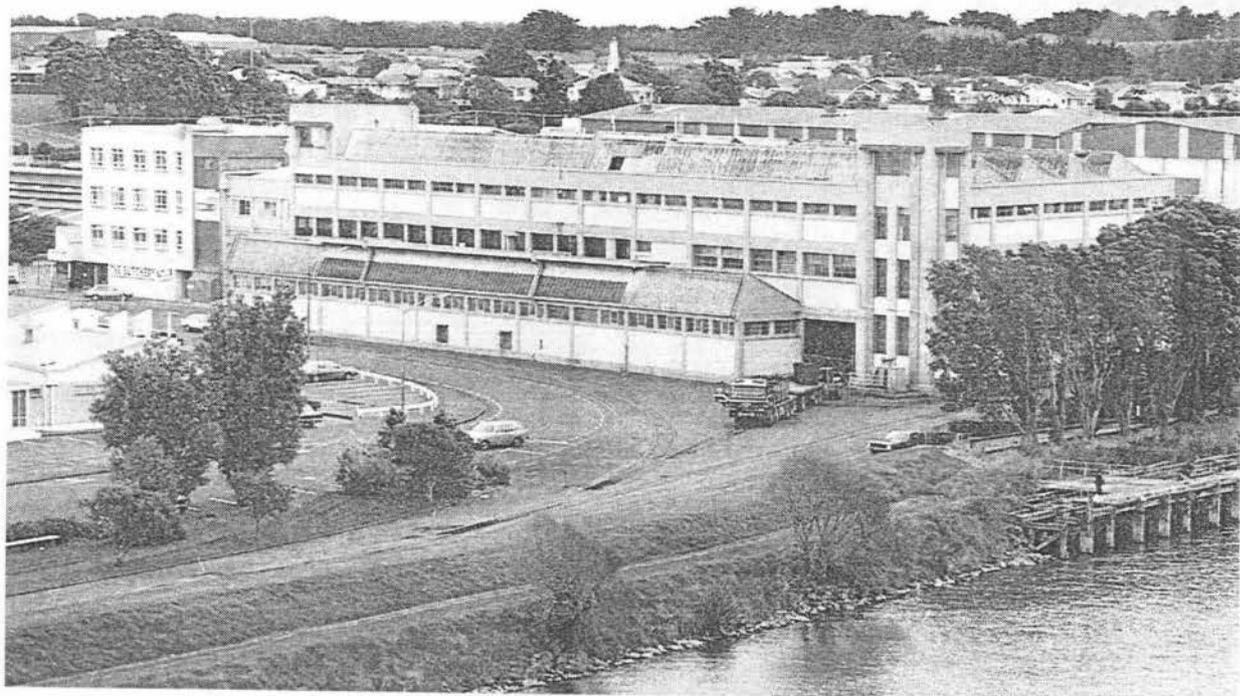


Figure Four: AFFCO freezing works plant at Waitara as at 30/4/93. The plant is in full production. The wool scouring plant, at the bottom right of photo, and offices, at left, have since been demolished.
Source: Taranaki Newspapers Ltd

A group of geographers (Le Heron 1991, Le Heron et al 1989, Le Heron and Pawson 1996 and Britton et al 1992) have analysed the restructuring of the New Zealand meat industry. The first point made by all writers is the need to recognise the influence of internationally linked agro-commodity chains on the New Zealand meat industry. In 1994 “85 percent of New Zealand’s lamb production, 70 percent of the mutton and 80 percent of beef production” was sent abroad (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996, p142-3). New Zealand’s meat industry is export based and is therefore vulnerable to fluctuations in the global meat prices and trends in the global consumption. It is an industry that has long been locked into a global rather than a national economy. Le Heron and Pawson (1996, p145) write:

“ the well being of the export meat industry is affected by a mix of political, economic and technical factors. Some of these are set off-shore and susceptible to little or no influence from New Zealand”.

However, a change in the role of the state, in particular the 1984 New Zealand Labour government’s policies of deregulation of the economy, has also increased the New Zealand meat industry’s vulnerability to global forces. Le Heron et al (1989, p395) explain:

“ After nearly 50 years of increasing regulation of the economy, the state responded to the growing crisis in the domestic economy by deregulating and further opening the New Zealand economy to wider developments in world capitalism”.

In the 1960’s state assistance encouraged greater livestock production which boosted stock numbers and propelled the meat industry into a growth phase. This period of expansion was continued into the 1970s and early 1980s with the introduction of the Supplementary Minimum Price (SMP) scheme, which ensured minimum payments to sheep farmers (Le Heron, 1991, p113). Deregulation in the 1980s involved the removal of state assistance to farming and of tight restrictions on entry into the New Zealand meat industry. Agricultural deregulation was generally welcomed by the farming community at the time. However, falling world commodity prices and rising interest and inflation rates meant that many farmers began to experience extreme financial difficulties (Wilson 1995, p 419). These difficulties had a direct impact on the food and fibre industry. The removal of SMPs in 1985 contributed to a marked reduction in sheep numbers “from 70 million in 1983 to 50 million in 1993/1994, a thirty-five year low” (Le Heron and Pawson 1996, p144).

However, it is important to note that even during the period of state assistance, investment in extra plants to cover rising seasonal peaks and modernisation to meet EEC hygiene regulations had severely constrained the profitability of the industry. During the 1970s and 1980s the meat industry's profitability fell relative to other New Zealand industries (Le Heron 1991, p114), despite the level of government intervention. The meat industry was ripe for restructuring.

The period from 1986 to 1996 was a period of turbulent change for the industry. Restructuring carried a substantial cost. By 1989 seven major works had closed (Le Heron et al 1989, p401). Between 1986 and 1996 employment within the industry had fallen by 40 percent (Le Heron and Pawson 1996, p142).

After restructuring, the industry emerged as largely New Zealand owned, managed and market-driven. Historically, however, overseas companies had been the dominant force. Industry delicensing in the 1980s that removed the tight restrictions on entry facilitated a series of mergers involving New Zealand owned companies resulting in a small number of very large organisations controlling the industry. For example, by 1988 Goodman Fielder Wattie not only controlled Waitaki International Ltd (itself accounting for 20 percent of internationally traded sheep meat) but in actuality was a globalising food conglomerate.

Delicensing also facilitated the establishment of a number of smaller, highly mechanised meat processing plants, which undermined the economies of scale and market dominance of the major companies. Overall, delicensing allowed in new entrants and contributed to the destabilising associated with declining demand and increasingly inappropriate technology and market structures.

Following the delicensing of the New Zealand meat industry in the 1980's, Borthwicks, a London based firm, made a decision to divest its interest in the New Zealand meat industry and sold the Waitara plant to the New Zealand owned company, Waitaki International Ltd. By the time Waitaki bought the Waitara plant, the industry was already in serious financial problems and the profitability of the Waitara plant was questionable. Waitaki saw expanding plant ownership as the solution to falling stock

numbers to ensure continuity of supply. In 1988 Waitaki owned nine North Island meat plants (Le Heron 1991, p117).

The emergence of a handful of multi-plant companies to dominate the New Zealand meat industry also enabled new management options to be introduced. Stock could now be shifted among a company's plants elsewhere to rationalise capacity utilisation, reduce cost and manage industrial relations. Average over-capacity as a percentage of current capacity was estimated at 30 percent for beef chains and 27 percent for sheepmeat in the North Island (Southpac Corporation Ltd 1994, quoted in Le Heron and Pawson 1996, p146). In response to this over-capacity, the large multi plant companies also introduced rationalisation programmes that resulted in the closure of a number of plants, to increase throughput in their remaining plants. The aim was to reduce fixed operating costs, achieve better utilisation of their capital elsewhere and thus, in theory, to increase their profitability.

Increased competition within the meat industry resulted in the sale of the Waitara plant by Waitaki International Ltd to AFFCO, another New Zealand owned company, in 1989. The job losses which ensued with each change of ownership reflect the process of rationalisation. AFFCO owns a number of meat processing plants in the North Island and the closure of its Waitara plant in 1997 was part of its plan to reduce over capacity in its North Island operations, to reduce fixed costs and increase throughput at AFFCO's other North Island plants.

4.2.2 Changes to Waitara's retail sector

While no analysis has been undertaken on the impact of reduced income resulting from the closures outlined above, the downturn in the processing and manufacturing sector has clearly impacted on Waitara's retail sector. The 1980's were a time of fluctuation, with significant change occurring in the control and operation of local retail businesses. Inspection of business directories indicates that from 1983 to 1985, the retail sector experienced a sustained level of activity, as the number of new retail businesses in the town apparently equalled the number of business which were closing. This sustained level of activity is attributable to the demand induced by the two Think Big energy projects under construction in the surrounding area at that time.

However, from 1987 onwards the number of business closures began to exceed the number of openings. The energy projects were now completed, and the first round of redundancies from the freezing works had commenced. The retail and service sector in Waitara was in decline and retail outlets which were dependent on a high level of disposable income, such as clothing, jewellery, and furniture shops, began to move out of the town. In 1995 the retail sector experienced an influx of second hand stores and a bulk food retailing outlet, reflecting a change in the pattern of local spending, presumably a result of the loss of 450 jobs from the Waitara freezing works plant in the previous year.

Wellington (1996) described how certain goods and services, such as menswear, jewellery, clocks and watches and even household curtains were no longer available in Waitara. People had to travel into New Plymouth to purchase such items and consequently more people began to do the majority of their shopping in New Plymouth. Waitara was literally marginalised due to a changing landscape of consumption.

Furthermore, with the closure of two large farm supply shops, the Farmers Co-op in 1987 and Wrightsons in 1991, Waitara's position as a rural service town was substantially reduced. Kiwi Trading Stores, which still operates today, does stock farm supplies, but to a limited extent when compared with the range and services previously offered.

It is important to note that the 1980's were a time where the business sector in New Zealand as a whole was radically reformed. Prior to the reforms of the 1980's retailing was subject to state controls which regulated shops' hours and the range of goods available for sale (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996, p323). In particular, the trial of Saturday trading in the 1980's and the repeal in 1990 of the Shop Trading Hours Act 1977 had a significant impact on viability of independent retail centres such as Waitara. One of the consequences of the move to weekend trading has been the sustained concentration of retail sales in the hands of larger enterprises, such as the Warehouse. Large-scale retailing requires a central locality and a large local population, so that it has become increasingly centralised in New Plymouth.

Le Heron and Pawson (1996, p 57) describe some of the other impacts of the reforms as follows:

“In the re-regulated macro economic environment, companies were far less constrained by legislation, freer to grow through competitive success. Long-established management practices, company structures and company strategies were overturned. Many familiar names from the post 1945 era disappeared, while new ones blossomed as unprecedented waves of mergers, acquisitions, and take-overs shook the New Zealand business scene. These expressions of company restructuring were, to a large degree, short-term adjustments in what, by the mid 1990s, had become a broad pattern of external integration and growth of economic activity in New Zealand.”

Waitara’s retail sector also experienced a change in the ownership of a number of established businesses. At the beginning of the period a number of Waitara businesses were locally owned and operated. However, towards the beginning of the 1990’s the ownership or identity of business began to change. For example, in 1993 Sharman’s Hardware, a locally owned and operated store, was taken over by Hammer Hardware, a nation-wide franchise. This type of change in ownership reflects a national trend whereby the ownership of local businesses is becoming increasingly controlled by non-local interests, either through external ownership or through their association with national marketing or purchasing chains or franchises (Le Heron and Pawson 1996, p75). While it is debatable whether the consumer would notice any significant change in the level of services, the loss of the ‘family’ name above the door reflects a loss in the town’s sense of place.

4.2.3 Changes to Waitara’s central and local government agencies

The State as an agent of local change

The role of the state may be viewed as a mediator, influencing the flow and nature of products, finance, people and ideology between global and local scales (Conradson 1994). The state has played a number of important roles in the restructuring of Waitara. Firstly, through the construction of the two Think Big projects in the early 1980’s the state took on the role of local developer. The Petralgas Methanol Plant and the Motonui Synthetic Fuel Plant reflected the economic and political thinking of the time and were a key component of the National Government’s (1975-1984) interventionist economic strategies (Conradson 1994, p45). Prompted by the rising prices of imported petrol and the rising

level of national unemployment, these projects were expected both to lessen our reliance on imported petrol and to create employment. "The National Government proclaimed (emptily) that its Think Big industrialisation programme would create 400,000 jobs" (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996, p118).

These projects provided the Waitara economy with a short-lived boom, which masked the effects of the national economic recession. School rolls were maintained and businesses flourished from the cash injection associated with the Think Big projects (Wright 1989, p156-157). Less obviously, McDermott Fairgray (1993, p3) also pointed out that the "development levies associated with the construction of major petrochemical works contributed to the development of infrastructure, especially sports facilities, within the town". At the peak of construction 2,340 people were employed at the Synfuel plant. A new road was built in 1982, which bypassed Waitara, to ensure the efficient transportation of heavy loads to the plant. Consequently the State Highway no longer ran through the main street of Waitara.

At that time the state was still the regulator of the meat industry through the payment of farming subsidies, for example, which sustained the growth of output within the industry, and by strict licensing rules, which restricted entry. This changed with the election of the 1984 Labour Government, which embarked on a programme of rapid economic reform. The government restructuring which ensued redefined the state as an agent of change rather than an agent of development (Conradson 1994, p38).

In contrast to the interventionist policies of the National administration, the 1984 Labour government embarked on a programme of sweeping state sector reforms in a move to deregulate the economy. As previously outlined, these reforms included the removal of subsidies to agriculture and the delicensing of the New Zealand meat industry. The reforms also included a streamlining of the state sector, which included the reorganisation of local government.

The reforms were justified by neo-liberal economic theory which attributed the global crisis in capitalism and especially its local manifestations to rigidities in economic incentives and excessive costs as a result of a growing level of government intervention. The consequent deregulation was essentially a rejection of the Keynesian and welfarist

policies of the preceding forty years. While it was bound to impact on communities, the forces of economic policy meant that the social impacts of these reforms on localities such as Waitara were usually overlooked (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996).

Table Five: Closures of central and local government agencies in Waitara between 1985 and 1994.

Year	Agency/ Department
1985	Public Trust Office closes
1986	NZ Railway close Waitara operations
1988	Waitara maternity Annexe closes
1989	Health Department closes
	Clifton County and Waitara Borough amalgamated to form New Plymouth District Council
1990	Transport Department closes
1994	Inland Revenue closes
	Post Bank closes

Source: UBD Business Directories, Taranaki United Council (1989) and Wellington (1996).

Of the full-time jobs lost in Waitara between 1986 and 1996, only 27 were attributable directly to state sector restructuring (Statistics New Zealand, 1997). On this evidence the impact of the reorganisation of the state sector on employment in Waitara has been minimal, due to the historical dominance of the freezing works, rather than the state, as the town's main employer. The main impact has been the loss of state services from the town (Table Five). Waitara residents must now travel into New Plymouth to access vital services, such as maternity health care, which were once available in their own community. In 1998 the only government department still remaining in Waitara is the New Zealand Income Support services (Universal Business Directories, 1998).

There must be a question, though, over the capacity of the state to support the community, either because it no longer has a presence or an appreciation of its needs. State sector restructuring in Waitara reflects the government's move towards dismantling the welfare state, which in a town which has a high level of benefit dependency has a direct impact on income levels and increases levels of uncertainty.

The reorganisation of local government has also had a significant impact on the identity of Waitara according to McDermott Fairgray (1993). Prior to restructuring Waitara had its own mayor and the offices of both the North Taranaki Council and Clifton County Council were located in Waitara. All Council services, such as planning and roading, were based in Waitara. Post-amalgamation the office of mayor was abolished and

replaced with the Waitara Community Board. Today only a "service centre" of the New Plymouth District Council remains located in the old Waitara Borough Council buildings. The service centre enables local people to pay their rates and access building information. However all major council services, including planning, have been centralised in New Plymouth.

The major impact of local government restructuring on the community of Waitara is a perceived loss of political control. McDermott Fairgray's 1993 report described how the local community viewed the amalgamation in a negative light. They felt as though they had lost control of their own town. The report states: "the local council offices have all but disappeared, along with Council employment and Council presence or obvious commitment. The qualities of the town are not appreciated by outsiders" (McDermott Fairgray 1993, p8). The report goes on to state:

"[t]he loss of local autonomy which accompanied local authority reorganisation in 1989 is resented. Council services are perceived to be provided more and more by people from outside the town. The Waitara Community Board is respected and its members appreciated, but it is seen as toothless, bereft of delegated powers and lacking influence even as an advisory body" (McDermott Fairgray 1993, p11).

Since the early 1990's the New Plymouth District Council has funded a number of initiatives to foster economic and community development in the township of Waitara. In response to almost 10 years of down turn and unemployment, the council in 1993 commissioned McDermott Fairgray to examine options to assist the Waitara community to establish and action a town development strategy (pers. comm. Clive Pryme, July 1999). The report produced was primarily a scoping exercise and although a wide cross-section of 'opinion leaders' were interviewed the report did not reflect the views of the entire community.

From 1995 to 1997 Waitara received three years of funding for a Mainstreet programme, but the money was not used to develop or brand the main street of Waitara. The Mainstreet programme was not considered to be appropriate for the multiple problems facing the town. Rather the money was used to develop a wide range of projects focusing not only on business development, but also the town's youth, aged, and sporting clubs. The money and projects were administered by the Waitara Development Committee, which in 1998 became the Waitara Community Trust. The main objective of the Trust is

to “resource and implement the goals of the Waitara Town Development Strategy” (pers. comm. Clive Pryme, 15 July 1999). Since 1997 the trust has received no further funding from the Council.

In 1995, as part of the review of the New Plymouth District Plan Dinah Holman undertook a district-wide report on non-Maori heritage sites. This report identified Waitara as a “town with an important and considerable physical heritage” and recommended that central Waitara be designated a commercial heritage precinct in the District Plan (Holman, 1995, p35). While Holman acknowledged that the support of the community is vital in preserving Waitara’s heritage values, the costs of designating the centre of Waitara as a commercial heritage precinct and the individual aspirations of those living within the community are not discussed.

In 1998 the first district plan for the New Plymouth District prepared under the Resource Management Act 1991 was notified. The recommendations of the Holman report to designate the centre of Waitara as a commercial heritage precinct have not been carried through into the notified plan. Rather, two Category A heritage buildings in Waitara are listed on a schedule, with regulatory methods restricting the demolition or alteration of these buildings. The Waitara commercial area is noted in the plan as a heritage precinct and non-regularly methods are included to maintain and enhance this area.

Generally, the Proposed Plan approach towards the township of Waitara is less restrictive than previous plans, reflecting the emphasis of the Resource Management Act 1991 in addressing the adverse effects of activities, rather than the activity itself. While enabling a greater choice for development in Waitara, this effects-based approach does little to recognise the specific character of the town. In comparison to planning under the Town and Country Planning Act 1977, the district plan process has lost its capacity to provide any directional role which might evoke or reinforce the character of Waitara.

The solution to Waitara’s social and economic problems clearly lies outside the Resource Management Act 1991. In 1996 the New Plymouth District Council allocated money in its annual plan for a feasibility study for an upgrade of Waitara’s Central Business District (CBD) (New Plymouth District Council, 1996). However, Clive Pryme, one of the two councillors representing Waitara, outlined that councillors who represented New Plymouth

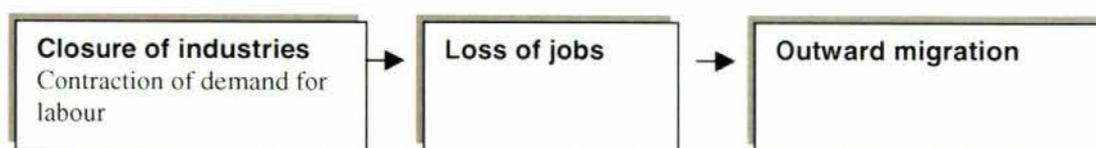
wards actively opposed any money going to Waitara for the CBD upgrade (pers. comm. 15 July 1999). The money was finally approved and two public meetings were held in Waitara to discuss the CBD upgrade. The theme of 'Waitara where the river meets the sea' was developed to guide the overall design of the up-grade. The Council, through its annual planning process, allocated money for the Waitara CBD up-grade in 1997, 1998 and 1999. In June 1999 the first stage of the upgrade of Waitara's CBD was completed.

4.3 Impact of Closures

This section describes the impact of job loss on the Waitara population through analysis of secondary data, comparing shifts across geographical scales, between Waitara, the New Plymouth urban area and New Zealand as a whole.

