

Building resilience in transient rural communities – a post-earthquake regional study: Fieldwork report



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Acronyms & Abbreviations

A&P	Agricultural and Pastoral
CDEM	Civil Defence and Emergency Management
DHB	District Health Board
DNL	Destination Nelson Lakes
DOC	Department of Conservation
EPIRB	Emergency Position Indicating Radio Beacon
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
FENZ	Fire and Emergency New Zealand
HDC	Hurunui District Council
KDC	Kaikoura District Council
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment
MDC	Marlborough District Council
MCDEM	Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management
MMC	Marlborough Multicultural Centre
MSD	Ministry of Social Development
NCTIR	North Canterbury Transport Infrastructure Recovery
NMIT	Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology
RDCC	Rotoiti District Community Council
RNC	Resilience to Nature's Challenges
RSE	Recognised Seasonal Employer
RTO	Regional Tourism Organisation
TDC	Tasman District Council
VSEAG	Visitor Sector Emergency Advisory Group
WHM	Working Holiday Maker
WINZ	Work and Income New Zealand
WWOOF	Willing Workers on Organic Farms

Research summary

This research examines rural community resilience to nature's challenges, with a particular focus on transient population groups. While the 2016 Kaikoura earthquake provided a natural hazard event on which to focus the research, the research interest was in long-term (and broad) community resilience, rather than short-term (and specific) response and recovery actions which occurred post-earthquake.

Four case studies communities were selected to represent community types commonly found in rural New Zealand: a service town (Blenheim); a tourist town (Kaikoura); a farming centre (Waiau); and, a national park village (St Arnaud). The communities varied in respect of social, economic and geographic features, including the presence of particular transient population groups, and earthquake impact.

Within each case study community, interviews were undertaken with individuals who had broad community oversight (as a result of holding community governance or service roles) or with specific insight into one or more of the (transient) population sub-groups found in their community. A 'population transience continuum', developed during a preliminary scoping exercise, provided the framework for interviewee selection. In total 33 interviews, involving 38 individuals, were undertaken.

A qualitative research methodology was employed to collect data describing: key community characteristics; specific population groups and networks present in the community; ways in which the community (and the various population groups contained in it) responded to, and have recovered from, the Kaikoura earthquake; and, perceptions and understandings of resilience and of how resilience might be developed.

Resilience was described as both a 'complex concept' and an 'individual attribute'; at the community scale, identifying and fostering leaders in the community, and having resilient structures, emerged as important resilience factors. Key to resilience, however, is 'understanding place' – being aware of who is in that place, of the connectedness and cohesion of individuals and systems, and the degree of autonomy contained within that community. 'Learning through adversity' (i.e., from past challenges and experiences) was perceived to contribute to building resilience within the community.

Broad challenges identified in respect of all four case study communities – and common across rural New Zealand – included those associated with population growth, community demographics, employment, housing, economic development and governance. The exact nature of these challenges varied by community. In respect of employment, for example, an inability to meet demand for labour was reported as an issue in Blenheim, Kaikoura and St Arnaud, while a lack of employment opportunities for locals was reported in Waiau and Kaikoura. Likewise, housing issues included shortages (reported in Blenheim, St Arnaud, Kaikoura), earthquake damage (Waiau) and increased demand from new migrants and seasonal labour (Blenheim, Kaikoura, St Arnaud). Many of these community challenges are interconnected and are closely entwined (in terms of both cause and effect) with the transient population groups found in the rural communities.

Transient populations include both New Zealand residents and those from overseas. As described by the 'population transience continuum', some 'transients' arrive with the intention of becoming

permanent residents, while others will become semi-permanent or temporary residents often depending on visa conditions or employment opportunities. The most transient of the population groups on the continuum are generally those who are not working (e.g., tourists).

While this classification of transients is based on their length of stay, each transient population group can also be described according to a range of demographic factors including age, family status and country of origin; factors which also determine how well they both fit with, and integrate into, the host community. For members of transient population groups who are working, integration also varies with employment type, work schedules and location (of both employment and residence).

The size of the host community and its resources (e.g., social, governance, infrastructure) impact on a community's capacity to accommodate and assimilate new people. Robust structures and support systems are found in communities where the economic value of transient population groups is recognised, such as with the RSE in Marlborough and, to a lesser extent, the Filipino engaged on dairy farms in Amuri. This also correlates with the lobbying power and cohesiveness of these industries. In contrast, the WHM population are poorly supported as a result of their spatial dispersion, multiple sector employment (e.g., agriculture, horticulture, retail, hospitality) and the fact that they are particularly prominent in the more disparate tourism sector.