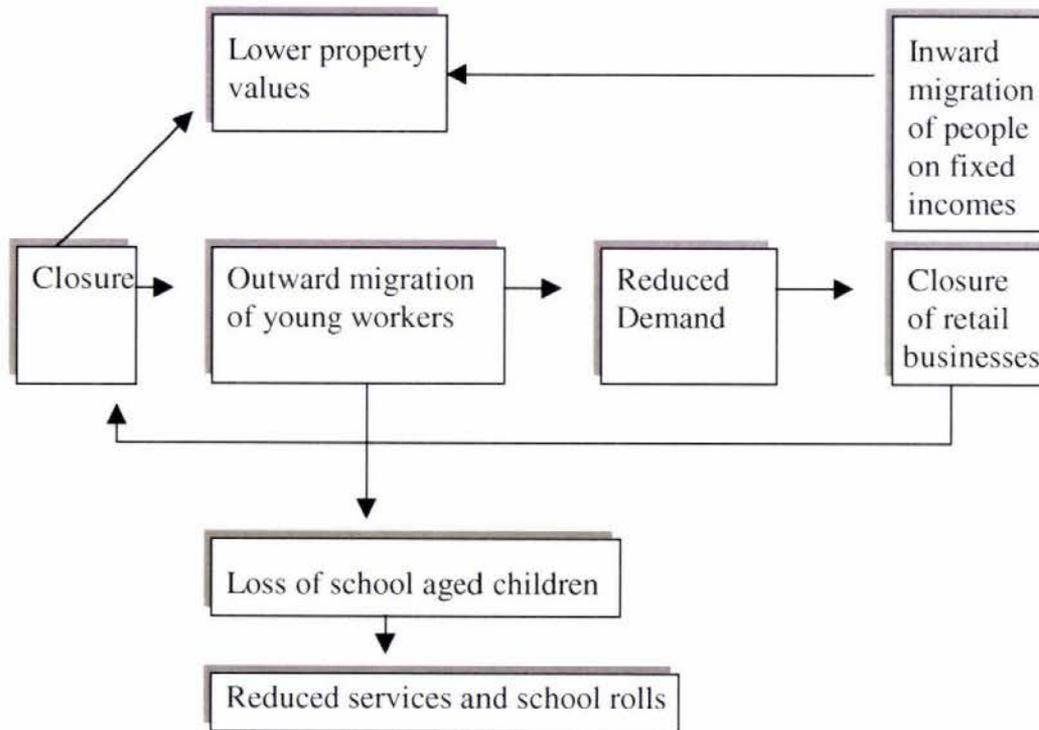
The neo classical model of restructuring is based on the belief that labour is mobile and workers have the ability to substitute the skills acquired in one job for those in another (Conradson and Pawson, 1997). Under this model, the closure of the freezing works plant at Waitara, which resulted in the loss of approximately 1,000 jobs between 1986 and 1996, should have resulted in an outward migration of redundant freezing plant workers to other regions where the demand for labour is greater (Figure Five). However, this assumes a level of occupational and geographic mobility that is unlikely to be realistic for semi-skilled labour and for people living in a relatively low cost town in the twentieth century. In New Zealand, as demonstrated by the meat industry restructuring, there has been a wide-spread decline in the primary sector during this period. At the same time, the end of the energy boom signalled a decline in housing demand and, therefore, relative prices in the area. This can be a significant impediment to movement in a community in which house ownership is relatively high.

Figure Five: Neo-classical economic model of restructuring



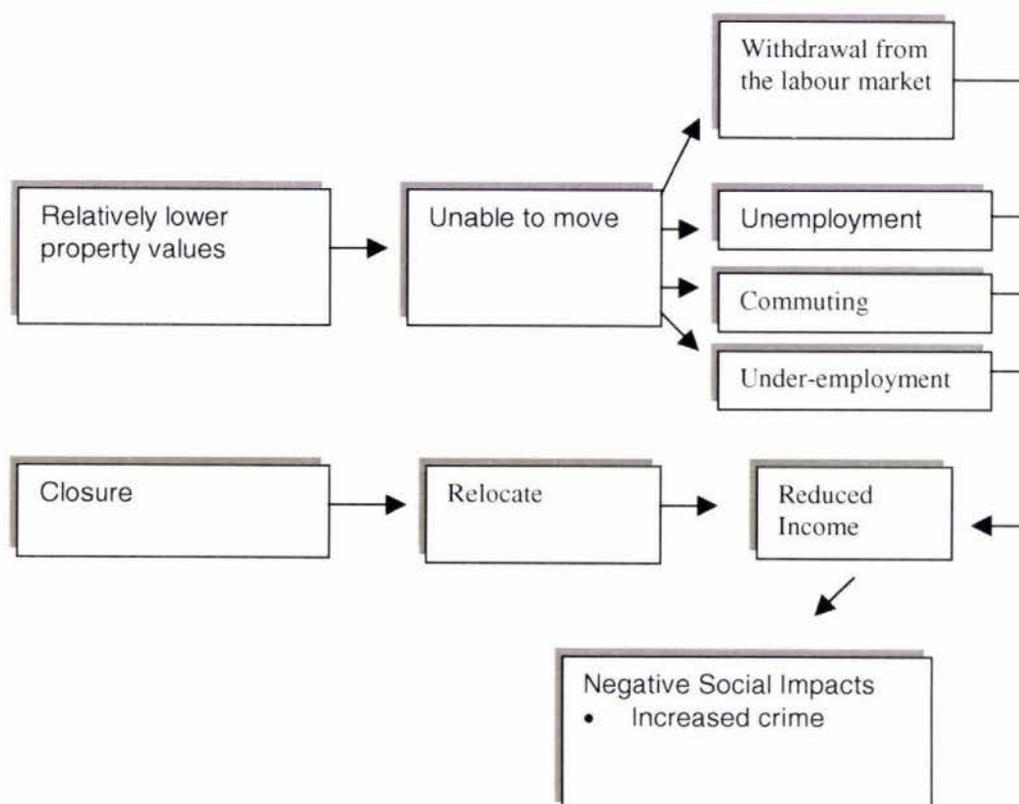
This issue of mobility is tied up with the fact that the neo-classical model assumes that places are homogenous. It also disregards the impact of restructuring on the unique qualities and relationships that contribute to the character of a place. The impact of job losses on Waitara has been felt unevenly, and individuals within the Waitara community may respond in a number of different ways. This suggests several possible variants on the model of labour mobility as outlined above.

Figure Six: Model 1: Restructuring of Waitara's demographic make-up



Model 1 is largely an adaptation of the neo-classical model. It explores the likely impact of the closures on the demographic make-up of Waitara. As the primary industries close there is an outward migration of skilled and young working families seeking employment, who are in turn replaced by an inward migration of people on fixed incomes seeking low cost housing. The increased numbers of people on fixed incomes and loss of wage earners in the community results in a reduced demand for local goods and services. The flow-on effect of this is the closure of retail businesses. The outward migration of young working families also reduces the number of school aged children, thus reducing school rolls and other related services. While the loss of jobs and income places downward pressure on property values the potential demand for housing from people on fixed incomes (retirees and beneficiaries) may limit the downward movement of house prices.

Figure Seven: Model 2: Restructuring of Waitara's labour market



Model 2 (Figure Seven) explores the effect of economic restructuring on the labour market. Under this model it is assumed that global forces have led to a reduced demand for semi-skilled labour. While younger semi-skilled workers make the decision to leave the town in search of employment elsewhere, the town's relatively low cost housing is a significant barrier for more mature workers. The workers who are unable to move because they cannot afford to buy a house in another area face four main choices: one, they remain in the town but commute to jobs elsewhere; two, they take on part-time or casual work; three, they become unemployed or; four, they drop out of the work force.

The increased number of people who are either unemployed or no longer in the labour force has a direct impact on consumer spending. As a result of lower incomes consumer spending falls and retail and other consumption-based businesses close, reducing the number of employed workers in retail and service sectors. Lack of income and increased unemployment also leads to an increase in negative social behaviour such as crime. The

rest of this chapter draws on secondary data sources to explore these possible responses to restructuring.

Changes in labour market

Prior to the closure of the freezing works plant in 1997 employment in Waitara was concentrated in the export-based manufacturing sector. A long term fall in global meat prices resulted in a loss of full-time employment in Waitara, not only in the manufacturing or basic industries sector, but in related industry sectors, including transport and communication, and infrastructure. The loss of wage and salary earners within the town has in turn reduced the available disposable income in the town, reducing demand for local goods and services. Reduced consumer spending has led to job losses in the service and wholesale and retail sectors (Table Six). These findings support the assumptions outlined in model 1, that a loss of the primary industry or employer within the town would lead to a reduction in disposable income and a decrease in demand for other sectors dependent on consumer spending.

Table Six: Changes in Waitara's full-time employment by industry, 1986-1996

Industry	1986		1991		1996		1986-1996 Shift	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Basic industries	1,290	55	822	50	654	43	-636	-49
Infrastructural services	33	1	36	2	9	1	-24	-73
Construction	165	7	111	7	144	9	-21	-13
Wholesale and retail trade	363	16	261	16	294	19	-69	-19
Transport and communication	111	5	63	4	69	4	-42	-38
Business services	90	4	90	5	108	7	18	20
Government and community services	207	9	222	13	189	12	-18	-9
Personal and other services	66	3	45	3	75	5	9	14
Total	2,325	100	1,650	100	1,542	100	-783	-34

Note: Full-time work is defined as 30 hours or more of work per week.

Note: Percentages are based on the usually resident population aged 15 years and over.

Note: Totals and percentages calculated in this table do not include 'not adequately defined' totals in the 1986 and 1991 census or the 'not specified' totals in the 1996 census.

Note: The total number of persons gainfully employed in the full-time labour force at the 1986 census was 2,340, 1677 at the 1991 census and 1611 at the 1996 census for the usually resident population of Waitara aged 15 years and over.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997¹

¹ For all tables and figures used in this report, unless otherwise stated, the Waitara total represents the sum of the areas of Waitara West and Waitara East.

Table Seven: Relative changes in full-time employment by industry, 1986-1996

Industry	Waitara 1986-1996 Shift		New Plymouth 1986-1996 Shift		Total NZ 1986-1996 Shift	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Basic industries	-636	-49	-990	-21	-105,468	-24
Infrastructure services	-24	-73	-390	-57	-13,980	-63
Construction	-21	-13	-630	-33	-11,427	-12
Wholesale and retail trade	-69	-19	-273	-8	24,573	11
Transport and communication	-42	-38	-792	-47	-30,372	-30
Business services	18	20	618	40	66,048	61
Government and community services	-18	-9	-297	-9	-19,971	-9
Personal and other services	9	14	93	12	11,589	21
Total	-783	-34	-3,039	-17	-103,236	-8

Note: Full-time work is defined as 30 hours or more of work per week.

Note: Percentages are based on the usually resident populations aged 15 years and over.

Note: New Plymouth total represents the New Plymouth urban area total.

Note: Totals and percentages calculated in this table do not include 'not adequately defined' totals in the 1986 and 1991 census the 'not specified' totals in the 1996 census.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

The relative changes in employment among sectors suggest that Waitara is becoming a marginalised town, even within the context of a loss in full-time employment across New Zealand. From 1986 to 1996 Waitara's labour market contracted much more than either the New Plymouth or New Zealand markets across all sectors (Table Seven). In particular, while there has been a general decline in the basic industry sector nationally, the impact is far more severe in Waitara.

Waitara has also experienced a much slower growth rate in expanding industry sectors such as personal and business services in comparison to New Zealand as a whole. The growth in these sectors reflects a general shift towards a 'service economy'. In New Zealand, this shift accompanied the loss of jobs in the manufacturing sector. In 1991, 63 percent of employment in New Zealand was in the service sector (Le Heron and Pawson 1996, p93). Waitara, along with its labour force, has traditionally been dominated by the manufacturing sector. This dominance has restricted the development of small service-type ventures in the town. The job opportunities for unskilled or semi-unskilled workers, not only in Waitara but the whole of New Zealand, no longer exist (Table Seven). It can be argued that the decline of the manufacturing sector has resulted in

Waitara becoming in some senses disconnected from the global market and thereby marginalised even within New Zealand as a centre of employment.

Table Eight: Changes in Waitara's full-time employment by industry, 1996-1998.

Industry	1996		1997		1998		Shift 96-98	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Basic Industries	275	27	168	23	172	23	-103	-38
Construction	50	5	50	7	43	6	-7	-14
Infrastructural services	6	1	3	0	2	0	-4	-67
Wholesale and retail trade	171	17	196	27	186	25	15	9
Transport and communication	27	3	19	3	32	4	5	19
Business services	224	23	83	11	76	10	-148	-66
Government and community services	200	20	166	23	177	24	-23	-12
Personal and other services	35	4	46	6	46	6	11	32
Total	988	100	730	100	734	100	-255	-26

Note: Data is based on businesses that are located in Waitara and are GST registered.

Source: Statistics New Zealand Business Directory

Table Nine: Relative changes in full-time employment by industry, 1996-1998

Industry	Waitara Shift 96-98		New Plymouth Shift 96-98		Total NZ Shift 96-98	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Basic Industries	-103	-38	-10	0	10,579	3
Construction	-7	-14	-70	-3	5,478	6
Infrastructural services	-4	-67	-118	-26	-1,154	-11
Wholesale and retail trade	15	9	-111	-2	10,696	3
Transport and communication	5	19	127	9	4,571	5
Business services	-148	-66	-277	-9	15,420	8
Government and community services	-23	-12	28	1	4,505	2
Personal and other services	11	32	215	21	14,416	22
Total	-255	-26	-216	-1	64,511	4

Note: Data based on businesses that are GST registered

Source: Statistics New Zealand Business Directory

Table Eight reflects the impact of the final closure of the AFFCO freezing plant in December 1997. After 1996 the cycle of job loss has continued. The labour market has continued to contract much more rapidly than the Zealand labour market as a whole (Table Nine).

Part-time employment

For New Zealand as a whole the biggest growth in employment between 1991 and 1996 was in part-time work. While women still accounted for the majority of those working part-time there was a significant increase in the number of male part-time workers in New Zealand. Statistics New Zealand (1998a, p13) stated that the “increase in part-time employment for men [was] up 83.7 percent (up 50, 907 to 111, 696). Meanwhile, the intercensal increase for women working part-time was 41.4 percent (up 77, 937 to 266, 352)”.

Table Ten: Changes in part-time employment, 1986 and 1996.

Area	1986				1996				Total Shift 86-96		% Shift	
	Male No.	%	Female No.	%	Male No.	%	Female No.	%	No.	%	Male	Female
Waitara	231	42	315	58	165	30	393	70	12	2	-29	25
New Plymouth	594	18	2,679	82	1,500	27	3,957	73	2,187	68	153	48
Total NZ	48,996	22	172,221	78	111,696	30	266,352	70	156,828	71	128	55

Note: Part-time work is defined as less than 30 hours per week.

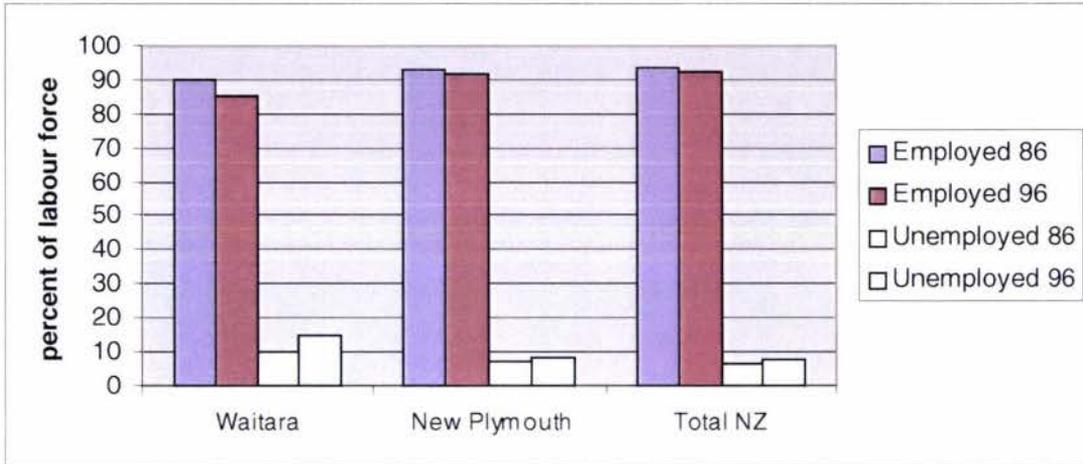
Note: Table is based on usually resident population aged 15 years and over.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

In Waitara, however, there was a fall in part-time participation by males and only a small increase in part-time female participation between 1986 and 1996 (Table Ten). This decrease is attributable to the loss of part-time or seasonal employment at the freezing works. While the increase in female part-time workers is consistent with women re-entering the work force to supplement household incomes that may have been significantly reduced by the loss of the male breadwinner, the gain in Waitara still falls well behind the gains in New Plymouth and nationally. Part-time employment, as with full-time employment, is difficult to find in Waitara.

Labour market response

In 1996 2,166 people (85 percent) of Waitara's total labour force of 2,550 people were employed. The number of the people who were employed out of Waitara's total labour force has decreased by 720 people (or 5 percent) between 1986 and 1996 (Figure Eight).

Figure Eight: Employment and unemployment as a percentage of the labour force.

Note: Employment includes full-time and part-time paid work, but excludes unpaid work

Note: Unemployment includes people who are unemployed and actively seeking and available to work either full-time or part-time.

Note: The labour force consists of people aged 15 years and over who regularly work for one or more hours per week for financial gain and people who are unemployed, actively seeking and available to work either full-time or part-time.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

Model Two predicts three main responses to a contracting labour market. The first response is that the workers who are unable to move would be unable to find another job and become unemployed.

Table Eleven: Changes in unemployment by area, 1986-1996

Area	1986		1991		1996	
	No.	% of labour force	No.	% of labour force	No.	% of labour force
Waitara	324	11	465	22	384	18
New Plymouth	1659	8	2361	12	2004	9
Total NZ	109191	7	163770	12	136506	8

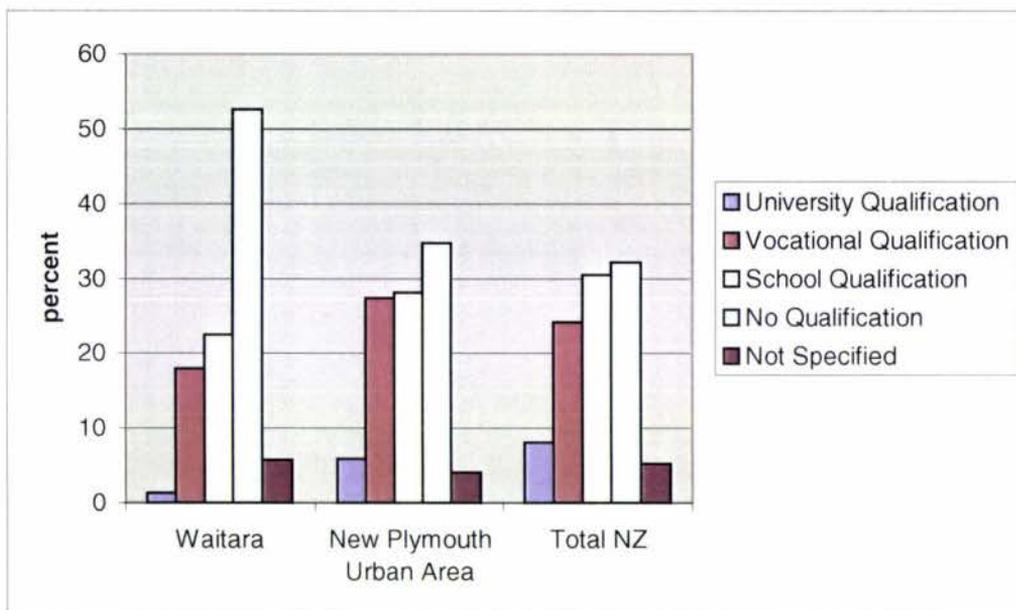
Note: The definition as to who counted as an unemployed person has changed between the 1986, 1991 and 1996. In the 1986 census the definition of 'unemployed' was to be without a job and looking for paid work in the previous four weeks. To be counted as an unemployed person in the 1996 census a person had to have reported that they are available for work and had actively sought work in the last four weeks.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

While the number of unemployed people in Waitara has only increased slightly between 1986 and 1996, the unemployment rate, which is defined as the unemployed as a proportion of the labour force, was roughly double the New Zealand rate in 1996 (Table Eleven). There was also a higher proportion of mature workers (those aged 40 years and over) unemployed in Waitara compared with New Zealand as a whole.

The population of Waitara has a generally lower level of qualifications than the New Plymouth and New Zealand populations (Figure Nine). Indeed, the majority of Waitara's working age population has no qualifications. These differences are in keeping with the historic position of Waitara as a freezing works town. Many freezing workers entered the works on leaving school and obtained no further qualifications outside those needed to work in the meat industry. The combination of the lack of qualifications and transferable skills places Waitara's unemployed freezing workers at a disadvantage in seeking further employment.

Figure Nine: Highest qualification gained by area at the 1996 census



Note: Graph is based on the usually resident population aged 15 years and over

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

Not in the labour force

Model Two predicts that in response to a loss of jobs a number of workers will choose to opt out of the workforce.

Table Twelve: Percentage of people not in the labour force at the 1996 census

Area of Usual Residence	%
Waitara West	48
Waitara East	41
New Plymouth Urban Area	37
Total New Zealand	35

Note: These percentages calculated from the total usually resident populations aged 15 years and over.

Note: It was not possible to aggregate these percentages into a total Waitara figure, so percentages for Waitara West and Waitara East are shown separately.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

Waitara has a higher percentage of people who do not actively participate in the labour force (Table Twelve), something which further lowers the town's disposable income. The number of people not in the labour force has also increased by 294 between 1986 and 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 1997).

Commuting

Displaced workers also have the option of remaining in the town and commuting to employment in other areas. At the 1996 census 1,542 residents of Waitara were gainfully employed in the full-time labour force. However, only 765 full-time workers were employed in the township itself compared with 804 in 1991. The difference in the number of people employed in full-time work and the number of jobs physically located within Waitara indicates that at least 50 percent of the workforce commute to jobs outside the town, although this proportion did not significantly change between 1991 and 1996.

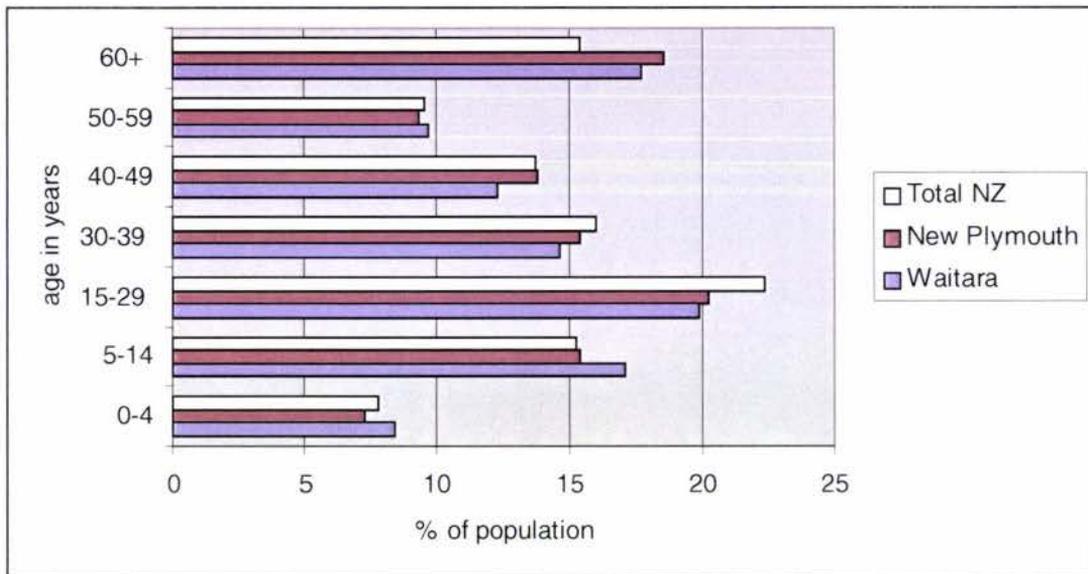
Population change

This section examines the impact of job loss on the population of Waitara. Population change has two main components, natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) and net migration (the difference between the number of people moving into an area and the number moving out). While this research is more concerned about the relationship between job loss and migration, there is a need to briefly discuss the significance of New Zealand's ageing population.

The expansion of older age cohorts (people 60 years and over) is part of a changing pattern of high mortality and fertility. Since the turn of the century New Zealand has experienced a steady decline in mortality rates. As a consequence of fertility rates increasing in the post war baby boom era of 1946 to 1965, New Zealand prior to 1970 had a youthful population. New Zealand's population experienced an average annual growth rate of 2.2 percent between 1951 and 1961, while the elderly population only experienced a 1.6 percent growth rate over the same time (Statistics New Zealand 1998, p11). During the 1970's and 1980's fertility dropped as people began to limit family size and delay childbearing. Between 1976 and 1981 the average annual growth rate for the whole population was just 0.3 percent, while the growth rate for the elderly population was 2.4 percent over the same period (ibid).

On census night 1996 11.7 percent of New Zealand's usually resident population were aged over 60 years. This represents an increase of approximately 50 percent compared to 1976 (Statistics New Zealand, 1998). The decline in birth rate and subsequent increase in the number of elderly people in the population is not unique to New Zealand, but rather reflects international trends which have seen an increase in the number of elderly people in most developed countries.

Figure Ten: Percentage share of population by age cohort at the 1996 census



Note: percentages are based on the usually resident population.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

Like most regions in New Zealand in the late 1970's, Taranaki was hit by an exceptional loss of population through migration to other regions and overseas (Taranaki United Council 1989, p8). However, between 1981 and 1985 the township of Waitara experienced a population 'boom' (Table Thirteen) attributable to an influx of workers to the two petrochemical projects under construction at that time. From mid 1981 until early 1985 the level of in-migration fluctuated but remained high. However, with the wind down of the energy projects at the end of 1984, out-migration began to gradually increase. By early 1985 out-migration from North Taranaki had risen to a level where it equalled in-migration. (Taranaki United Council 1987, p15). Between 1985 and the end of 1987 migration out of North Taranaki consistently exceeded migration into the area (Taranaki United Council 1988).

Table Thirteen: Change in Waitara's population by age cohort, 1976-1996

Age Cohort	1976	1981	Shift	1986	Shift	1991	Shift	1996	Shift
	No.	No.	76-81 %	No.	81-86 %	No.	86-91 %	No.	96-91 %
< 15 years	1947	1773	-9	1833	3	1701	-7	1659	-2
15-29 years	1536	1488	-3	1830	23	1647	-10	1290	-22
30-39 years	640	780	22	909	17	936	3	951	2
40-49 years	556	531	-4	678	28	774	14	798	3
50-59 years	563	564	0	591	5	534	-10	627	17
60+ years	794	852	7	990	16	1059	7	1155	9
Total	6036	5988	-1	6837	14	6678	-2	6507	-3

Note: Figures are based on the usually resident population.

Source: New Zealand census, 1976, 1981, and Statistics New Zealand 1997

Since 1986, as a result of the wind down and redundancies in the freezing plant, Waitara's total population has been declining. In particular, there has been an increasing number of people aged between 15-29 years leaving Waitara (Table Thirteen). The outward migration of this age group in search of employment opportunities elsewhere has also resulted in a change in that age structure of Waitara's population. Most significantly it has increased the percentage of elderly people in the population which means that Waitara's population is ageing more rapidly than the nation as a whole (Figure Ten).

Conradson and Pawson's (1997) study of restructuring in Reefton also found that age was a significant factor in relation to whether people remained in the area. As the core state and private sector organisations in Reefton were downsized and/or left Reefton, a considerable out-migration of their previous employees occurred.

"Apart from a small group of middle-aged state sector transfers and retirees, it is clear from the interviews that these [the people who left Reefton] were mainly younger single workers and family households in their twenties and thirties. Young single males for instance were enabled to move by the lack of large financial or family commitments to places, whereas young families had sufficient years of earning in front of them to overcome the differential in real estate prices between Reefton and larger centres" (Conradson and Pawson 1997, p1392).

The loss of young families and subsequent increase in elderly people in Waitara's population has a number of implications for the community of Waitara. Firstly, the loss

of young families has the potential to affect school rolls and participation in social and sports clubs.

Table Fourteen: Changes in Waitara's school rolls, 1993-1998

School	Date						Shift 93-98
	1/3/93	1/3/94	1/7/95	1/7/96	1/10/97	1/6/98	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
St Joseph's School	134	136	142	143	140	128	-6
Waitara Central School	308	314	319	307	281	267	-41
Waitara East School	194	203	196	203	218	219	25
Manukorihi Intermediate	297	322	293	269	283	310	13
Waitara High School	524	515	455	429	440	416	-108
Total	1,457	1,490	1,405	1,351	1,362	1,340	-117

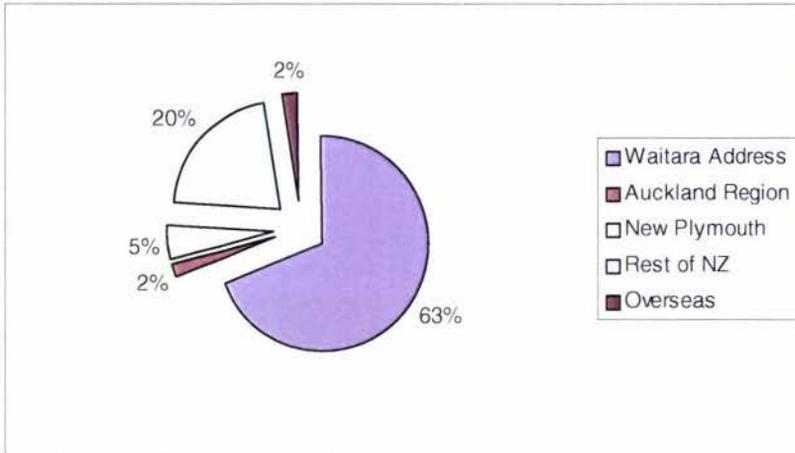
Source: Ministry of Education 1998

Between 1993 and 1998 there has been a decrease in the number of children enrolled at three of Waitara's five schools. Waitara High School has been most significantly affected with the loss of 108 students in that five year time period (Table Fourteen). However, it is difficult to attribute this drop in school rolls directly to the closure of the works. There are many factors, including parents opting to send children to High Schools in New Plymouth, which may also account for the decline in students attending Waitara High School.

The increasing number of elderly people has implications for local health services. Department of Health statistics show that males aged 65 years and over utilise 15 times more hospital days than those aged 15-44 years and females 23 times more days (Health Status Review, 1990, cited in Taranaki Regional Council 1992, p20).

Inward migration

Figure Eleven: Address in 1991 of Waitara's population at the 1996 census

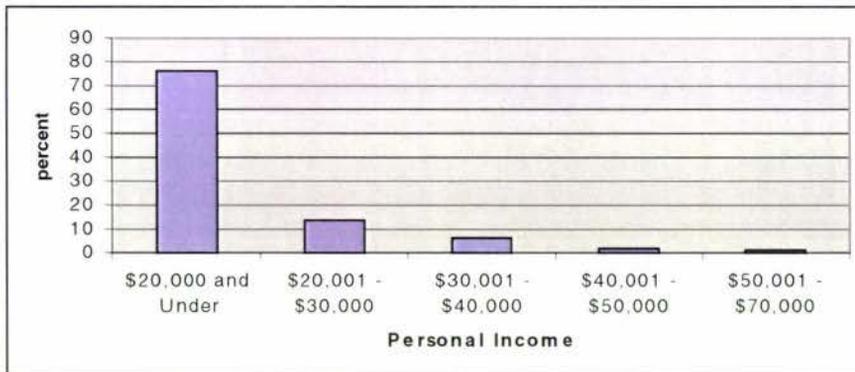


Note: Percentages are calculated from the usually resident population at the 1996 census.

Note: 8 % of the usually resident population of Waitara at the 1996 census were not born in 1991.

Source: Statistics New Zealand

Figure Twelve: Personal income of immigrants to Waitara from 1991-1996



Note: Percentages are calculated from the total number of persons aged 15 years and over in the usually resident population at the 1996 census, whose address in 1991 was not a Waitara address.

Source: Statistics New Zealand

As predicted by Model One inward migration to Waitara took place between the 1991 and 1996 censuses (Figure Eleven). The majority of the people who moved to Waitara had an income of under \$20,000 (Figure Twelve), which indicates that they were either without employment or not part of the labour force. In contrast, immigrants to Waitara from mid 1982 to mid 1985 were skilled tradespeople or technicians who came to work on the energy projects. Immigrants in the 1990's tend to be moving to the town for reasons other than employment.

Table Fifteen: Years at usual address at the 1996 census

	Waitara	New Plymouth	Total NZ
Less than 1 Year	21%	23%	24%
1 Year	8%	9%	9%
2 Years	9%	10%	10%
3 Years	6%	7%	7%
4 Years	6%	6%	5%
5-9 Years	18%	18%	19%
10 years +	32%	27%	26%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: Percentages are calculated from the total usually resident population minus the 'not specified'.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

Generally, Waitara residents tend to move less often compared to people resident in the New Plymouth urban area and the New Zealand total population (Table Fifteen). In particular there were a higher percentage of people in Waitara at the 1996 census who had lived in the same dwelling for 10 years or more. This suggests that people have a certain loyalty to their town or, according to the model cannot afford to move. These figures also indicate that Waitara has a slower housing turnover than in other areas reflecting an inability of older residents, in particular, to overcome the differential in real estate prices between Waitara and larger centres.

While Waitara's total population has been relatively stable from 1986 to 1996, job losses within this period have resulted in an outward migration of young workers and an inward migration of people on fixed incomes. Thirty-seven percent of Waitara's population in 1996 had not lived there in 1991. This inward migration of predominantly low income people explains why Waitara did not experience a more significant population loss.

The remaining sectors of this chapter examine a range of factors that may further influence an individual's ability or willingness to move.

Changes in community and unpaid work

There are over 200 clubs and organisations operating in the Waitara area (Wellington 1996). In particular, Waitara has a tradition of being a proud sporting town. McDermott Fairgray in their 1993 study of Waitara identified "strong sports clubs and the sporting prowess of locals" as a strength of the Waitara Community. Since records began in 1894, 61 people from Waitara have represented New Zealand in sporting events. As

Waitara is a river town the sport of rowing has had a close association with the town. Two Waitara rowers, Ray Laurent and Peter Lucas, rowed for New Zealand in the 1956 Olympic games in Melbourne. (Waitara Honour Board, War Memorial Hall, Waitara).

Previous studies (Melser et al 1992; Peck 1985) indicate that economic restructuring can also affect a locality's non-paid community sector. For example, participation in voluntary and sporting organisations can decline as their members either leave the district, or can no longer afford membership fees. Equally, an individual's involvement in community organisations may also be a significant factor, which influences his/her decision to remain. A strong commitment to or sense of community can provide individuals with strong support networks which may not be readily available if they were to move to a new community in search of employment.

Table Sixteen: Hours of unpaid work outside of the household at the 1996 census

Type of unpaid work	Waitara	New Plymouth	Total NZ
Child Minding	6	5	5
Household Work, Gardening, Cooking, Looking after Aged, Ill, Disabled Person	5	4	4
Training, Coaching, Teaching	3	3	3
Attending Meeting, Organisation, Administration, Policy Work	6	6	5
Fund Raising Work	4	3	2
Other	2	2	2
Total	26	22	19

Note: The 1996 census was the first census that asked respondents to provide data about the type and number of hours they spent on unpaid work outside of the household.

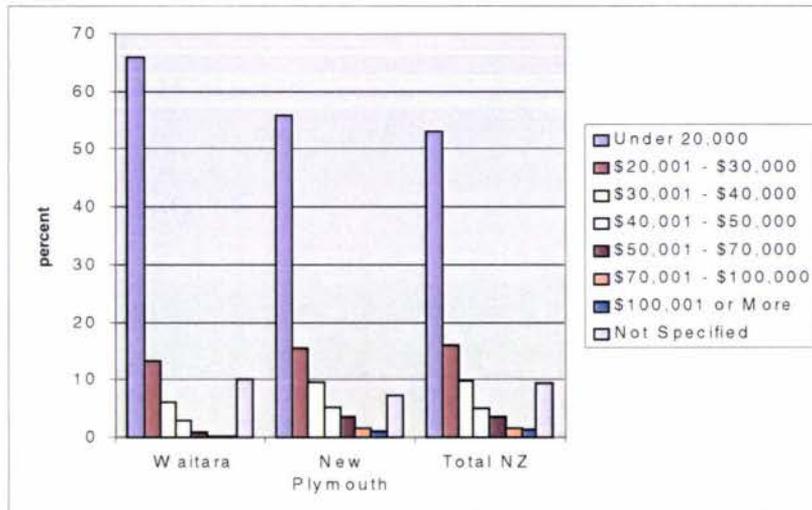
Note: Percentages are calculated from the usually resident populations aged 15 years and over

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

More residents in Waitara appear to be community minded than those living in either the New Plymouth urban area or New Zealand as a whole according to their commitment to unpaid work (Table Sixteen). This suggests that people in Waitara have a stronger sense of community, which may be a reason why so many older people have chosen to remain in the town.

Incomes and income sources

Figure Thirteen: Personal income by area at the 1996 census



Note: Figures are based on the usually resident populations aged 15 years and over.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

Personal income is an important measure of social and economic well being and Waitara's lower income levels are a major factor in understanding why people have remained in the town (Figure Thirteen). At census night in 1996 the median family income for private dwellings was \$26,335 for Waitara West, and \$29,099 for Waitara east. Both these amounts are significantly less than the median family income for private dwellings for both the New Plymouth urban area and total New Zealand populations of \$38,874 and \$39,205 respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 1997).

Waitara's lower income levels are attributable to the fact that the majority (51 percent) of its working population are reliant on a government benefit as their primary source of income, compared with only 35 percent of New Zealand's total population (1996 census). Waitara also has a higher percentage of households collecting the unemployment benefit (at 23 percent) compared to 19 percent of households in the New Zealand population as a whole, again reflecting the town's higher rate of unemployment. Waitara, which was once a town dependent on a freezing works plant, is now a town dependent on the state.

Tenure

Table Seventeen: Tenure of private dwellings by area at the 1996 census

Type of tenure	Waitara	New Plymouth	Total NZ
Owned with Mortgage	35%	36%	35%
Owned without Mortgage	34%	35%	31%
Owned, Mortgage Not Specified	1%	2%	1%
Provided Rent Free	3%	2%	4%
Rented or Leased	19%	22%	23%
Not Owned, Rental Status Not Specified	2%	2%	2%
Not Specified	6%	3%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%

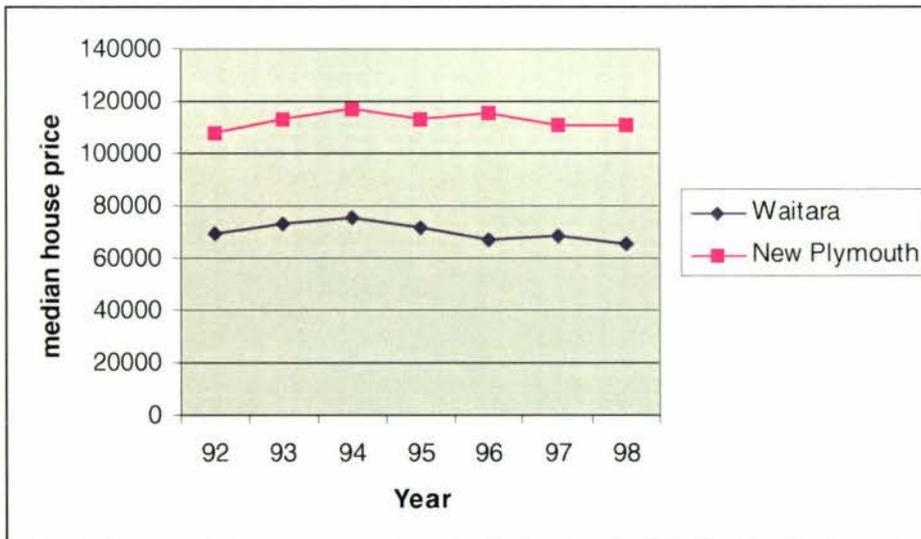
Note: Percentages are calculated from census night populations.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

The majority of people within Waitara own their own homes (Table Seventeen). This strong commitment to home ownership rather than renting is also reflected in the New Plymouth and national populations (Table Seventeen).

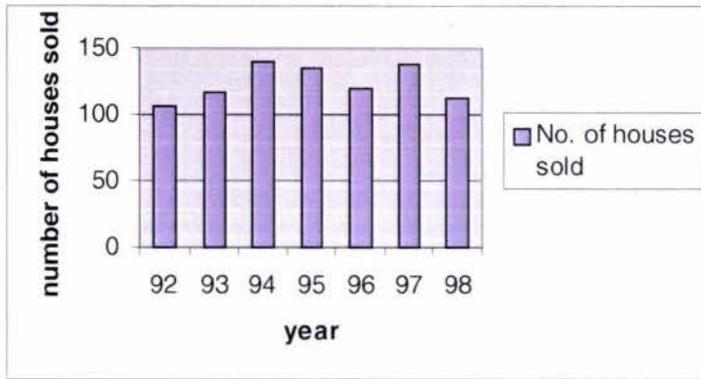
Housing prices and turnover

Figure Fourteen: Median sales price for houses sold in Waitara and New Plymouth City



Note: averages are based on median monthly sale prices that have been adjusted for inflation to the CPI, using 1996 as the base year.

Source: Real Estate Institute of New Zealand

Figure Fifteen: Housing turnover for Waitara, 1992-1998

Source: Real Estate Institute of New Zealand

Relative to New Plymouth housing prices, Waitara housing prices have been declining slightly since 1994 (Figure Fourteen). This decrease supports the assumption made in Model One, that the closure of the freezing works would have a flow-on effect on housing prices. However, the number of houses sold has remained active, even though house prices have declined (Figure Fifteen).