The interview data highlighted the idiosyncratic nature of community and community experience, and this extends to the interaction between community and governance and their resilience in respect of transient population groups. Notwithstanding these differences, the challenge of remoteness (and isolation), the variations in, and complexity of, governance and community support mechanisms, and a multitude of organisational and personal relationships – between economic sectors, population groups and individuals – emerged as common factors which potentially impact on community resilience. As the sum of its individual members, however, each community is represented by a unique synthesis of vulnerability, strength and resilience.

Overall, these findings reiterate the importance of 'understanding place' and eight factors (shown in bold) contributing to community resilience were identified. Place can be described by factors relating to internal observation (i.e., looking within the community) and external connections (i.e., to structures and systems which lay beyond the 'boundaries' of community). Together, these contribute to **knowing the community** and reinforce the **importance of knowing place** and **identifying key community connections** (in respect of understanding vulnerabilities and strengths). Alongside this, awareness of **transient population groups** and understanding both **temporal rhythms and changes** and **measures that help accommodate change** associated with these groups are important. The final two factors consider the intersection of transient population groups and the rural (host) community in which they are increasingly found. These include **recognising the dimensions of knowledge** (i.e., understanding all of the above) and the **quantification of those dimensions** (including the refreshment required to keep knowledge current in the face of changes over time). The final stage of the research is to incorporate these factors into a toolkit for rural community resilience.

1 Introduction

This report forms part of a research project examining rural community resilience to natural hazard events, with a particular focus on transient population groups. A preliminary desktop and scoping exercise was undertaken to examine nine communities affected by the Kaikoura earthquake and to identify the variety of transient population groups that are commonly (and increasingly) found in rural New Zealand (see Wilson & Simmons, 2017). From this, four case study communities – Blenheim, Kaikoura, Waiau and St Arnaud – were selected to represent a range of settlement types. These communities varied in respect of social, economic and geographic features, including the presence of particular transient population groups, and earthquake impact. While the 2016 Kaikoura earthquake provided a natural hazard event on which to focus the research, the research interest was in long-term (and broad) community resilience, rather than short-term (and specific) response and recovery actions which occurred post-earthquake.

The research takes a community perspective to identify community attributes and structures that can help foster greater resilience. At any given time, a ‘community’ includes both permanent and temporary ‘residents’ whom we have classified on a ‘population transience continuum’ (see Appendix 1) based on key demographic and social characteristics and the extent to which community integration occurs (Wilson & Simmons, 2017). Four broad groups are represented on this continuum – permanent residents, semi-permanent residents, temporary residents and transient populations. While the research focus is on the three more ‘transient’ of these population groups (e.g., workers in agriculture, horticulture, viticulture, tourism and hospitality, second home owners, tourists) we also recognise that they cannot be understood, nor resilience built, in isolation from the permanent host community. Host communities themselves are not homogenous, as they display considerable variation across demographic and social characteristics (e.g., age distribution, country of origin and length of residence) and also vary in respect settlement size, population density and economic activity.

Here we report fieldwork data collected via interviews with community members in the four case study locations. These data describe: the population groups and networks present in each community; each community’s post-earthquake experience; and, interviewees’ perceptions and understandings of community resilience. The report is structured as follows:

Chapter 2: Methodology describes the case study selection and interview methodology

Chapter 3: Resilient communities outlines perceptions and understandings of resilience

Chapter 4: Four communities provides a broad overview of each of our case study communities

Chapter 5: The population transience continuum examines the variety of transient population groups found in these communities

Chapter 6: Governance and community reviews key civic structures, social networks and governance challenges associated with community

Chapter 7: Resilience in transient rural communities identifies key resilience factors associated with rural communities and the transient population groups they contain

Chapter 8: Conclusion

2 Methodology

This chapter describes the rationale for the selection of the case study communities (section 2.1) and, within these, the selection of interviewees (section 2.2). The interview methodology section (2.3) outlines the process by which the fieldwork was undertaken, the interview schedule, and the approach taken to analyse interview data.

2.1 Case study selection

In order to examine a broad diversity of rural communities, and the population groups they contain, four case study communities – Kaikoura, Blenheim, Waiau and St Arnaud – were selected for investigation. Together, these communities represented a range of interrelated demographic, economic and geographic characteristics (including population size and composition, spatial location) common to many of New Zealand’s rural communities. While the full range of population groups identified in the population transience continuum are found to varying degrees across these four communities, each community contained at least one significant (in respect of its size, social presence or economic importance) transient population group from those identified. The four communities also varied in terms of the degree and nature of earthquake impact and it should be noted that one of these groups – the temporary road worker population – was directly earthquake-related. The four communities contained the following significant transient population groups:

- Blenheim – RSE¹ vineyard workers, working holiday makers
- Kaikoura – working holiday makers, temporary road workers, tourists
- Waiau – new migrants (and sometimes temporary) agricultural workers
- St Arnaud – holiday home owners, temporary road workers, tourists

A more detailed description of the case study selection can be found in the scoping report (Wilson & Simmons, 2017).