The increasing number of sales in 1994 and 1997 may be due to the fact that the cost of a house in Waitara is almost half the cost of a house in New Plymouth (Figure Fourteen). Overall, the Taranaki Region is the third most inexpensive region, after Otago and the Southland region, in which to buy a house (The Daily News, 12/7/99). Waitara's inexpensive and declining housing prices are attractive to people on fixed incomes. For many people on low or fixed incomes, Waitara may be one of the few areas in which they can afford to buy a house, or own a house without a mortgage. This data is consistent with earlier migration data.

Table Eighteen: Weekly rent for privately rented dwellings at the 1996 census

Amount of rent paid	Waitara	New Plymouth	Total NZ
\$1-\$100	50%	21%	24%
\$101-\$150	43%	44%	30%
\$151-\$200	3%	27%	25%
\$201-\$250	0%	3%	9%
\$251-\$300	0%	1%	4%
\$301-\$350	0%	1%	2%
\$351-\$500	0%	0%	2%
\$501 or More	1%	0%	1%
Not Specified	3%	3%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: Percentages are calculated from census night populations.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1997

The cost of renting a house in Waitara is significantly less than in the New Plymouth urban area and the New Zealand average (Table Eighteen). Lower rents are an attractive reason for people on fixed incomes to move to Waitara and for the town's resident government beneficiaries to remain.

Social impacts

This final section briefly discusses the impact of job loss on reported crime as one indicator of social dislocation that might be associated with restructuring.

Table Nineteen: Recorded offences at the Waitara police station, 1994-1998

Type of crime	Shift 94-95		Shift 95-96		Shift 96-97		Shift 97-98	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Violence	19	28	16	18	-2	-2	-10	-10
Sexual	6	55	-8	-47	-4	-44	-4	-80
Drugs/Anti Social	36	73	63	74	-10	-7	-9	-7
Dishonesty	68	11	-21	-3	-121	-18	-34	-6
Property Damage	14	13	28	23	28	19	-55	-31
Property Abuses	28	68	11	16	-18	-23	-4	-6
Administrative	-11	-33	-12	-55	5	50	-1	-7
Total	160	17	7	7	-122	-10	-117	-11

Note: Official statistics provide only a limited picture of the nature and extent of crime for the following two reasons. Firstly, they are restricted to offences which come to the attention of the police as a result of reports by victims or witnesses, or discovery by the police themselves. Secondly, even when offences do come to the notice of the police, they are not necessarily recorded as offences. Offences related to violent and sexual assaults tend to be under reported compared to offences such as theft and burglary (Young et al 1997).

Source: New Zealand Police Statistician 1999

Between 1994 and 1996 there was an increase in the total reported crime in the Waitara area. In particular, there was an increase in crimes associated with drugs and anti-social behaviour, property abuse, violence and property damage during that period (Table Nineteen). Rangi Hiroti, a police officer at the Waitara Community Policy Station, attributes these increases directly to redundancies at the local freezing works. With increasing unemployment within this period, people resorted to crimes such as burglary and the growing of cannabis to supplement their incomes. Lack of self-esteem, due to

being without a job, also led to increasing dependency on drugs, such as cannabis, during this period.

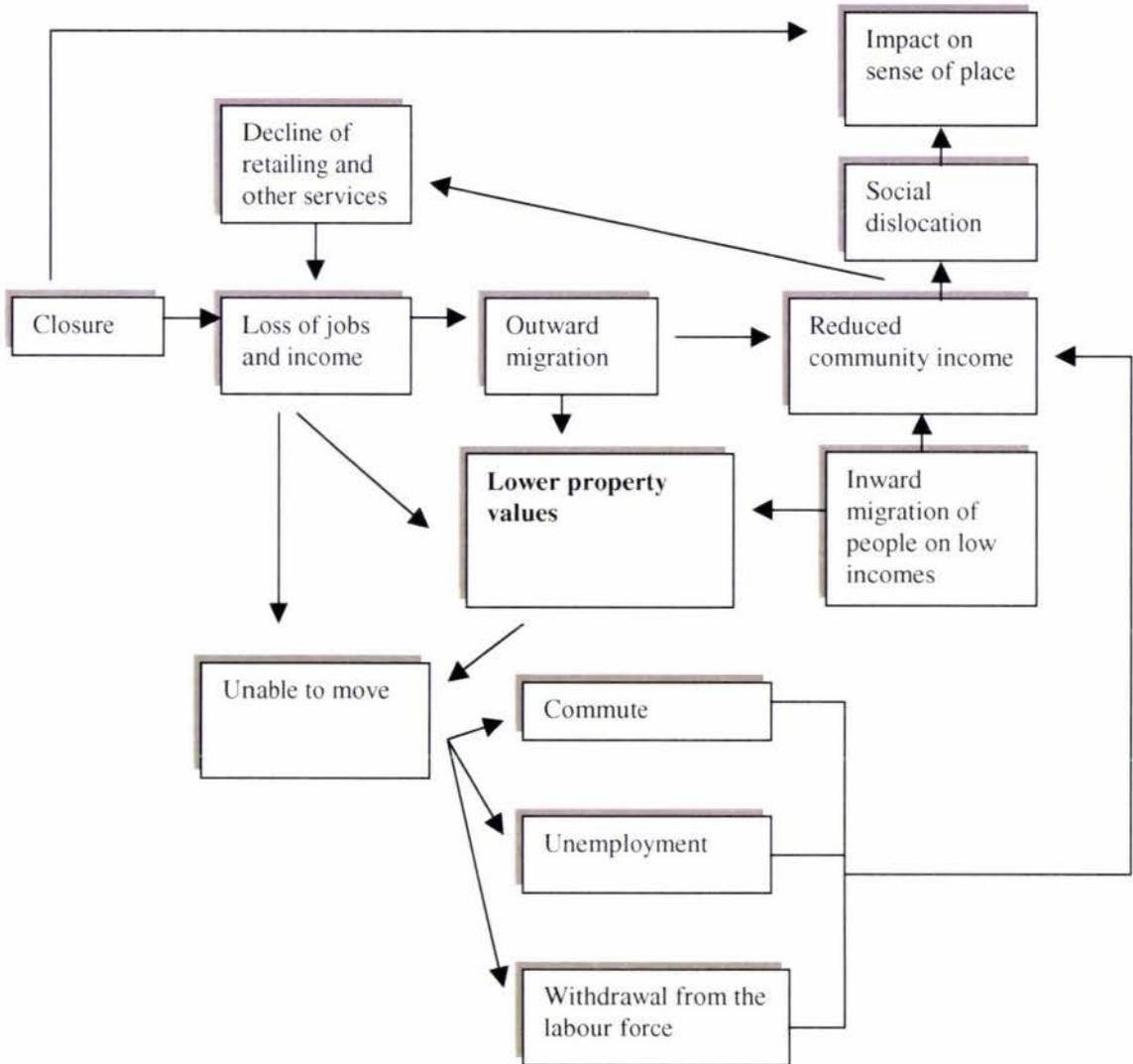
Rises in the numbers of reported violent crimes is attributable to a change in police policy in relation to the handling of domestic violence, rather than an increase in the actual numbers of violent crime committed. "Waitara has also had a high level of domestic violence"(pers. com. Rangi Hiroti). However, from 1993 the police took a much harder line on domestic violence, which led to a larger number of violent offences being recorded.

The decrease in recorded offences from 1994 to 1996 was attributed to a number of factors. Most significantly, a core group of offenders who were committing the majority of burglaries were caught. In Waitara a small number of people, between five to six people, were committing the majority of crimes. One offender was responsible for 114 burglaries alone (ibid). To a lesser extent staff changes within the Waitara Police Station and improved police intelligence systems also contributed to a decrease in number of recorded crimes (ibid). However, apart from anecdotal evidence, it is difficult to establish a relationship between restructuring, redundancy, demographic change and negative social responses.

4.4 Alternative Restructuring Model

The community response to the restructuring of Waitara cannot be fully explained in terms of the neo-classical model. This model ignores the structural differences that place the town of Waitara in a position of disadvantage. Earlier in this section two alternative models examining demographic and labour market change were proposed. In order to highlight those structural differences there is a need to combine these models to form a revised restructuring model (Figure Sixteen).

Figure Sixteen: Alternative restructuring model



The starting point within the alternative model is the closure of the main industries within the town. As outlined earlier in this section the redundancies and unemployment that ensued were a local response to globally determined restructuring. As predicted in the neo-classical model, a number of young working families moved out of town in search of employment elsewhere. In turn, this loss of working families has raised the percentage of elderly people in Waitara's population. The impact of the loss of working families on schools rolls and services is difficult to determine, as to a large extent the inward migration of people on fixed incomes with children has to some degree lessened the cycle of decline and loss implied in the neo-classic restructuring model. However, data does suggest that the closure of the town's major industries has had a flow-on effect, by reducing demand in related industry sectors, thus creating further unemployment.

The neo-classical model does not address the main structural factors which affect the ability of the labour force to redeploy. The most significant of these structural factors, as highlighted in the alternative model, (Figure Sixteen), is Waitara's relatively low housing prices. For many mature workers, Waitara's inexpensive housing remains a significant reason for living there. In a town, and indeed a nation, which has a strong commitment to home ownership, the thought of being unable to buy a house in a larger area where demand for labour may be greater is a major impediment. In particular, a person's savings and security may be tied up in a house so there are practical reasons for not moving, especially if the price of the house has devalued. Also, the cost of living in Waitara is significantly lower than in other areas. People may be unable to afford rents and mortgages elsewhere.

Waitara's housing prices are also a central factor in explaining the inward migration of people on fixed incomes. Housing prices have decreased as a result of closures within the town. However, Waitara's housing market has remained active. As young working families are forced to sell up and move on in search of employment elsewhere, people on fixed incomes are moving in, taking advantage of the town's marginalised housing market.

Another significant factor that contributes to many mature workers' inability to redeploy includes their lack of qualifications and transferable skills. These factors significantly reduce the ability of many displaced workers to find further employment in a restructuring service economy and belie the assumption made by the neo-classical model that labour is uniform and occupationally mobile.

The alternative model (Figure Sixteen) implies that displaced workers who remain have three main choices; (1) they commute further to employment outside of the town; (2) they become unemployed and (3) they withdraw from the labour market. Data suggests that Waitara has always had a high percentage of people who commute to work. However, this information is not sufficiently refined to indicate if there has been any significant increase in commuting.

While the number of unemployed people has remained stable in the ten-year period from 1986 to 1996, the rate of unemployed people as a percentage of the labour force is almost

twice the rate as for the nation as a whole. Again, information on withdrawal from the labour force is unclear, as the percentages are possibly skewed due to the higher proportion of people aged 60 years and over in Waitara compared to the nation as a whole. However, between 1986 and 1996 there has been an increase in the number of people in Waitara who are no longer in the labour force.

What is apparent from the data is that the level of community income in Waitara is significantly less across all income levels compared to the New Plymouth and New Zealand populations. Most significantly, the majority of Waitara's residents are reliant on state support as their primary source of income. This factor supports the implication made in the alternative model that unemployment, withdrawal from the labour market and the inward migration of people on fixed incomes will result in a reduced level of community income.

While the linkages between closures, unemployment and reduced incomes contributing to Waitara becoming a marginalised community are easily made, connections between these factors and social dislocation are less clear. The data used in this chapter is generally not designed to measure social dislocation, rather it is partial and is built around an economist's view of the world. In particular, the data is not designed to collect information on an individual's social support networks, self-esteem or self-worth, all of which influence a person's ability to react positively to job loss. It is unclear, therefore, as to whether the closure of the freezing works has necessarily resulted in social dislocation. There has been a transformation/adjustment but not of the sort the neo-classical model would have predicted. However, the questions as to how employment affects the social structure of the community and its sense of place remain unanswered.

4.5 Conclusion

The restructuring of Waitara does not satisfy the requirements of the neo-classical model. Workers in Waitara are mainly unskilled and do not have the necessary qualifications or transferable skills to enable them to be occupationally mobile. Waitara is a town that in the past was dependent on a single industry, which was linked directly to global markets. However, the closure of this industry means the town is no longer connected to the global

economy, and sits outside of the GR model of restructuring. The longer Waitara remains disconnected from the global and national economy the more marginalised it may become.

An alternative model has been proposed which addresses the structural differences within the town which have resulted in this marginalisation. Waitara's relatively low housing prices are a key factor in understanding the restructuring of Waitara. They prevent many mature workers from leaving and are also a significant factor as to why people on low incomes are moving into the town. While this model adequately outlines the linkages between closures, job loss, unemployment, reduced community income and a decline in demand for local retailing and services, it fails to address the impact of these factors on the social make-up of the town. It is unclear as to whether the closure of the freezing works has resulted in social dislocation. It is even more difficult from the data presented to determine the effect the closure of the freezing works has had on an individual's sense of place. For example, what has been the effect of the inward migration of lower income people on the way the town is viewed or understood by outsiders? Does living in a town where the majority of people are beneficiaries lead to a negative sense of place? For the alternative model to address these factors a more informal set of indicators that measured people's self-worth, self esteem and sense of community would need to be developed.

In conclusion, the alternative model is also partial and subject to limitations. While the macro level analysis presented in this chapter clearly shows Waitara as a marginalised community it cannot describe the impact of this marginalisation on an individual's sense of place.

CHAPTER FIVE INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCES OF PLACE AND RESTRUCTURING

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes personal responses to restructuring as experienced by 13 long-term Pakeha residents of Waitara in 1998. These were ascertained through in-depth interviews conducted over a two-month period, from 26 August until 17 October 1998. The interviews focused on gaining an understanding of the elements which contribute to an individual's "sense of place". Respondents were also asked questions about their experiences of economic restructuring.

5.2 Profile of The Sample

This research is not representative of all the people who lived in Waitara in 1998. In the following section the characteristics of the respondents included in this study are briefly outlined; for as Baxter and Eyles (1997, p508) state:

“ a description of respondent characteristics is critical since experiences crucial to the research question may be unnecessarily over-looked. They offer an indication of who is allowed to speak and, of equal importance, who is not”.

Of the 13 interviewed, seven were male and six were female (Table Twenty). Nine of the respondents were aged 60 years and over, two were aged between 20 and 29 years and the remaining two respondents were aged from 40-49 years and 50-69 years respectively. There were no respondents within the sample aged between 30 -39 years. The selection criteria that respondents must have lived in Waitara for the majority of the last twenty years excluded the involvement of individuals aged under 20 years.

The fact that nine out of 13 of the respondents in this study are aged 60 years and over means that this age group is over-represented, impacting on other sample characteristics, including employment, education, and household composition.

Table Twenty: Characteristics of respondents

Respondent	Age in years	Gender	Household composition	Qualifications	Employment Status	Place of Birth
Respondent 1	62	Female	Lives with spouse and grown son and his children	Not specified	Retired	England
Respondent 2	73	Male	Lives with spouse, grown children have left home	No qualifications	Retired, after 40 years at the Waitara freezing works	Australia
Respondent 3	62	Female	Lives with spouse, grown children have left home	Trained as a dental nurse	Retired	Mokau, North Taranaki
Respondent 4	72	Male	Lives with spouse, grown children have left home	No qualifications	Retired, after working as a linesman for the Post Office	England
Respondent 5	70	Female	Lives with spouse, grown children have left home	No qualifications	Retired	England
Respondent 6	52	Male	Lives with spouse, grown children have left home	Trade qualification in engineering	Employed in Waitara, after 27 years at the Waitara freezing works	Urenui, North Taranaki
Respondent 7	65	Male	Lives with spouse, grown children have left home	No qualifications	Retired, after 41 years working at the Waitara freezing works	Waitara
Respondent 8	69	Male	Lives with spouse, grown children have left home	No qualifications	Retired, after being self-employed in Waitara	New Plymouth
Respondent 9	69	Female	Lives with spouse, grown children have left home	No qualifications	Retired, after being self-employed in Waitara	Inglewood, North Taranaki
Respondent 10	75	Male	Lives alone, has two grown sons	No qualifications	Retired, after 51 years at the Waitara freezing works	Waitara
Respondent 11	27	Female	Lives with flatmate	No qualifications	Employed as wage and salary earner in New Plymouth	Waitara
Respondent 12	42	Male	Lives with dependent children on part-time basis	School Certificate	Self employed in Waitara	Waitara
Respondent 13	29	Female	Lives with spouse and two dependent children	No qualifications	Self employed in Waitara	Waitara

Nine respondents were retired. Only two were wage and salary earners and the remaining two were self-employed. The majority (12 out of 13) had children. However, only two had dependent children. In terms of household composition, seven respondents who were aged 60 years and over and one male in his fifties lived with their spouse only, as their children, now also mature adults, had long since left home. One respondent, aged over 60 years, lived with her spouse and grown son and his family, for financial reasons. One respondent aged over 60 years lived alone.

The remaining three respondents, who were all aged under fifty years, lived in a variety of households. One 29 year old lived with her spouse and dependent young children. A 27 year old lived in a non-family household. The remaining respondent cared for his dependent children on a part-time basis.

None of the respondents were university educated, however, two respondents did have vocational qualifications. Eight had no school qualifications, while two had School Certificate as their highest qualification. One respondent did not specify her qualifications. Of the respondents aged over 60 years, only one respondent had completed a vocational qualification. The majority of respondents in this age group had no school qualifications, having left school at the age of 13 or 14, as jobs were plentiful and qualifications were not needed to obtain work.

Five respondents were born in Waitara. Of these, only two had lived in Waitara for their entire lives. Of the remaining eight respondents, four were born overseas, one was born in New Plymouth and the other three were born in towns elsewhere in Taranaki.

5.3 Main Themes Revealed by In-depth Interviews

Sense of place in 1998

Respondents were asked a series of questions in order to identify the different elements which contribute to their sense of place in 1998. For as Britton et al (1992, p276) wrote “discussion of places is mis-placed without reference to particular places at particular

times". When asked how they would describe Waitara in 1998, the majority of respondents described the town's social or economic make-up. Not all comments portrayed the town in a positive light, or reflected a positive attachment to the town. Descriptions ranged from short positive descriptions of Waitara's social make-up;

"Waitara is a nice place to be in" (Respondent one)².

"Over the years, it was a pretty tight community" (Respondent seven).

"Its a quiet little town. Yeah, we quite like Waitara" (Respondent 13).

These respondents viewed Waitara's slower pace of life as a positive attribute.

Another positive statement reflected a strong connection between place and self-identity:

"It's a sense of identity. I have always sort of felt that you live in a town you build friends, you build your character from your town and your own sort of identity. (Respondent six).

For Respondent six, living in Waitara was an important part of his own personal identity. Other respondents' comments focused on more negative descriptions of Waitara's current economic environment:

"At the moment it's in the doldrums" (Respondent eight).

"I used to call it the sleepy hollow...because it was slow...there was nothing fast about Waitara. I don't know how I would describe it now. It just upsets me to drive through the town and see all the empty shops, and the people that own the buildings let them become derelict, and windows are filthy and it gives a bad impression of the town" (Respondent nine).

"At present...dying on its feet. I had an occasion to meet Mrs Bolger, Jim Bolger's mother, in New Plymouth hospital some time ago and she said 'I believe Waitara is dying'. I said 'Mrs Bolger, it's been cremated'. There is no industry here, no work. From the town clock to the bridge there are three retail shops. It's very, very sad the way that Waitara has gone back. And I can't see any future in it. Because the freezing works employed 1,000 people, all got paid every Tuesday" (Respondent ten).

For these respondents Waitara's slow pace of life was seen as negative, part of its decline into economic recession.

² All respondents' quotes are shown in italics

These findings support Massey's concept that places are "formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location" (1992, p12). Respondents described the town's social and economic make-up rather than its physical environment. For as Waston stated "social relations are constructed spatially. Spatial relations are structured socially" (quoted in Modjeska 1989, p7). Waitara, according to respondents, is conceptualised in terms of the social interactions which ties it together.

Comments by Respondent 11, aged 27 years, indicated a virtual disconnection with Waitara despite the fact that she had lived there most of her life. When asked how she would describe Waitara in 1998, she replied:

"Don't go there. I've got nothing good to say about Waitara" (Respondent 11).

When questioned further about this statement, Respondent 11, the youngest respondent in the study, explained that Waitara was a hard place in which to get established. All her peers had left Waitara, or were having babies. She worked, socialised and shopped entirely in New Plymouth. Apart from her family, there was nothing left for her in Waitara.

Only one respondent out of 13 described the town's physical environment:

"Well, I have never really lived anywhere else, only for a short time. But what I enjoy is the pace, its not very fast. There are a lot of nice people. There's a lot of things to do. Its a little bit sport orientated to a point. I enjoy the fact that its close to Mt Egmont, that we have a river for water skiing in the summer. I have enjoyed rowing, Clifton Rowing Club, yachting with the Waitara Boating Club. Fishing off the coast, time at the beaches. The fact that it's close to New Plymouth, to a city, without actually being in the city. Its been a good place to raise children. Good beaches to the north - Urenui. Good open spaces. Hunting, lots of things really at the end of the day." (Respondent 12).