2.2 Selection of interviewees

Within each case study community, the selection of individual interviewees was based on either the particular role or position they had in the community, or their specific involvement with one or more of the (transient) population sub-groups found in their community. Many of these interviewees were identified via the preliminary scoping research which primarily involved secondary data collection (e.g., examination of council websites, population and education data, media and community reports), but which also included in situ visits to each community and informal discussions with one or more community members. These were usually council or community-based local government representatives. After the case study selections were made, further secondary research was undertaken to identify the key governance structures and social networks relevant to each of the communities. The lens in this research was directed towards aspects of community engagement, community networking and natural hazard management, and through this a number of additional interviewees were identified (see Wilson & Simmons, 2018).

In total 33 interviews were undertaken involving 38 individuals; five interviews involved the participation of two people, who either provided a shared business perspective or reported on their

¹ RSE – Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme – scheme under which many viticulture and horticulture workers from the Pacific are employed.

own personal community engagement (experienced through holding different roles in that community). The distribution of interviews by case study is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Case study interviews

	Interviews	Interviewees
Blenheim	10	10
Kaikoura	7	8
Waiau	9	11
St Arnaud	7	9
TOTAL	33	38

As noted, interviewees represented a range of governance, civic or social network roles (see Wilson & Simmons, 2018) and/or were involved in some way with a particular transient population found in that community but, as is common in small communities, many of the interviewees wore multiple ‘hats’ and were able to provide data and reflections from a number of perspectives. Table 2 summarises interviewees according to their community roles and engagement, rather than by case study location.

Table 2 Community roles and engagement represented by all interviewees

Transient population groups	Governance and civic structure	Social and business networks
Tourists – Information services (K)	HDC – Committee Secretary (W)	Community Education Hub – Coordinator (K)
Tourists – Activity business owner (K)	Waiau Citizens Association – Chair (W)	Regional Tourism Organisation (B)
Tourists – Accommodation provider (SA, B, W)	Blenheim Resident & Ratepayer Group – Chair (B)	Local Tourism group – Secretary (SA)
Tourists – Hospitality (W)	Rotoiti District Community Committee – Secretary (SA)	Community event organiser (SA)
Outdoor Recreation Centre – Director (SA)	KDC – Economic Recovery Manager (K)	Rural Women (W)
RSE – Pastoral care (B)	Fire & Emergency NZ – Fire Chief (SA)	Community Wellbeing – Navigator (W)
RSE – Accommodation provider (B)	CDEM – Welfare Officer (SA)	
Seasonal labour – Coordinator (B)	CDEM – Controller (SA)	
Seasonal labour – Business owner (K, W)	CDEM – Group Welfare Manager (B)	
WHM – Accommodation provider (B)	CDEM – Emergency Management Officer (K)	
WHM – Employer (K, SA)	St John – Chairman (W)	
Earthquake rebuild workers – Wellbeing & Rehabilitation Advisor (K)	Department of Conservation – Community Ranger (SA)	
Holiday Homes – Property Manager (SA)	Education – Migrant Coordinator (W)	
Migrant workers – Employer (K, W)	Police – Community Constable (B)	
Multicultural Centre – Manager (B)	KDC – Community Connector (K)	
	MDC – Community Development Advisor (B)	

NB: Table 2 records the engagement/role on which each interviewee was selected – many interviewees also belonged to a variety of social and business networks in their community. Case study location is indicated in brackets: e.g., Blenheim (B); Kaikoura (K); Waiau (W); St Arnaud (SA).

Some interviewees had direct engagement with transient population groups as a result of their business occupation or employment position, while others had experience of transient population groups via formal roles associated with governance and civic structure, or as a result of involvement with social or business networks. In addition, each interviewee was also resident in the community and provided an ‘informal’ resident perspective which reflected their own community history and networks of engagement.

In order to protect anonymity interviewees are not identified specifically, except in those instances when a longer quote is included or when their role has some relevance to the information they provide. However, we acknowledge that individuals may still be identifiable as a result of holding public positions and the small size of these communities. Broad identification by case study location is sometimes provided to provide context for the material presented.

2.3 Interview methodology

An initial approach to interviewees was made by telephone with the research explained briefly and participation interest and availability ascertained. An email address was also recorded, and a formal information sheet was sent out (see Appendix 2). This was followed by a further telephone phone call to arrange an interview date and time. The interviews were undertaken during April and May 2018 with multiple research trips made to the four communities in order to accommodate interviewee availability. These research trips also enabled the collection of a variety of local publications (e.g., community magazines and newsletters, temporary employment information sheets) and the observation of community resources such as community noticeboards containing public notices and advertisements.