In conclusion, in analysing respondents' descriptions of Waitara in 1998 it is important that no unifying themes emerge. There is, apparently, no universal 'sense of place'. Three respondents describe it as a quiet place in which to live, while other respondents describe it as a place in the grip of economic recession. For one respondent Waitara is an integral part of their own personal identity; for another respondent, it is a place they no longer identify with. As Massey (1994) contended, places do not have single, unique 'identities'; they are full of internal conflicts.

Likes, dislikes and moving

Respondents were also asked about their positive and negative associations of living in Waitara. The majority talked about the people and Waitara's relaxed atmosphere as being the main reason they liked living there. These reasons reflect a 'social' sense of place, as described by Eyles (1985), which owes much to the importance attached to people, specifically family, neighbours and friends.

Talking about their positive associations of Waitara evoked a feeling of intense local pride for a number of respondents. Their responses were almost a defence of Waitara as a place to live.

"There seems to be something different about Waitara people. It's probably because, you may get the same reaction from all small communities, you can go away from Waitara and a lot of people say 'What's Waitara?' 'Where's Waitara?' and you can tell them. I'm quite proud of Waitara, how people get on with each other" (Respondent seven).

"I like to enjoy the sporting person's success in Waitara. It's always nice to say he came from Waitara. It's because It's my town. It's just a hometown pride thing. You have to identify with where you actually live" (Respondent six).

"Waitara is Waitara. I don't like people talking about Waitara as having cheap houses. We have reasonably priced houses and yeah it's home. When we have been overseas it's always nice to come home" (Respondent six).

"It's a nice quiet town and I go to my mate's place and drink coffee and sit on the porch and have a beer. It's nice and relaxed" (Respondent 11).

"But what I enjoy is the pace, it's not very fast. There are a lot of nice people" (Respondent 12).

"We don't like a busy place like New Plymouth" (Respondent 13).

Waitara's climate, which is slightly warmer than New Plymouth, the town's proximity to New Plymouth, and the fact that it is an inexpensive place to live, were also cited by respondents, as some of the other benefits of living in Waitara. (Respondents one, two, five, six and 13)

"It's just that far away from the city, we wouldn't really want to live in the city. I like the slower pace, and I have got to know so many good people out here that I'm very happy here" (Respondent five).

“I feel that it’s got an extremely good climate” (Respondent six).

“And it’s only quarter of an hour away from New Plymouth, and it’s a lot cheaper to live out here. We quite like Waitara” (Respondent 13).

The size of Waitara also enabled people to know most of the people there and be known by other people. Waitara was described as a friendly, intimate town.

“We are like a little village. Most people know most people and if there is any body who’s got any problems there’s always somebody who can help. You still get those ones who will not go for help. You will always get those. But most people will know, for instance, who won the lottery this week. You can’t keep a secret because Waitara is still friendly enough that people know people, and I think that’s the beauty of Waitara” (Respondent one).

“It’s a very friendly town. You can walk up the street and talk to just about everyone on the street and know them” (Respondent six).

Respondent 10, who had a very negative view of the town, also enjoyed the security associated with living in a close knit community. When questioned about how he felt about living in Waitara he replied:

“Alright, I suppose I will spend my dying days here, because everybody knows me, I know everybody. That’s a good thing” (Respondent 10).

People were asked about their positive associations of Waitara first. Once they had identified their likes they tended then not to list their negative associations of living in Waitara even when prompted. However, for those respondents who did, their dislikes tended to focus more on their frustrations, rather than revealing any particular dislikes, or conflicts within the community.

These frustrations included Waitara’s low property prices, which were also viewed by some respondents as a positive factor associated with living in Waitara. However, if you wanted to move away, or needed to move into a smaller, low maintenance house, then Waitara’s low property prices were a major stumbling block. Respondents also felt that the rates in Waitara were too expensive compared to other areas in New Plymouth. Other frustrations discussed were the problem of young kids hanging around the street, without any visible form of support, and the small-mindedness of certain individuals which comes from living in a small town.

“We are quite content here. The only thing is that when you want to sell your house, or move into something smaller, or something bigger, you get to the stage where you have not got the funding. Our age group 60, 70 80, if we want to move into a flat, we must have reserves on one side so you can move into a smaller place which is dearer than a house. If you are on leasehold land I’m afraid at the moment the houses are going very cheaply, because it is leasehold land” (Respondent one).

“Dislike the rates. Our rates are very high compared with lots of places in New Plymouth” (Respondent two).

“I don’t really have any dislikes, more frustrations. I suppose one of my frustrations is when I look at... we hear so much about the younger Maori population not getting a good education, falling into trouble with the law and that sort of thing, and I really, it might already be happening, but I don’t see it at the moment. I look at so many young Maori children these days and I see them as lost causes and I feel in a town like ours, Marae based things could do a hell of a lot more for our town’s kids. I hate it when I see young kids wandering about the town aimlessly. Not really having any sense of direction” (Respondent six).

“I do sometimes [feel], working at [x], with some of the public, that I sometimes get a bit tired of some of the misunderstandings or small -mindedness of some” (Respondent 12).

The frustrations experienced by respondents reflect the reality of living in a small town which has been affected by unemployment. Understanding what Waitara is like in the present is also related to past experiences. It affects people on all levels, in terms of their financial ability to relocate to other areas because of the relatively low price of housing in Waitara compared to other areas, and in wider terms of looking at the future for the town’s young people.

However, respondents’ comments reflect the everyday frustrations experienced among different groups of people living in a small community, rather than any major conflicts. For as Respondent 11 pointed out:

“Certainly, as with living in any community there is disagreement and people with different ideas” (Respondent 11).

Indeed, disagreements between different groups in a community are part and parcel of living in any place. For as Massey (1991, p277) contends “localities will ‘contain’ (indeed in part will be constituted by) difference and conflict”. In order to really find out if people had major dissatisfactions with living in Waitara, they were asked if they had ever thought of moving away. Nearly all respondents replied that at some stage they had

considered moving away. They usually cited family commitments as the main reason for not moving away.

“Oh yeah everybody thinks about moving away from Waitara...everybody thinks about it...but the funny thing is that people come back” (Respondent one).

“In the early days when I was at work [we thought about moving away], but with kids at high school it ties you” (Respondent four).

Respondent 13, who had a young family, cited financial constraints as one reason why they had not moved away.

“At different times we have [thought about moving away from Waitara], but we haven’t got the money to sell up and move. We are quite happy to stay put. We are mortgage free now. We are happy here” (Respondent 13).

Respondents eight and nine, who were husband and wife, both retired and aged in their seventies had grown children and grandchildren who had already moved away. Now they have also made the decision to move. Their reasons for moving were as follows.

“We are moving out, not because we are deserting the town. My heart is still here and always will be. It’s my home town. I have lived here all my life except for about two years, but there’s nothing here for us. I come back from Tauranga and I feel something come over me as I come into Waitara. A heaviness and stress, to know that I am powerless to do anything” (Respondent eight).

“Moving away mainly for family reasons” (Respondent nine).

“Our family has gone from a tight whanau to a spread whanau. And I want to be able to see my grandchildren, at least some of them, grow up. I won’t go to Wellington” (Respondent eight).

The majority of their family had moved on, which reduced their ties to Waitara.

Respondent 12, a male aged 42 years, talked positively about moving away from Waitara when his children were grown up. He explained:

“So as my children grow and move into their own lives Waitara certainly holds not much for me anymore, other than my business. So I think the time will come that I will probably move on” (Respondent 12).

Another male respondent aged 74 years, thought it was too late for him to move, he explained:

“Too late now. I got my roots down here. I got all I want” (Respondent ten).

Respondent six, a male in his fifties, had a very positive view of Waitara and replied that he had never thought of moving away from Waitara. He stated:

“I think that unless you are moving away for a career move... I really can't see a lot of point of moving away to live somewhere else. Maybe it's the pull of the mountain or the sea, or just that community sort of thing” (Respondent six).

Again respondents' discussion of their dislikes and thoughts of moving centre around social relations. It is their connection with the people and their families which ties them to Waitara. It is these same family connections which can also entice people to leave a place. Hudson (1988, p493) writes:

“...the point is that for these people the locality is not just a space in which to work for a wage but a place where they were born, went to school, have friends and relations etc; places where they are socialized human beings rather than just the commodity labour-power and, as a result, places to which they have often become deeply attached. These localities are places that have come to have socially endowed and shared meanings for people that touch on all aspects of their lives and that help shape who they are by virtue of where they are”(Hudson, 1988, p493).

Stories of the past

To investigate whether an individual's sense of place alters in relation to changes in the economic environment, respondents were asked to describe some of the changes which have occurred in Waitara in the last 20 years. In line with their descriptions of Waitara in the present day, they also had distinct interpretations of the town's past and its traditions. These differences were particularly noticeable in relation to a respondent's age.

Respondents aged 60 years and over, who had completed their working life at a time of economic prosperity, presented a picture of a busy town. Their stories described Waitara as a boom town. Waitara in the 1970's was a very different town from what it is today. It had full employment, people worked and shopped locally, there was perceived to be a strong community spirit. These stories of Waitara take us to simpler times, where everybody had a job, got on with everyone else, and people were positive about the future of the town.

“In the 1970’s Waitara was a very viable little village. The population at the time would have been basically fully employed. Stock numbers were quite high. The freezing worker had a lot of disposable income” (Respondent two).

“When we first came [21 years ago] you never heard of unemployment. Nearly everybody was employed somewhere or other. You had your wool scourers, you had Duncan and Davies, you had your Subaru Factory, the freezing works and you had your Swannndri, so it was very rare that you heard of anybody out of work” (Respondent one).

In the 1970’s and through to the mid 1980’s the freezing works employed approximately 1,000 men at the height of the season. It was seasonal work and the wages were high. The affluence of the freezing worker was also reflected in the town itself. New houses were built, the township of Waitara began to expand. People were aware that the continuing prosperity of the freezing works plant had a strong flow-on effect for the town’s retail and service businesses. People lived, worked and spent their wages locally.

“Probably the best thing for young people was the freezing works. You know leaving school for the first time just to go in and experience their first job. You got a lot that would experience it, the money, and think this is good” (Respondent seven).

“As far as the [freezing] works went there was an expansion from about 1978 onward when they did the one million lamb for the season...As far as the town goes, well I think the car factory might have started in that time. Other than that the town sort of grew. Houses were built. It was all go between 1978 and 80 and a bit further on. People made a lot of money through the freezing works because it was a seasonal job. However, from the 1970’s on, a lot of people had work all year round, they had a system where they did bobby calves and then even did goats, which kept people in work, because the lamb situation gets to a stage where it stops. The car factory, that boomed there for a while, it had a lot of people in work as well” (Respondent seven).

“I can remember knocking off at the freezing works and nearly 1,000 men would walk down and we would go down the pub and have our couple of jugs of beer and a yarn and all that” (Respondent eight).

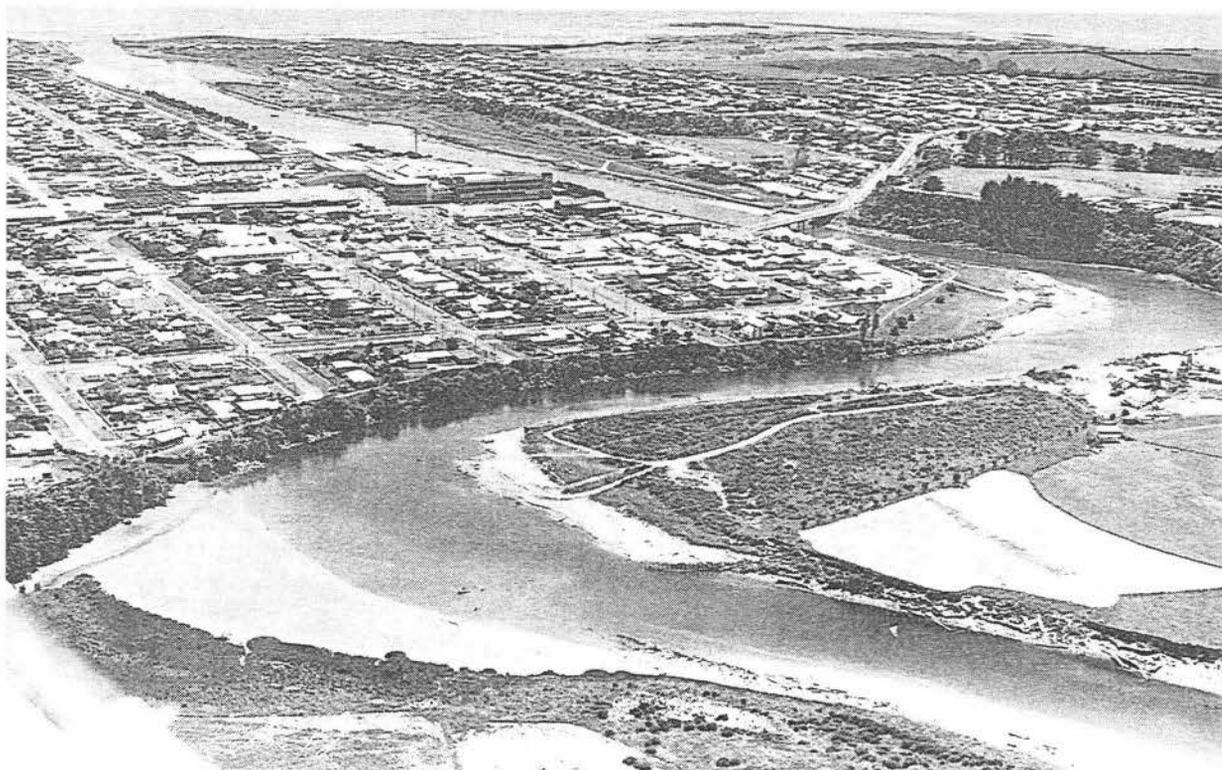


Figure Seventeen: Aerial view of the Waitara River and township as at 14/1/78. This photo shows the town in more prosperous times, before the Waitara bypass road was built.

Source: Taranaki Newspapers Ltd.

“Christmas Eve was so busy. We had punga tied to the veranda posts with Christmas lights up. The policeman would come along and say move on please, move on please, because there were so many people from the surrounding Districts” (Respondent ten).

“When I started there was Craigs who had the biggest Children’s Centre in Taranaki. Next to him was Alan Matherson a chemist, then there was me, there was a material shop - Jennifer Mace, Sharman had a hardware there in those days. But one by one every one of those shops closed. But in the boom times, we were the elitist of the town. Because Max Craig had people come from all over Taranaki, so when they came to him they came to me. And we used to do lots of promotions as a block - Waitara’s West where Shopping is Best” (Respondent nine).

And there were the events, the river regattas, dances at the War Memorial Hall which involved the whole of the community.

“The Clifton Rowing club was the backbone of Waitara. We had beautiful regattas in Waitara. Maori would cook a big hangi and be doing it up in flax baskets and selling it. There was scrim right around the town and over the bridge about six feet high, so nobody could stand and look in. You had to pay to get in” (Respondent ten).

“Used to be river carnivals, and big dances at the War Memorial [Hall]” (Respondent five).

Peel, in his 1995 study of the impacts of restructuring on the South Australian town of Elizabeth, was also presented with stories of Elizabeth in better times. Peel referred to these stories collectively as tales of the “valiant city”. However, Peel (1995, p208) warned:

“The valiant city is also partial. It does not close off the range of local memory, because there was never one Elizabeth, one way of experiencing or using the town. Gender, age, income, time of arrival, neighbourhood and extended family relationships, work, politics: all helped generate different uses of the landscape and different forms of remembering”.

As with Peel’s study of Elizabeth, respondents within this study had different ways of remembering Waitara. Older respondents, who had retired in the early 1980’s, most frequently presented stories of the boom times. However, these stories were selective and partial. They tended not to focus on the strikes or the negative events of the past.

Younger respondents, who were still quite young in the 1970's, tended to focus on the more recent history. Their stories reflected the town's economic downturn. Their memories centred around the closure of particular shops within Waitara, and the loss of traditional employment.

Respondent 13, a female aged 29 explained:

“They have got a new TSB Bank. Where the lotto shop is now - the Keyman, they had a nice shop there it was called McKenzies, that was a really neat shop and that's gone. The roundabout and the clock that was just all new last year.

The bypass. The newspaper office is gone now, we had that in Queen Street [the Daily News]. That just had an office there where you go and paid your bill and put adds in, but you got to do that at the Keyman Lotto shop now. The Westpac bank, that's gone. And they have got the Income Support come out and started that up in there [the Westpac building]. The BNZ, that's gone. The accountant guy he moved in the building. Allison Hall the optician, she's gone in the bank building. Post bank, that's gone. They had a video shop just around near where the Westpac was in Queen Street and that is now a doctor's surgery” (Respondent 13).

Respondent 11, a 27 year old female, describes the following changes:

“AFFCO got pulled down, and they put a roundabout in the main road. Years ago they built Motonui” (Respondent 11).

Respondent 13, who has two young children, also discussed the impact of the closure of the works:

“Yeah that [closure of the freezing works] was a major thing. Affected us in quite a big way, because [respondent's partner] has been in there for like 33 years” (Respondent 13).

These differing stories of the past support Massey's (1994) assertion that in relation to place there is no internally produced essential past. The past, according to Massey (1991, p278) “is no more authentic than the present; there will be no one reading of it.” Instead there are multiple pasts which reflect individuals' differing life experiences. For as Peel (1995, p208) stated “all are strategic memories which celebrate the experience of people who can say ‘I was part of that’”.

The stories of Waitara in the boom times reinforce that Waitara is a good place to live and that Waitara people have earned their pride and their dignity. The stories represent the

'ethics of tenacity', the words of a proud place. They present a gesture against the stigma of current day unemployment, and for two respondents reflected a strong sense of loss. The majority of the stories of Waitara in the 1970's present it as a place with few problems, although it may have been a little rough around the edges.

What stands out in all respondents' stories about the past, both young and old, is how much Waitara has changed in the past 20 years. To some degree all respondents who spoke in detail about Waitara's past were prone to nostalgia, because knowing and living in Waitara means knowing that it was once a busy viable town which has been marginalised by forces beyond its control.

"When you look at Waitara you got to realise that the freezing works shut, the car factory shut, the dairy factory shut, the clothing factory shut, Duncan and Davies is just about shut. Now I did hear, how many millions of dollars of wages were taken out of the town by all that? Now when that happens you get despondency, you get people with stress. All those jobs are gone" (Respondent eight).

However, the same respondent also acknowledged the uselessness of nostalgia, of longing for something to be as it once was.

"I know that you can't look back... all those days are gone" (Respondent eight).

More importantly, the stories of Waitara in the boom time also provide a critical resource for Waitara's past, present and future. While a number of people have chosen to leave, the stories of the past provide values of belonging and solidarity for those that remain. They reflect almost a bunker mentality. Respondent six, when discussing the closure of the freezing works in December 1997, made the following statement:

"People were positive about Waitara. We are not going to die, we have been through this before and we came out of it, and we are very resilient" (Respondent six).

Our memory of the past then also provides hope for the future. As Harvey (1996, p306) asserted:

"The preservation of construction of a sense of place is then an active moment in the passage from memory to hope, from past to future. And the reconstruction of places can reveal hidden memories that hold out the prospects for a different future".

Respondents' stories of the past also have a strong ahistorical, mythological element. The mythological elements include stories of the past, which portray Waitara as a busy, safe place, where everybody was happy. These stories ignore the hardship caused by the lockouts and the strikes or the violence caused by drinking which were also part of the town's past. The 'busy place' stories are 'ahistorical, in that "[the] specific pattern described is timeless: it explains the present and the past as well as the future" (Levi-Strauss 1963, p231). The busy place myth confirms respondents' attachment to Waitara, and reinforce their decision to remain in the town.

Importance of the freezing works

Another theme which came through strongly when respondents discussed Waitara's past was the importance of the freezing works. In this study six out of the seven male respondents had been employed at some time in their working life at the freezing works; four male respondents had worked at the freezing works for over twenty years. The spouse of one female respondent had worked at the freezing works for over 33 years.

Respondents' stories of working there focused on the strength of workplace bonds. There was a great loyalty to the company (Borthwicks) and to the men. As a freezing worker you had a nick-name, you had your place, and a secure way of life. The freezing works provided employment for young school leavers and it was not uncommon for two to three generations of one family to derive their main source of income from the freezing works.

"The permanent staff had come in as men and boys. Lots of families went through the works. There were generations. It's a tight community. I would have known everyone by name" (Respondent two).

"There was loyalty to the men, Thomas Borthwicks and Son. Great old Scottish firm. We were all one big family" (Respondent ten).

However, because of this perceived dependence on and loyalty to the company respondents reported instances where the owner of the works, Borthwicks, were able to flaunt environmental controls:

"A lot of it [waste] went into the river, and because we were dependent on the works we shut up about it" (Respondent two).

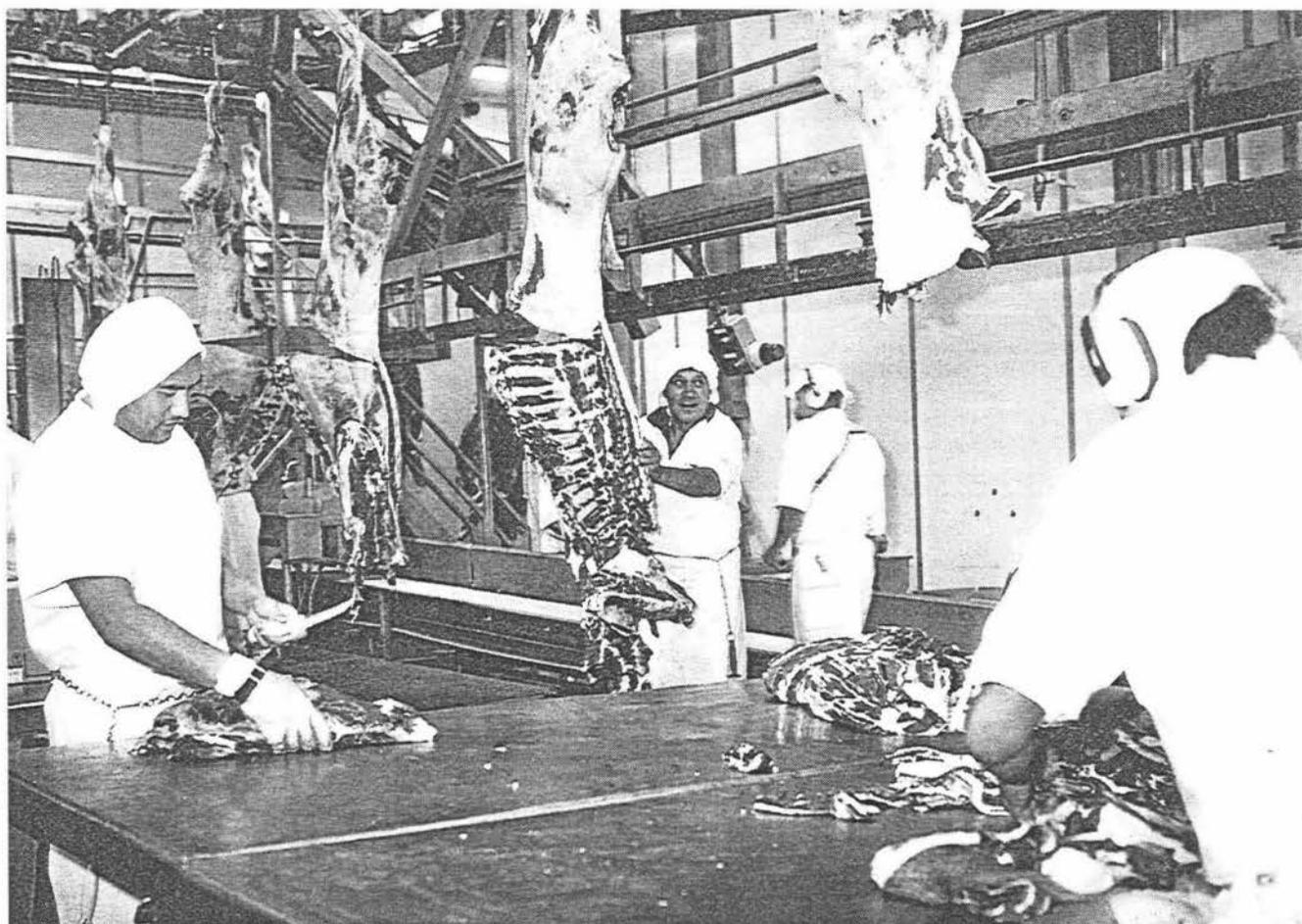


Figure Eighteen: Working on the beef chain at the Waitara freezing works on 30/5/91.

Source: Taranaki Newspapers Ltd.

“People used to go crook about the smell of the freezing works and they would talk about the dirty river, and I would say, because I was a Borthwick’s loyalist, ‘What, so you want a clean river and no money? Or a dirty river and some money?’ It was as simple as that” (Respondent ten).

Knowing one’s place and one’s loyalties provided a sense of order and hierarchy amongst the workers at Borthwicks and Sons. The situation in Waitara is in some ways similar to the UK’s mining towns. Bulmer (quoted in Johnston 1991, p109) suggests “that the strong occupational communities characteristic of mining settlements occur because the social relations forged in the workplace are carried over into arenas of non-work activity, creating overlapping primary group affiliations”. Freezing workers were described by one respondent as a family. The workers shared a history of living and working in one place over a long period of time.

The freezing works not only provided jobs for local men, it also provided members for local sports teams.

“The Rowing Club survived off the freezing works, for the reason of members - rowers and raising money for the Rowing Club. The freezing works were a great place for people to sell their raffles, and the club survived and I think that is why Waitara has done well over the years with all sports” (Respondent seven).

To a large extent, Waitara, as with the colliery towns in the UK, was a single industry town. The freezing works dominated the local labour market, not only in the numerical sense that it was the town’s largest employer until 1994, but it also determined the employment structure of the town.

The dominance of the freezing works determined the conditions of the local economy. There was a lack of locally owned ‘small-firm sector business’, apart from small manufacturing and engineering firms employing under 30 people. The down sizing and closure of the works therefore threatened the economic base of the entire community. For there are few local work opportunities for adult male freezing workers outside of the meat industry, and even fewer jobs for adult women, outside of work at the local shops. But most importantly, it threatened a way of life in Waitara. The closure on 15 December 1997 gained a reaction from all respondents within this study. All respondents acknowledged the closure of the freezing works as having severely impacted on Waitara’s traditional way of life.

“Well there has been a slow change to traditional sort of ways and traditional employment. Traditional employment - was the freezing works. I suppose the whole concept of the town [is] that we have gone from basically full employment to minimal employment” (Respondent 12).

“The biggest one [change] is the collapse of Borthwicks. When all the people were put out of work and there wasn't enough money and shops started closing. When you suddenly lose 600 people, their wages, it affects the whole of the community. It doesn't just affect the wife and the children, it goes through to the shops and the shops have to drop an assistant, the trucks that cart gear, the spin off from that was terrific... you could feel it in the town.. One moment it was quite buoyant then as they spent their money and then you could feel the place going down” (Respondent four).

Two respondents who had entered the freezing works as boys, and worked there their entire working lives, expressed feelings of sadness at the closure. Their comments reflect almost a lament for their lost workplace. To them it seemed that the closure of the freezing works was an end of an era for Waitara. When asked how they felt when the works closed in December 1997 they replied as follows:

“Very, very sad. And to be quite honest now it gives me a lump in the throat to think about it. The good times we had. Everybody was happy, everybody went to work. And when I first started we had a very hard manager and he lined us up and said as long as he was alive there would never be a freezing worker rich enough to own a radio. That was after the depression. Didn't pay very much, but we all had a job” (Respondent ten).

Well it was the only industry left and even if it's on a smaller scale it gives something doing in Waitara. Other than that Waitara will finish up a retirement village. It's probably not a bad idea from the older person's point of view but, when you look at the school, how many young ones are coming through all the time, Waitara's going to lose ground as far as people looking for work. The community will never stay the same, you are not going to have the families staying in Waitara as much as they were, over the years in our period time. You go back and families went on and on, through the freezing works” (Respondent seven).

Other respondents had been expecting the closure although when it was announced it was still a shock. One female respondent whose spouse was made redundant in December 1997 explained:

“We sort of had an idea, and then like in October they have their holidays, they have a month’s holiday every October. And then it was about a week before Christmas they had a meeting and he come home and that was it - they had shut the door” (Respondent 13).

Another respondent, one of 156 workers made redundant on 15 December 1997, described his feelings and that of the community, on the day the announcement was made to close the works.

“Personally, I had often put the figures together about what stock numbers were and the number of plants that would affect so it didn’t really come as a surprise to me. The community as a whole, when it actually, on that day, when everyone was sitting there and it was announced it was quite numbing to a lot of the work force and there were quite a lot of aggro sort of comments towards management” (Respondent six).

While the reaction of respondents to the closure was varied, their reactions indicate that the freezing works was an integral part of the Waitara community. Waitara was easily identified by respondents as a “freezing works” town. It dominated both the economic and social life of the town.

Closure of freezing works - influence of both global and national forces

The majority of respondents who had some involvement in the freezing works generally accepted that the closure of the plant was largely determined by forces operating outside the factory gate. There was a general awareness of external factors. In particular, respondents describe a mixture of falling global meat prices, declining stock numbers and the crippling costs of compliance with EEC regulations as the main forces behind the closure. The freezing works provided the town with a window on the world and linked it directly to global markets.

“All the freezing industry was in trouble. The basic problem was the over production of sheep and lamb units. We couldn’t sell what we were producing. Tariffs were a problems and farmers were given subsidies. Farming wasn’t viable, only through subsidies. By the time Waitaki got here the freezing industry was in serious trouble” (Respondent two).

“[The decision to close the Waitara plant] was a Board decision by AFFCO Head office in Auckland. It was a business decision. With the falling stock numbers and the over capacity in the country, if you can’t supply stock to a works, and in our catchment area we rely very heavily on bringing stock in from outside the area and with [other plants in the North Island] it was those places that were more strategically placed and could handle any of the throughput. That’s the way that management saw it” (Respondent six).

Respondents clearly recognised that it was not Waitara, nor the people within the town which had failed, but the international meat industry which had failed Waitara. In essence, they recognised what Le Heron (1991, p108-109) concluded that the reorganisation of the New Zealand meat industry was in response to two principal forces: a retreat by the state from farm support and a collapse of global meat prices in the early 1980’s.

Impact of closure on workers

While employees who were in management positions within the freezing industry were well aware of the crisis facing the industry, the average freezing worker was not so well informed.

“The work force - yes a lot of them, it did take them by surprise. Because I don’t think they were actually told at their meetings just how serious the situation was in the freezing industry” (Respondent six).

Freezing workers were largely unprepared for the closures.

“The impact on the community was pretty horrific because one week you think you have a job for life, and you’re working and well paid, you got mortgages, a car or two and the next week, because they played their cards close to their chests, and the staff really didn’t know, then when the redundancies started...it was a terrific blow. Lots of them, I think, hadn’t saved a hell of a lot of money because freezing workers were notorious for being fairly affluent but I don’t think they saved that much” (Respondent two).

As with the state sector workers described in Conradson and Pawson’s (1997) study of the impacts of state sector reforms in the West Coast town of Reefton, working in the freezing works did not require employees to develop enterprising and self-reliant work skills. The skills acquired working on the chain were not transferable outside of the meat processing industry. Many workers who had been employed on leaving school had no

idea how to find another job. They had become dependent on the freezing works and lacked resilience to find work outside of the freezing industry.

“People that worked in the [freezing] works particularly, didn’t have any skills in looking for outside work. They had never had to go and formally apply for a job. They didn’t know what a CV was. They had sort of always got a job in the works because Dad worked there or they were a friend of the boss’s son or daughter or something like that in a different department and that’s how the jobs went on. And it’s been quite a traumatic experience for a lot of them really having to sort of start applying for jobs out in the work force and not having a clue how to do it and no interview skills, or anything like that. Even to the extent where some people actually thought that they could just walk into the likes of the [Waitara] Resource Centre we opened up and buy a CV” (Respondent six).

“Hard for workers to get other jobs, they know nothing else but the works, just because you’re a foreman in the works doesn’t mean that you could be a supervisor in a factory” (Respondent 2).

The small population size and geographic isolation of Waitara to main centres, such as Auckland and Wellington, is also a stumbling block for the establishment of new industry. There has been no influx of new industry to replace the freezing works in Waitara. Nor did the unemployed freezing worker have the necessary capital or entrepreneurial skills to start their own business. Respondents generally report that few new businesses have been set up in the town. The few new ventures that have been set up tend to be on a small scale. Respondent six explained:

“There’s been the odd lawn mowing business, and one chap’s gone into a market garden type venture, some have gone out doing painting, quite a lot of the handyman type things. One chap’s opened a fish shop” (Respondent six).

“Some [of the redundant freezing workers] are in opposition to me at the moment. Some have gone to work for roading gangs. [X] bought a small one truck transport business in New Plymouth contracted to Placemakers and little things like that people have got into” (Respondent 12).

Conradson and Pawson (1997, p1393) observed:

“people are not culturally prepared or enabled to become self-reliant when lacking in resources, training, disposition, or the ability to network into a wider competitive economy. Neoliberal assumptions that labour is uniformly enterprising seem inappropriate for workers in isolated small towns in which they had been socialised into expectation of secure state employment during the long boom, and where the local market for new products is very small”.

The reality for the unemployed freezing worker in Waitara has not been a brand new career in another industry, or in a new location, as neoliberal theories would lead us to believe, but long-term unemployment.

“When the freezing works closed down, there’s a lot of them which have never worked since. I’m not pointing a finger. There is no work” (Respondent ten).

Other changes and closures

The construction of the two Think Big energy projects, the Petralgas Methanol Plant and the Motonui Synthetic Fuel Plant near Waitara in the early 1980’s contributed to the boom times and also created an environment for change. These projects were part of a succession of large-scale energy projects, which also included modifications to the oil refinery at Whangarei, and the steel mill at Glenbrook and the Clyde Dam project on the Clutha River, all commissioned by the National Government to stimulate growth.

Respondents reported that although the projects did not provide any significant employment for local workers, who were already employed at the freezing works, local retail shops boomed. A small number of engineering staff employed at the freezing works left to work on the projects. The projects, while not providing any form of job security, offered higher wages and redundancy packages. Waitara’s highly skilled work force began to question its loyalty to the freezing works; the rules of the labour market began to change.

“The Think Big projects made an enormous difference to Waitara. It didn’t really create employment, although a lot of them worked on the job as construction workers, but there was a lot of construction work done, a lot of people travelling through Waitara to work on it. Our little dairy for instance was a gold mine, ‘cos they were in there every five minutes buying this, that and the other... all the other shops would be affected in some way. But the work force would not necessarily have been from Waitara, so much, because a lot of them would have been employed at the freezing works” (Respondent two).

“There was a major influx of engineering staff away from a lot of jobs to go to the major energy projects because the rates of pay that were offered, there were great redundancies deals being offered, probably the first time we had seen major projects offering redundancies agreements. That put a lot of money into the community and gave people a false sense of job satisfaction in a lot of ways because a lot of people found that they started to drift from job to job. In that era there was no sort of fixed working thing, it was money generated. Whereas, before a lot of people worked and there was a loyalty based thing” (Respondent six).

With the projects came the need for improved roading infrastructure. The Waitara bypass road was constructed so that the huge machinery, which was transported from Port Taranaki by road to the projects, did not have to pass through the main street of Waitara. Two respondents cited the construction of the Waitara bypass road as the start of the decline of Waitara’s retailing sector.

“The first time when Waitara started to go back is when the Bypass was put through. That’s when Waitara started on the back foot because the big trucks and rigs would come through Waitara and all stop at the restaurants” (Respondent ten).

The other effect, [of the Think Big projects] I think personally, is when they put the bypass which cut Waitara off in effect and brought all the big equipment to Motonui, it also affected the people who lived in the roads coming into or out of Waitara. In other words if you were Tikorangi person you would say blow Waitara and go through to New Plymouth” (Respondent two).

In order to speed up the development of the projects, the National Government enacted new legislation, such as the National Development Act 1979 (Britton et al 1992, p11). This Act provided a fast track through the planning legislation of the time by excluding the need for public input. In relation to the construction of the Waitara bypass respondents report that they were not given the opportunity to comment on the proposal.

“No resistance at all to the Bypass being put through. It was just part of a Think Big policy, Mr Muldoon” (Respondent ten).

Respondents’ discussion of the Think Big projects again demonstrates an awareness of the impacts of global and national influences. An analysis of business activity in the early 1980’s reveals that the Think Big projects contributed to a short-term boom for the town. Between 1983 and 1986 there was a net gain of 24 new retail businesses opening in Waitara (Universal Business Directories). However, this boom was relatively short-lived and by 1987 the number of closures of retail businesses in Waitara began to exceed the

number of new businesses opening. The trickle-down effects of the Think Big projects were unable to be sustained.

The main legacy of the Think Big projects for the town of Waitara seems to be the devastating effect that the Waitara Bypass road has had on the local retail trade. Respondents report that the bypass has made it easier for people living in rural areas, who once came to Waitara to do their weekly shopping, to now continue through to New Plymouth. On a higher level the building of the bypass road signalled the beginning of the disconnection of Waitara as a place of consumption.



Figure Nineteen: 'Waitara Turn Right' sign is located on the north entrance to Waitara.
Photo taken on 29/12/83. The signs were erected to entice people to stop in Waitara after the bypass road was constructed.
Source: Taranaki Newspapers Ltd

Representation on local Council

Another significant change reported by respondents in Waitara in the last twenty years has been the town's incorporation into the New Plymouth District Council. With the New Zealand wide reorganisation of local government in 1989, the Waitara Borough Council was amalgamated with other County and Borough Councils in the North Taranaki area to form the New Plymouth Council. With the reorganisation, the town of Waitara lost its mayor and local services, such as roading and planning which were centralised in New Plymouth. One respondent felt that the amalgamation of the Waitara Borough into the New Plymouth District Council had caused the town to lose its identity, and there was a perceived reduction in quality and efficiency of council provided services in Waitara. He explained:

“We have lost our identity. When we had a Town Clerk, a Borough Foreman, you could go down to the Town Clerk and say listen those buggers haven't come and fixed that leak outside my house, and they would say that they would be onto it straight away. But now you go through about 14 departments in New Plymouth and you wait about four months before anything is done. We have lost our identity. There is no mayor anymore here” (Respondent eight).

Other respondents also expressed a similar frustration with the level of service which the Council now provided to Waitara residents.

“Council used to employ between 150-200 people; used to do all their own works, roading, parks, planning etc. No longer get the level of service we used to get since it has gone into New Plymouth, because most of it is now contracted out, and if you want anything done you have to wait until it comes around to your time to have it done. Where in the old way, if you had a pothole outside your house, ring up Council, they would contact foreman and it would get done, now you have to follow a process” (Respondent one).

These comments reflect the importance Waitara people attached to having their 'own' council. Under the previous system people knew who to contact to get things done. Respondents also described how they perceived that many New Plymouth based councillors sitting on the New Plymouth District Council seemed to have a negative view of Waitara. One respondent, who had held a position on the local Community Board, stated that New Plymouth councillors still viewed Waitara as the “*poor relation of New Plymouth*” (Respondent one). She explained:

“Waitara still has a stigma attached to it. Until it comes from the top, Councillors, people who live in New Plymouth, employers, that Waitara isn’t that bad, you will always have that.. Say this affecting employment also comes through in planning” (Respondent one).

While the respondent felt that Waitara’s two councillors and its Community Board provided the town with adequate representation on the New Plymouth District Council, Waitara representatives were not listened to. People outside of Waitara did not recognise the distinct identity of the town. Having the Council located at a distance also did not contribute to the fostering of a positive local identity for the town.

“As a Community Board it is difficult because the decision has already been made as to what will happen and to change the decision you have to go through a process which is very hard. A very good example was the library. We did get our own way in the end but the Council had already determined what was going to happen.

Councillors in New Plymouth feel we don't need Waitara. We are nothing. Frustrating when councillors are meant to be thinking district and just thinking New Plymouth. It is very difficult and there are several who think that way” (Respondent one).

This finding was supported by another respondent who described instances where he perceived that decisions to approve money for the Waitara Central Business Area upgrade had been blocked by councillors representing New Plymouth wards.

“When it comes to doing up the likes of Waitara there is always a lot of comments as to whether it’s necessary. The projects are also uncertain because New Plymouth Councillors will veto it. I think it relates back to people not understanding what Waitara is and that it is a really good little country town” (Respondent six).

Closure of other industries

The closure of the other industries within Waitara was mentioned far less by respondents than the down sizing of the freezing works.

“The downturn of the big works have had a big impact on Waitara. Talking about freezing works, and Duncan and Davies employed lots of people, they have now gone, Swannndri would employ up to 13 women, that’s gone. The Subaru factory employed 300, that’s gone, the Solasodine plant it was there about a year it employed about 20 people, that’s gone, the freezing works employed up to 1500 in the season, well that’s now gone” (Respondent one).

“In 1987 the Subaru factory closed. I can remember the closure and it was rather sad because it was a very efficient sort of factory and they produced good motor cars. They produced the more basic Subaru car” (Respondent two).

“Over the last ten years I would think we have seen...probably 3,000 to 3,500 jobs I would think would have probably gone. We saw the Subaru factory, and that was quite a few jobs there, seen downsizing in Duncan and Davies, lost our BNZ from Waitara, lost a Westpac from Waitara. We used to have the Commercial Bank in Waitara, that went. We had the ANZ, that went. Lost the Swannndri, the John Mack Clothing Factory, that is gone. We have seen the Methanol Plant, and two Methanol plants, have actually downsized their labour forces as well.

The farming community has downsized as well. If you go over the area, quite a few have dropped out of the farming sector, as far as labouring jobs go. The Council workers, there are probably fewer of them now, and lot of it has been contracted out to other outfits. But that doesn’t always take on board the ones that have dropped out of the system.

There hasn’t really been anything extra that has come to light. We had the Solasodine Factory, which was going when they were making the extract for the birth control pill, and overseas markets sort of shot that one down” (Respondent six).

Respondent six’s estimate of between 3,000 to 3,500 jobs losses is almost four times the actual figure of 726 full-time jobs lost in Waitara between 1986 to 1996 (Statistics New Zealand, 1997), but reflects a recognition of the dislocation of Waitara as a centre of employment. All respondents’ comments reveal that Waitara’s economy is in transition from a working town to one which was now largely reliant on the State for income. They recognised that there has been no new influx of industries to replace the freezing works and to a lesser extent other industries which employed over 30 people, in Waitara. One respondent summarised the changes as follows:

“One would have envisaged that there would have been growth continued, the way growth had continued over the previous life of the village. But that seems to have stalemated and certainly changed and the town seems to have turned from a working town into a more dormitory town or a beneficiary town. So even though employment has gone, people still have an income even if they are being provided for by the State” (Respondent 12).

Impact on Waitara’s retail sector

The downturn in paid employment in Waitara has also directly impacted on its local retail sector. Respondents generally describe Waitara’s retail sector as having ‘taken a dive’. Only two out of the 13 respondents who participated in this study actually did the majority of their shopping in Waitara. Many described the situation where big items such as furniture are no longer available there.

“Most of my shopping would be done in New Plymouth. You can’t buy furniture in Waitara, carpet you can’t buy. The major things you cannot buy in Waitara. The little things you can” (Respondent One).

“If you go to town for one thing you will spend the rest of your time doing the rest of your shopping” (Respondent eight).

Two respondents described the influx of second hand shops into the town.

“We have had a lot of furniture shops start, like Maurice Clegg, but he didn’t last very long. And there is a lot of these places which have come in, but they just can’t survive. It seems to be a town now of second hand shops” (Respondent nine).

“Oh yeah, we have heaps and heaps of second hand clothes shops now. The only thing I notice is the second hand shops coming in” (Respondent 11).



Figure Twenty:

Tom's Place on the main street of Waitara, as at 1/6/88. This building was gutted by a fire in 1986, and remains an empty shell. These two empty stores were among a number of stores in the main street of Waitara without tenants at that time.

Source: Taranaki Newspapers Ltd.

Respondents also attribute the demise of Waitara's retail trade to the establishment of large chain stores, such as the Warehouse, in New Plymouth. These large stores are able to bulk purchase stock, enabling them to offer products at significantly cheaper prices than local retailers. They also embark on aggressive mass marketing campaigns. One respondent who owned a local shop in Waitara until 1994 explained:

"When the Warehouse came everyone was cutting each others throats. Then, you see, the thing was that those big places, Farmers and all those, could buy their stuff in such bulk, with big discounts which I couldn't get. And people once the works started to close and money got tight, well they naturally went to the shops where they could get the cheaper clothes" (Respondent nine).

The choice of respondents to shop in New Plymouth has hastened the demise of the local retail trade.

"They [the big chain stores in New Plymouth] have affected the shopping in Waitara, especially the Warehouse at Christmas. You can go into the Warehouse and you can guarantee that every second person will be someone from Waitara. Its cheaper and hey if you are on a benefit you have only got so many dollars to go around, so that's where you will go" (Respondent one).

One respondent attributed the demise of retail shopping within Waitara to the general trend of centralisation which is occurring within the retail trade nation wide. People are tending to travel further to shop in more major centres, rather than in closer rural towns.

"With modern communication and travel, it's not hard for rural people north of Waitara who once would come to Waitara to the supermarket once a week, buy fuel, do some shopping, go to the local farm supply and then go back home, now tend to say...bypass Waitara and go to New Plymouth where the Children now go to Cinema Complex with more than one type cinema, MacDonal'd's, KFC, free car wash when they get their petrol and so on it goes. Which is just the demise that happened over provincial New Zealand. Probably it's happening around the world. Centralisation" (Respondent 11).

Overall, there is a general awareness among respondents, that the economic downturn experienced in Waitara retail trade in the last five years, in particular, is not unique to Waitara, but rather part of a pattern of national, if not global shopping patterns. People worldwide are choosing to travel further to larger shops to spend their money.

“ Years ago Christmas Eves in Waitara you couldn’t move for the number of people. Now on Christmas Eve you could fire a shotgun down the middle of the street and you wouldn’t hit anyone. Mind you that’s the same in New Plymouth and other centres because we shop seven days a week and 12 hours a day”
(Respondent six).

Respondents’ comments illustrate Massey’s (1994, p5) assertion that “ the particular mix of social relations which are thus part of what defines the uniqueness of any place is by no means all included within that place itself. Importantly it includes relations which stretch beyond - the global as part of what constitutes the local, the outside as part of the inside”. However, with the closure of the freezing works the wider social relations which linked Waitara to the global markets are disappearing. Waitara in 1998 is becoming a town sustained by personal relationships between families and friends, rather than work place relations.

View of Waitara from the outside

Another key theme which emerged as respondents discussed the town’s history was the perceived existence of a “stigma” imposed by outsiders. Johnston (1991, p72) writes “the identity of the region and the regional identity of its inhabitants may not coincide: what outsiders identify, as a particular region may not have the same contours as the insiders”.

A number of respondents within the study expressed a concern that Waitara was in the past, and to a lesser extent now, viewed in a negative light by people who did not live there. Many respondents described Waitara as suffering from the stigma of being a ‘freezing works town’. Outsiders, particularly New Plymouth people, disliked the smell emitted from the works, and perceived Waitara as having a high crime rate.

One respondent, when discussing her dislikes of Waitara, described the smell as follows:

“In the old days the smell. That was only on the odd occasion when we had this murky weather, that pressed the fumes down and wind was in our direction, but it wasn’t that bad. It was like someone cooking a stew but not adding any salt”
(Respondent five).

Prior to the introduction of the Clean Air Act in 1972 the freezing works would flaunt local body regulations in relation to odours (Respondent 6). The smell emitted from the freezing works was often the butt of many jokes about Waitara.

“The old comments used to be ‘What’s for lunch today? Don’t worry, we will take a couple bits a bread out and slap a bit of the air between it, and that’s it’” (Respondent six).

Respondents also described a certain negative association with being a freezing worker. They were considered by outsiders as being rough, deadbeats, drifters, big drinkers and trouble-makers. Outsiders viewed freezing workers as unskilled.

“A freezing works town has always had deadbeats and drifters going through to pick up the work in the seasons. A lot of people have never really given freezing workers credit for the skills which they have” (Respondent six).

“Certainly in the past Waitara has had its problems and I think possibly to do with being a freezing works town and the fact that a lot of people earned a lot of money that possibly they didn’t know how to handle, hence we have three hotels, two chartered clubs, numerous other clubs with liquor licences, rugby club, league club, squash club, two bowling clubs, a golf club and so on. They were all supported because of that type of lifestyle. And I think that possibly that alcohol and the way of life in the past contributed to some of the crime that took place, but I feel now that probably we hear as much news about New Plymouth or other areas. Once upon a time people used to joke about Waitara and Porirua being on a parallel as far as stigma and the crime and the type of people, but I do think that’s changing” (Respondent 12).

“Some people are afraid of them [Waitara people]. I go back ten or even 20 years. The boys from Waitara used to go to town and cause a bit of who-ha [trouble]. There was always a little bit of conflict. Some of the people that came to row said ‘I find Waitara people good now’, I say ‘Why did you say that?’ They say ‘Waitara always had a bad name, from a particular age group, we didn’t want to mix’. All pretty tough if there was a bit of a hiccup the Waitara boys always came off first. Pretty rugged. Yeah probably a stigma because it was a works town, but until you got into that work environment you didn’t appreciate it too much” (Respondent seven).

Respondents’ comments illustrate Massey’s (1994, p121) concept that places have multiple identities, and that “the dominant image of any place will be a matter of contestation and will change over time”. Waitara’s stigma can be viewed as an outcome of contestation between the identity imposed on the town by outsiders, in particular New Plymouth people, and the identity of the town as perceived by the people that lived there.

Waitara is a town with a strong local identity, but a stigmatised regional identity. In the past this poor regional identity had stemmed from the fact this it was a ‘rough’ but prosperous ‘freezing works’ town. Today, Waitara is stigmatised by unemployment.

“There hasn’t been the movement from New Plymouth to Waitara which I thought there possibly might be, maybe there has always been that stigma. I have always felt that the only people that had a problem with Waitara are New Plymouth people and they had a problem with themselves” (Respondent six).

However for people living outside of the Taranaki region, who have no knowledge of the town’s past, Waitara, due to its inexpensive housing and quiet pace of life, is an attractive place to live.

“Yeah I have seen over the last 12 months a lot of movement of people from Auckland, coming to Waitara to live because they find it a reasonable place to buy property, a nice friendly place” (Respondent six).

While most respondents believed that the stigma would gradually disappear with the closure of the works, two younger female respondents describe instances of youths hanging around streets causing trouble, which may mean that Waitara’s stigma of crime is here to stay. One female respondent, aged 27 years, described how she no longer felt safe in her own house and no longer went to ‘down town’ Waitara because of the abuse she received from kids hanging around the streets. She explained:

“I’m even to scared to go down to Jan’s Fish and Chip Shop without getting abused by kids hanging out the front door, ‘cos the pool parlour’s right next door. And there’s another amusement parlour right on the main street. These Maori kids just hanging out. I’m only saying Maori kids, ‘cos they are Maori kids, not being racist or anything. And they get smart or laugh at you and it’s just really stink” (Respondent 11).

It’s a horrible place. If I go for a run I take my cellphone in case something happens. There are a lot of kids just hanging out. A lot of violence” (Respondent 11).

Another female respondent, aged 29 years, explained that there is really nothing for the young kids to do in Waitara, so they just hang out on the streets (Respondent 13).

“The only time I don’t like leaving [work], we don’t really go around the streets much at night, but leaving my work at 8pm to 8.30pm, it’s when the fireworks are on because of the kids next door, they just throw crackers at ya. Some of them just throw them in the shop. They are just real ratbags” (Respondent 13).

Both these respondents then go on to describe how the pubs in Waitara were a bit rough and not a place in which they felt comfortable or even wanted to visit.

“You can only go to the Town and Country or the RSA, wouldn’t go to the pubs in Waitara, they are a bit rough” (Respondent 13).

“If you go down to Waitara to the pub...you couldn’t go to a pub in Waitara..you would probably get beaten up... You couldn’t pay me to go to a pub in Waitara” (Respondent 11).

The concerns of these two young female respondents about the level of violence in the town reflects, especially in the case of Respondent 11, that sense of place is clearly influenced by gender. While the main focus of this research is not to explicitly examine gender difference but rather to describe all the elements which make up an individual’s sense of place, it is still important to note the influence of gender.

“The degree to which we can move between countries, or walk about the streets at night, or venture out of hotels in foreign cities, is not just influenced by ‘capital’. Survey after survey has shown how women’s mobility, for instance, is restricted - in a thousand different ways, from physical violence to being ogled at or made to feel quite simply ‘out of place’ - not by ‘capital’, but by men” (Massey, 1994, p147).

The movements of Respondent 11 have been restricted by the threat of violence and being made to feel ‘out of place’ by local kids. This, in turn, has led this respondent to develop a very negative sense of place.

Changing identity of Waitara

The closure of the freezing works and other industries in Waitara over the last twenty years have also significantly altered the social structure of the town. Respondents report that Waitara’s identity as a freezing works town is disappearing and being replaced by three new roles: Waitara as a retiree village, Waitara as a dormitory town, and Waitara as a beneficiary town.

The most widely discussed occurrence was the influx of retired people into Waitara. Retired people from elsewhere in New Zealand, where property prices were much higher are moving to take advantage of Waitara’s inexpensive housing. Many respondents made statements along the following lines:

“A few people have said to us that people like from Auckland and Tauranga are actually selling their houses and coming to Waitara to live. Because they have sold their house for a lot more up there and then buying on here and they have cleared themselves. I have heard that. They reckon in time Waitara will be a retirement village” (Respondent 13).

Respondents' comments support the conclusions of the alternative model of restructuring. As housing prices have decreased as a result of closures within the town, people on fixed incomes are moving in, taking advantage of the town's marginalised housing market. However, not all respondents welcomed the influx of retirees. Two respondents specifically expressed concerns in relation to the fact that it appears that as young working families move out in search of employment elsewhere, they are being replaced by retired people, which will have a negative impact on the viability of the town.

“The sad thing is that real estate people and a few people in the town seem quite pleased that retirees were moving into the town, but unfortunately it appears for each family or young family that goes there is probably about four that leave and two that replace them. And the two that are replacing them are older, they probably don't use motor vehicles the same, they don't belong to sports clubs or have children, raising children and be buying children's clothes. So I envisage retailing getting worse and possibly a decline in school rolls” (Respondent 12).

“With the drop in population, young people not being around, the rugby clubs have had to merge” (Respondent 12).

The same characteristics which attract retirees, the low cost of living and housing, are also enticing beneficiaries to stay in Waitara rather than seek employment in other centres. This may be positive, as Respondent 12 reflected if the beneficiaries with children remain *“at the end of the day there may not be too much change”*. School rolls will remain constant and the town will continue to be viable. However, its main source of income will be in the form of government benefits, rather than wages and salary. There has been a change in dependency from the freezing works to the state.

“About 25 percent of people in Waitara are on some kind of a benefit. Also have a high percentage who are solo parents” (Respondent one).

“It [the closure of the freezing works] hasn't affected me a great lot because I had my working days in Waitara, when everything was going nicely, you know. But it's affected the town something terrible. Unemployment, you name it. Years ago we had a lovely Maori population here, we still have, but they are on the back foot” (Respondent 10).

However, as Respondent six is quick to point out, this reliance on benefits is not a new thing for Waitara. Respondent six, when discussing the impact of the closure on the freezing works on the community, explained:

“But probably the biggest thing that ... had the least effect was that they had been out of work for ...three months, from the end of the bobby calf season and because a lot of them had either gone into their part-time jobs or what they had normally done between the bobby calf season and the beef season or organised themselves with Income Support the impact wasn't there because they were already conditioned to be on a benefit” (Respondent 6).

Respondents' comments, in relation to the town's growing reliance on state assistance are supported by census data. At the 1996 census 51 percent of the usually resident population of Waitara were receiving at least one form of government support. For many people in Waitara life on a benefit has become a way of life, rather than just a short-term measure.

“At the moment we have unemployed second generation, and probably getting into some third generation unemployed” (Respondent six).

Respondent one further explained the sadness of the unemployment situation in Waitara:

“When you are on a benefit you are tied to the government, and the government dictates what you will and will not do. In some ways it's a good thing and some ways it's a bad thing. It's a good thing because you have an income coming in which you can survive on, you can't live on it you can survive on it. The benefit wasn't there for full time, but we do have people who have been on the benefit for many years. It's supposedly a stop-gap, but it's actually become a way of life, and that is the sadness of it” (Respondent one).

Prior to the downsizing and closure of the freezing works and other industries in Waitara, respondents describe a situation of almost full employment, where people lived and worked within the town itself. With the lack of local employment within Waitara, workers are now forced to travel longer distances to their place of employment. Waitara, according to many respondents, is becoming a dormitory town, a place workers return to in the evenings and at weekends.

“Most work in New Plymouth, some are on benefits or are retired, some work, it depends where the jobs are. Before closures 99 percent of people would have worked for the [freezing] works or for the Council. The Council, the Ministry of Works (MOW), the railways, everybody employed. The railway no longer employs, so we lost the railway, the Council no longer employs, so we lost the Council, MOW is no longer here so they have lost the employment people” (Respondent one).

Waitara's role as a dormitory town is particularly relevant when respondents discussed the fate of the 156 freezing workers made redundant in December 1997. Respondent six explained that of the 156 freezing workers made redundant on 15 December 1997 about 120-125 were working at other plants throughout the North Island, however few have chosen to leave Waitara on a permanent basis. Most had chosen to remain in Waitara and travel to other centres to work for four days each week, or commute three hours on a daily basis to work within the Taranaki region.

Respondent six describes the situation where a number of workers went down to Fielding, where they would work three shifts and a night shift. However they tended to work over the weekend which placed a strain on family relationships. Another group went to Imlay, in Wanganui, which worked out better because most of them worked during the week and at night. A large majority of the workers were placed at Riverlands in Eltham, South Taranaki. Although they had the benefit of being able to commute, some found the commuting a shock (Respondent six). The balance of workers were placed at works in Hamilton and Te Puke.

These comments clarify questions raised in the previous chapter as to whether there has been an increase in the number of people who live in Waitara and commute to work elsewhere. Remaining in Waitara and travelling to part-time jobs in other North Island freezing works has been largely influenced by factors such as family commitments, the cost of relocation and fear of the unknown.

“Probably they are frightened to make that move, because they have been in their jobs from since the day they left school. Some of them left at the age of 15 and started working on the freezing works, because it was the drawcard of the big money, they have never done anything else, and it would be one hell of a shock to them to actually get into gear, sell their house, go and find another house and job in another area” (Respondent six).

Respondent six also concluded that Waitara's relatively low housing prices were a major stumbling block facing many mature workers if they wanted to leave the town in search of work elsewhere:

“Yeah - our property prices in Waitara are very reasonably priced and that is a hurdle and it would depend on what job a person could actually obtain as to whether they could service a mortgage elsewhere. A lot of people would feel that you could end up not owning your own house, going backward, so the mentality that we sit where we are and hopefully someone will come along and provide work for us and we keep our home” (Respondent six).

The closure of the freezing works and other industries has also resulted in a number of people employed in middle management positions leaving Waitara on a permanent basis.

“No - there hasn't been a large number of people leave. I would be hard pushed to think of anyone other than some supervisory staff, management staff who sort of got in and decided that there are other things to do within the company and applied for jobs” (Respondent six).

“I think that that happens everywhere, but we seem to have lost the middle to upper income people and the type of people who happen to be in that bracket. There seems to be no real middle management type people. No bank managers, most of the school teachers live out of town. A lot of the business people live out of town” (Respondent 12).

The reorganisation of Waitara's local economic base has played a large part in the social restructuring of the town; the closure of the freezing works has created new conditions for social change. Unemployment has increased, while the opportunities for young people have decreased. People now travel further to work. The town has lost many people employed in middle management positions.

As outlined in the alternative model, Waitara's relatively low housing prices are the key to understanding why, in the face of restructuring, Waitara's population has remained relatively constant. As young working families move out in search of employment elsewhere they are being replaced by retired people, who are attracted by the town's inexpensive housing.

This influx of retired people is a subject of conflict amongst respondents. This conflict represents a concern that Waitara is becoming a marginalised and dislocated community. This conflict also is consistent with Massey's (1992, p13) view that “the identity of any place, including that place called home, is in one sense for ever open to contestation”. Waitara has experienced a period of rapid social and economic change in its recent past,

and the identity of the town is changing. Yet its identity remains somewhat as it always has been unfixed, contested and multiple.

Future for Waitara

Although respondents were not specifically asked questions about the future of Waitara, many respondents expressed strong views in relation to the continuing viability of the town, now that the freezing works had closed.

Each respondent's view of Waitara is based partly on the past, with each drawing on this to think about the potential for the future. It appears that people's visions of Waitara in the future are influenced significantly by life-cycle stage and length of residence.

Two respondents who had lived the majority of their lives in Waitara, and had spent the majority of their working lives at the freezing works, saw a very bleak outlook for Waitara. They felt the town was dying.

"It [Waitara] will never go ahead. They might try and beautify it, but you have a look where they have knocked that freezing works down. It's just amazing" (Respondent ten).

The three youngest respondents in the study, aged 42, 29 and 27, talked about the lack of opportunities for young people in Waitara. One respondent when asked about the opportunities for his dependent children if they stayed in Waitara replied as follows:

"There is certainly not a lot to do. Not a lot in terms of employment. I don't really think that Taranaki has too much. I think that's pretty much a trend all around the world, that people are migrating to city centres, and the big cities which certainly creates its own problems" (Respondent 12).

"And I think there will be a trend for younger people to move away and find employment" (Respondent 12).

Respondent 11, a 27 year old female, when asked what kind of future there would be for kids that wanted to stay in Waitara, stated the following:

"It's got nothing to offer. Well if they don't sort themselves out and get a job they just go to crime or smoke drugs. If you don't want to work there's nothing for you to do."

Lots of sixteen year olds with kids that go on the DPB. You see them, they all got three kids, they are only about 18 and 19" (Respondent 11).

Respondent 13, a 29 year old female with two young children stated the following when asked whether Waitara was a good place to raise children:

“No I wouldn’t say that. There’s nothing really for them to do. You know you see where I work at nights is right beside the pool parlour and you just see all the kids just hanging around the streets and there’s just nothing for them.

See years ago they had the pictures and all down here and that’s all gone. There’s nothing for them out here” (Respondent 13).

The remaining respondents, of whom the majority were retired and were reasonably happy about spending the rest of their days in Waitara, had a more positive view for the future of Waitara. They saw the closure of the works as a positive thing for the future of the town.

“I think it [Waitara] will improve as it goes along because we are no longer a ‘works’ town. Our image is changing, because we haven’t got the works there” (Respondent one).

“Because the freezing works is not here I think it will become better. People will become more attracted to it, because the freezing works had a sort of a stigma about it” (Respondent two).

“I think the closure of the works is a good thing. I would like to see the whole thing pulled down” (Respondent four).

“People are supportive of the AFFCO plant being pulled down. Because they see that our property prices have not dropped away because of AFFCO closing. Property prices are very stable. They have been for the last 8-9 years. People can see that it is not a dying town. That’s what a lot of people thought, oh Waitara is going to die because the freezing works is gone. My attitude is don’t be stupid Waitara is going to go ahead with the freezing works gone” (Respondent six).

These comments reflect two distinct perceptions of Waitara. If you are aged under 25 years there is no future for you if you remain in Waitara. However, if you are aged over 60 Waitara is a pleasant environment in which to serve out your time.

Three respondents made the point that Waitara would never again have the large scale developments or employers of its past.

“I don’t think we will have any big developments in here.... We won’t have the big employer again. We have a lot more smaller shops opening up or boutique-type shops, which I think will come in the future” (Respondent one).

5.4 Reflections

Respondents' stories of Waitara in 1998 and of economic restructuring were open and honest. While this section represents 13 individual experiences there were a number of common themes and convergence of experiences.

Two main themes came through strongly.

- Firstly, all respondents acknowledged the importance of the freezing works. The freezing works dominated not only the town's economic base but also its social structure and identity. Waitara was a 'works' town. While locals viewed the town as a working town, where people were honest and hard working, but a little rough around the edges, outsiders viewed the town as a place of crime, of drifters, a place to be avoided.
- The majority of respondents had an awareness of outside forces. They understood that the Borthwicks plant linked Waitara's economy directly to global markets. There was a general acceptance that with the closure of the freezing works, Waitara had become disconnected from national and global economies.

Respondents' stories reflect a diversity of attitudes and life experiences (Table Twenty-one). They reveal that there was no single experience of restructuring or sense of place of Waitara in 1998. Rather respondents describe in their own words and with reference to their own experiences that Waitara as a centre of employment and consumption is becoming marginalised. In particular there is a common concern for the future of Waitara's young people. Their comments offer an insight into what it is like to live in a town that has become disconnected from the mainstream economy.

Table Twenty-one: Synthesis of restructuring and its effect on respondents' senses of place

Stay willingly	Stay unwillingly	Have moved on
<p>Respondents 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 13 have a positive view of living in Waitara in 1998.</p> <p>Respondents 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are all retired and view Waitara as a pleasant place to live out their remaining days.</p> <p>Respondents 7 and 10 expressed a sense of loss and sadness for the town, but are happy to stay.</p> <p>Respondents 6 and 13 were directed affected by the closure of the AFFCO plant in December 1997. However, both these respondents saw the closure as an opportunity to try something new. Respondent 13 opened her own business, while respondent 6 gained employment in another industry.</p> <p>Both these respondents are positive about living in Waitara. Although respondent 13 expressed concern about the future of her children.</p>	<p>Respondent 12, while he enjoys living in Waitara, sees only a limited future for himself and his children in the town and plans to move away once his children have left home.</p> <p>Respondent 11 has experienced long periods of employment. She remains in Waitara due to family commitments but no longer enjoys living there. She has found it hard to establish herself and feels disconnected from the town.</p>	<p>Respondents 8 and 9 are a retired couple aged in their seventies, who have grown children who have already moved away. While in the past they have enjoyed living in Waitara the recent economic downturn and the fact the majority of their family have moved away has lessened their connection to the town. They have made the decision to sell up and leave.</p>

CHAPTER SIX: OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

How have individuals' senses of place been affected by restructuring?

Economic restructuring does indeed change places. Through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, this research has illustrated the limits of the neo-classical model of labour market adjustment in regards to restructuring. In particular, the neo-classical model fails to recognise the diversity of individual responses to restructuring. These include differing perceptions of whether the closure of the freezing works was good or bad; differing life stage opportunities or limitations; and the complexity of social relations and how they constrain responses. Consequently, restructuring may well promote the plurality of places through selective marginalisation and, in this instance, the emergence of a town and local population that are dependent on benefits and savings as their primary source of income.

Waitara, through its position as a 'works town' was in the past directly linked to the global economy and, through the company linked, its people to international exchange, however tenuously that link may have been. However, the closure of the freezing works, as a result of falling world meat prices and the retreat of the state from farm support, has left the town marginalised and disconnected. In terms of the GR model, Waitara can no longer be described as a town where there is a fusion of global, national and local influences. It sits outside of the model and is more heavily influenced by changes in the government's income support policies than changes occurring in national and global economies. It has gone from being a town dependent on global markets, to a town dependant on the state.

The impacts of this marginalisation have been diverse. At a community level, age, qualifications and a strong sense of security or identity from home ownership are significant factors that influence an individual's ability to react positively to restructuring. While there has been the outward migration of young working families, many mature workers, who are unable to overcome the differential between Waitara's low property prices and housing prices in larger centres, remain. At an individual level these factors become less clear, and the impact of restructuring on an individual's sense

of place is complex, reflecting the diversity of the life experiences and attitudes of the people interviewed.

This study describes the distinct experiences of 13 individuals, whose senses of place were not fixed but changed over time in relation to changes in personal circumstances and social relationships. These respondents were all of the same race and broad social economic backgrounds, but their senses of place of Waitara in 1998 varied. These findings clearly support and, indeed, reinforce Massey's (1994) assertion that there is no "universal sense of place".

Implications for planners

The findings of this research have a number of implications for planning practice in New Zealand. Most significantly, they illustrate that places are socially constructed. For the majority of respondents in this study, being close to family and friends were the main reasons they choose to remain in Waitara. Places are valued for the people that live there. Among other things, this makes the Resource Management Act a partial or even peripheral statute for managing the public domain. More generally the possible 'solution' to the 'Waitara problem' calls for different conceptions of collective action than those traditionally pursued by planners focused just on the physical attributes of place – design, heritage, and natural environment. This has two consequences. First, planners must recognise the impact of external factors, including the influence of the global economy, in the construction and restructuring of places. These external influences impact on the capacity to affect particular outcomes through planning actions.

Secondly, it is important for planners to recognise that places do not have single, unique 'identities' that can be somehow articulated through design and Mainstreet programmes. They are full of internal conflicts. It may be inappropriate to assume that there is a single 'community identity', or to attempt to construct one in isolation from the people who make up the community. At the very least, planners should give recognition to the identification and interests of a diversity of stakeholders in decision-making processes.

For this, an understanding of the past of a place and the ways in which that past is constructed by its inhabitants is important. While in this study there is no one telling of the past, respondents' stories in particular the myth of the busy town provide hope for the future. For older respondents, stories of the past reinforce their loyalty and attachment to Waitara. As Sandercock (1998, p44) writes, "in telling new stories about our past, our intention is to reshape our future". People's stories may be as important to the future of a place as the precepts of planning theory or urban design.

Suggestions for planners

It is not entirely clear from this research how an understanding of sense of place can improve 'planner's' knowledge of the places for which we plan. Indeed, that may be a key lesson from the approach adopted and the realities revealed: that acknowledgement of diversity undermines the sense that there is a singular solution to the problems of a place. While learning more about an individual's sense of place helps us tap into a valuable source of local knowledge, it is important to realise that this information is partial and changes over time. For as Sandercock (1998, p76) writes;

" all knowledge is embodied; it is historically situated; it is shaped by language; and it is embedded in power relations".

Planners need to critically assess the sources of knowledge which inform planning decisions. While an understanding of sense of place enables a planner to become sensitised to individuals' needs, planning need not become transfixed by it. Sense of the place informs or moderates a planner's understanding, but does not mean that all other sources of knowledge should be disregarded.

Overall, this research supports the call from recent planning theorists (Sandercock 1998; McLoughlin 1994 and Healy 1992) to develop a planning style that is less orientated to the production of documents and more interactive and centred on everyday people. For as Healy (1992, p159-160) concluded, learning and listening, respectful argumentation, are not enough. We need to re-work the store of techniques and practices evolved within planning practice, to establish a new communicative, dialogue-based people-centred form of planning.

In particular, in planning for Waitara there is a need to adopt a process which will empower the community and encourage a greater sense of local democracy and control. Over the last twenty years the majority of major planning decisions, such as the construction of the Waitara Bypass road, have been imposed on the town from the outside. This research highlights the need for a community governance model of planning, where members of the local community are given more direct control over decisions that affect them, their neighbours and their town. Under this model the role of the planner would include:

- A commitment to empowering individuals or groups within the community. Empowerment, in this instance is “about deciding together and sharing responsibility. It is about power to, rather than power over, and hinges on accepting other people’s ideas and working together to determine what the best options are” (Forgie et al 1999, p12). It may include mediating between the different views, experience and expectations of local residents themselves. A planner, then, is just one of a number of players whose actions and advice together with the community provide the range of outcomes which local residents seek.
- A commitment to identifying a diverse range of people and organisations who are interested in starting and running community-based initiatives.
- A commitment to developing a partnership between local government and the Waitara community to identify problems and diverse long-term solutions.

The advantages of this model are that it enables the Waitara community to identify its own problems and resolve them in the way it deems most fitting. This model recognises that Waitara has a history of dependency, as a result of past interventions of a centralising state, and it may not have the capacity to pursue self-government. For example, under current legislation, the New Plymouth District Council has the power to devolve a greater proportion of its decision making processes about the future of the town to the Waitara Community Board. The Community Board, in consultation with other community organisations, is uniquely placed (and arguably more appropriately placed than outside agencies) to provide vision and leadership to the town.

The focus of planning then is to recognise the diversity of the local community and develop processes to, where appropriate, devolve decision making. To once again focus on the experiences and the needs of local people.

“Hutia te rito o te harakeke
 kei hea te komako e ko?
 Rere ki uta
 Rere ki tai
 Ki mai koe ki au
 ‘He aha te mea nui o te Ao?
 Maku e ki, “He tangata, he tangata, he tangata’.

If the centre shoot of the flax bush were plucked,
 Where would the bellbird sing?
 You fly inland
 You fly to sea.
 You ask me,
 ‘What is most important in the world?’
 I would say, ‘’Tis people, ‘tis people, ‘tis people.’’
 (Maori Waiata reproduced in the foreward of Metge (1995)).

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APPENDIX ONE

APPENDIX ONE:

Table One: Business changes in Waitara 1983 – 1998

Source: UBD Taranaki Provincial Business and Trade Directories, 1984-1997/9

Year	Employment /service losses	Takeovers/mergers	Employment/service gains
1983	Two liquor outlets One car garage one second hand dealer one carrier	Lash's minimarket changed ownership	Ceramic Shop Three builders Caravan Hire business Concrete products business Precision engineer Shoe shop Petralgas methanol plant Two garden supply shops Three motor garages Panel beater Reinforcing Steel Fabricators Signwriter Wine seller
1984	BNZ One insurance agent Second hand store sports store	Takeover of Newton King by Dalgety Crown Takeover of Bank of N.S.W by Westpac Takeover of bookshop	Ready-mixed concrete firm drycleaners Wool shop Two motor garages
1985/6	Loss of three builders two engineering firms Court Raleigh - (club) two garden centre closures	Waitara cake shop becomes sugar delight Lanuova Dry cleaners takes over reade cleen Patels Fruiters becomes H & T Superette Rodgers foodmarket becomes Willis foodmarket	Two accountants Airline agent Automotive Dismantler Baker

	one gift shop	takeover of second hand dealer	Bin Operators
	Waitara ceramics	Takeover of two real estate agents	Boxes and Case Manufacturer
	Public trust office		Furnishing shop - Maurice Clegg
	one mens hairdresser		Carrier - Jim Pennington
	Moller Johnston - car dealer		Duplicating and typing service
	panel beater		Ruakiwi gardens
	service station		Parkers gifts and appliances
	cafe 54		two charitable shops
	Wardells supermarket		Manukoriki Golf club opens
	Shoprite		New coin operated Laundromat
	Wool NZ Marketing - Wool scourers		new doctor
			optometrist
			physiotherapist
			two auto part businesses
			four new takeaway food outlets
			one licensed restaurant
			toyworld
			two video hire shops
1987	Whites children centre	Takeover of Dalgety Crown by	
	Birds Book store	Wrightson Dalgety	
	Farmers Co-op	Takeover of Borthwicks C.W.S by Waitaki	
	Florist shop	Kilpatrick's takeover Freakley Butchers	
	one insurance agent	Quality butchers takeover Fletcher Butchers	
	Jeweller shop	Takeover of Marriners cake shop by Andrea's	
	Plumber	Waitara borough becomes North Taranaki	
	real estate agent	District Council	
	Tom's place restaurant	Post Office and NZ Post become State-owned enterprises	
	group rentals		
	travel agent		
1988	one accountant	Takeover of Wrightson Dalgety by Wrightson	Waitara Valley plaza opens with
	one builder	Anglican church takeover Baptist church	five new retail shops
	Kilpatrick butchers		New hairdresser

	one carrier firms		New florist
	drycleaners		one greengrocer shop
	Elden florist shop		Used furniture dealer
	shoe shop		health food shop
	one doctor		Knitting shop
	Subaru plant		Oriental takeaways
	Mathesons pharmacy		Tour operator - (Cooper Coaches)
	video shop		
	Just jeans clothing shop		
1989	3 insurance agents		Business consultants
	Knitting shop		Craftwork drapers
	one auto painter		Two engine reconditioners
	wine shop		Two engineering firms
			Challenge real estate agent
			Tom' place reopens
1990	Duncan and Davies close	Takeover of second handd dealer	
	exporting side of their operation		
	Solexin Industries		
	one accountant		
	one auto electrician		
	four builders		
	one ready-mix concrete firm		
	one engine reconditioner		
	Health dept		
	one hairdresser		
	two insurance agents		
	Moa-nui Co-op Dairies Ltd		
	Wrightsons		
1991	Fabric shop	Takeover of Waitaki by AFFCO	United Building Society
	Clifton lodge	Takeover of Bedfords by Major decorating	Blacksmith
	one greengrocer	NPDC establish Waitara services centre	Two builders

	Transport dept		one butcher
	two hairdressers		one carrier firms
	Menswear shop		two used clothing shops
	secondhand shop		one electrical contractor
	one dairy		Moanui co-op dairies trading dept
			Dept of social welfare opens
			Waitara community health centre
			Gymnasium
			one real estate agent
			one auto painter
			one doctor
1992	United Building Society	Takeover of Moanui Co-op dairies trading dept	one bookshop
	cake shop	by Kiwi Trading Stores	one day care centre
	Swannndri Ltd		car valet
	Jeweller shop		lawnmowing service
	real estate agent		auto painter
	Motor car dealer		second hand dealer
	Travel agent		
	Women's underwear shop		
1993	Book store	takeover of Sharman's Hardware by	Babywear retailer
	Waitara maternity hospital	Hammer hardware	two builders
	Clothing shop -Prentice and Toohill Ltd		Inland Revenue Dept opens
	Clifton County offices		Norfolk Lodge resthome
	two doctors		The Raleigh licensed restaurant
	plant nursery		
	Write price supermarket		
	Fresha Fisheries close wholesale operation		
1994	AFFCO close retail butcher operation		one engineering firm
	florist shop		giftshop - seaside bargains

	Clothing shop		one motor garage
	two panelbeaters		one plumber
			one resthome
			horse trekking operator
1995	Postbank	Dept of social welfare becomes NZ Income	Super liquor bottle store
	one barrister and solicitor	Support Services	four new builders
	Inland revenue closes		Bin Inn
	one takeaway food shop		one butcher
	Maurice Clegg Furnishers		two carrier firms
			Assembly of God Church
			two second hand clothing shops
			Collectable shop
			two te Kohanga Reo open
			two doctors
			one restaurant
			Waitara Volunteer services
1996	Westpac bank		two craft shops
	Two butchers		dairy
	one builder		screen printers
	two doctors		
	one motor garage		
	one motor wrecker		
	Duncan and Davies retail operations		
	Tom's place takeaway		
1997/8	Lawnmower sales and service shop		Tree Felling and Topping service
	AFFCO (Dec 1997)		
	Parkers pets and gifts		
	one dairy		
	Postbank		

APPENDIX TWO

Waitara - a snapshot of a sense of place in 1998

INFORMATION SHEET

Introduction

Thank you for your interest in the study. You have been invited to participate in this study by being recommended by another person known to you.

My name is Denise Young, I am currently completing a masters degree in Resource and Environmental Planning, at Massey University. As part of my degree I am undertaking a study to document the effects of economic restructuring on the lives of European New Zealanders within the Waitara community. I can be contacted at Massey University phone (06) 356 9099 ext 7998. My thesis supervisor is Caroline Miller, she may also be contacted at Massey University, phone (06) 356 9099 ext 4411.

Purpose of the study

The study aims to gain an understanding of how economic restructuring affects the ways in which people view the community and place where they live. In order to achieve this aim I need to interview approximately twenty European New Zealanders who have lived in Waitara for twenty years or more.

Your role if you wish to take part in the study

If you agree to participate in the study you will be asked to set aside approximately 1-2 hours of your time where I will ask you some informal questions.

You will be asked about your life history, where you were born, what school you attended, what educational qualifications you obtained and your work (both paid and unpaid) and family history. I will also be asking questions about Waitara; what major changes have taken place over the past 20 years, what is your role/s in your local community, and how has this role/s changed over the years.

Interviews will be conducted in your own home or at a convenient venue which is suitable for the recording of interviews.

The recording and security of information

All interviews will be recorded via the use of a tape recorder. Notes may also be taken during the interview. All information will remain confidential. No other person/s (this includes your partner/spouse, friends, family or workmates) will be given access to the information discussed in the interview.

Entire tape recordings of interviews will not be transcribed, rather tapes will be abstracted according to main themes. Selected parts of the tapes will then be transcribed either by myself, or a person who has signed a confidentiality agreement. No personal names, street addresses, or individual occupations will be used in the recording of interview notes, or in the transcription of tapes. All tapes will be labelled according to codes, so there is nothing written on the tape which identifies the person recorded on the tape.

Tapes and any notes taken during the interview will be stored separately in a locked drawer at Massey University to ensure that the material is not lost, or stolen, or read by an unauthorised person. On completion of my thesis all interview notes and tapes which are unwanted by the people interviewed in the study will be destroyed.

What happens to the information

The information collected via the interviews will be used for the purpose of the part completion of my Masters Thesis in Resource and Environmental Planning. Papers and articles based on that thesis may also be published at a later date. No personal names, street addresses or individual occupations will be used in the final material, so you will not be personally identifiable in my thesis or any published material.

At the end of the study you will be sent a summary of the finding and if you wish the tape recording of your interview will also be returned to you.

Your rights

Finally, if you agree to participate in this study you have the right at any stage in the interview process to:

- decline to participate
- refuse to answer any particular questions
- withdraw from the study at any time
- ask any questions about the study

Waitara - a snapshot of a sense of place in 1998

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researchers on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. The information will be used for this research project and may be published at a later date.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed:

.....

Name:

.....

Date:

.....

Waitara Timeline

Date	Event
1881	Meat processing plant at Waitara opens
1937- 1957	Period of extensive rebuilding programme at the works
1965	Waitara Floods
1974	Another rounds of extension to the works begins
1979	Huge fire destroys works but Borthwicks commits to total rebuild
1981- 1983	Waitara Valley methanol plant constructed
1982	Waitara bypass built to carry heavy loads to Synfuel plant at Motonui
1986	Waitaki announce it has bought out Borthwicks
1987	Subaru factory closes
1989	Waitara 1000 workforce (400 permanent, 600 casual) told of AFFCO take-over of Waitaki plant. First wave of redundancies follows and Waitara workforce is halved
1993	More job losses at AFFCO plant as 280 of 413 permanent staff are cut
1994	New 1.8 million revamped beef slaughter plant opens - Workforce at 90
1997	AFFCO mothballs Waitara plant, with the loss of 150 jobs
19/2/98	Jaymak Manufacture closes with the loss of 22 jobs

CHECKLIST OF TOPICS

TAPE IDENTIFICATION: This is an interview with at their house on date....
The interviewer is Denise Young. This is being recorded using a Sony TCM-5000EV Cassette recorder with a Sony desk-top microphone. This is tape ... side ...

NAME: Can you please state your name for the tape and spell your last name.
(if female and married ask for maiden name)

DATE/PLACE OF BIRTH:

FAMILY HISTORY: Parents names and occupations
marriage details and number of children
Do any of your children live in Waitara

EDUCATION: Schools attended
age when left school
highest qualification gained

WORK HISTORY: Names of workplaces
length of employment

QUESTIONS ABOUT WAITARA

Can you describe the changes which have taken place in Waitara over the last twenty years from 1978 - 1998?

How have these changes affected you?

Can you describe your non-paid roles in the community over the last twenty years?

clubs, participation in local events, church, voluntary work, sports

How have your non-paid roles changed over the years?

Overall could you describe the town of Waitara in 1998?

Overall how do you feel about living in Waitara?

likes/dislikes

Have you ever considered moving away from Waitara?