The research design was informed by data collected during the scoping exercise, which included a review of rural resilience literature, and the background review of governance structures and social networks (see Wilson & Simmons, 2017, 2018). The same broad interview schedule was used in all interviews but, as is often the case when conducting qualitative interviews, the interviews did not always follow the same question sequencing. Four broad topic areas were addressed:

1. Key community characteristics and the ways in which individual interviewees were connected with the broader community
2. Specific population groups and networks present in the community
3. How the community (and the various population groups contained in it) responded to, and have recovered from, the Kaikoura earthquake
4. Perceptions and understandings of resilience and of how resilience might be developed

The emphasis in individual interviews varied, with those associated with formal and civic governance roles providing an overview of community composition and other participants describing specific population sub-groups found within their community. The questions asked within each broad topic area also varied according to the topic or area of interest and/or the interviewee’s specific position or knowledge. All interviews were recorded digitally and transcribed in full. The interview data were analysed thematically using the contextualist method suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). This method takes account of both realist or essentialist approaches (which report experiences, meanings and the reality of the participants) and constructionist

approaches, which examine the ways in which “events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.81). Here we report both the results of our examination of community resilience, and our insights into the factors that underpin this reliance. In other word, the method “works to both reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of that ‘reality’” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.81).

The research findings are presented in four parts. First, the ‘resilient communities’ data describe the myriad ways community members frame resilience and examine the terms of reference under which resilience is understood. Second, a broad overview of the ‘four communities’ describes each community in respect of its population demographic and social networks, governance and civic structures, economic characteristics and post-earthquake experiences. Third, the transient population groups present in the communities are examined using the ‘population transience continuum’ as a framework. Fourth, a ‘governance and community’ review presents interview material relating to the civic and social structures which underpin community governance. Data gathered in the preparation of the preliminary scoping report (Wilson & Simmons, 2017) and the background governance report (Wilson & Simmons, 2018) provided additional contextual material – relating to resilience, the case study communities, transient population groups and governance – and have been integrated into the report where appropriate.

3 Resilient communities

As noted in the methodology chapter, the research interviews were wide-ranging and covered a multitude of topic areas including: community structure and social networks; economic characteristics; resident and transient population groups; earthquake impacts, response and recovery; and, interviewee's personal perceptions and understanding of resilience and resilient communities. While the earthquake experience provided additional insight and prompted reflection on resilience it was challenging to keep interviewees focused on longer term resilience, rather than more immediate 'response and recovery' activities which, together with 'reduction and readiness' represent New Zealand's integrated (4Rs) approach to civil defence emergency management.

The newly released draft National Disaster Resilience Strategy proposes a three-pronged approach to improve resilience to disasters. In addition to minimising risks and limiting impacts, building capability and capacity to manage emergencies, this also includes a deliberate effort to 'strengthen wider societal resilience' (MCDEM², 2018). The scope of the Strategy is wide-ranging, encompassing 'all New Zealanders and all those who live, work or visit here':

The Strategy is focussed on building a culture of resilience, and the actions we can all take – at all levels, from individuals and families/whanau, businesses and organisations, communities and hapu, cities, districts and regions, and Government and national organisations – to contribute to a more resilient New Zealand (MCDEM, 2018, p.8).

In a review of rural resilience in New Zealand, Spector et al., (2018) noted that despite resilience being a 'buzzword' it is often loosely defined. Resilience has been applied across a range of scientific fields including ecology, transportation infrastructure and health sciences, accompanied by an array of definitional concepts (Brand & Jax, 2007). Transportation designers, for example, identify 4Rs of resilience as robustness, redundancy, resourcefulness and rapidity, and talk about the opposite of resilience as being fragility (Zoli, 2018). In health sciences, resilience represents a combination of protective factors (which modify risk) and their potential inverse of vulnerability factors (Luthar et al., 2006). The relationship between risk and vulnerability is often made explicit in security applications:

Risk is a function of threats exploiting vulnerabilities to obtain, damage or destroy assets. Thus, threats (actual, conceptual, or inherent) may exist, but if there are no vulnerabilities then there is little/no risk. Similarly, you can have a vulnerability, but if you have no threat, then you have little/no risk (TAG, 2018).

Notwithstanding the above distinctions, the majority of interviewees gave considerable thought to the 'what is resilience' question and, although most responses were very detailed – in that they described resilience according to a diverse set of attributes and examples – a common set of themes were apparent. In this chapter we present data describing resilience beginning with a consideration of it as a 'complex concept' and an 'individual attribute'. We then examine 'community resilience', first exploring definitions of 'community' and asking how resilience at the individual level can be scaled up to apply across all segments of a community. Identifying and fostering leaders in the community and having resilient structures emerged as key resilience

² Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management

factors. ‘Understanding place’ in respect of resilience introduced the importance of community awareness, connectedness, cohesion and autonomy. A final consideration was the extent to which ‘learning through adversity’ contributed to resilience. For clarity these resilience data are primarily presented in tables (i.e., separately from the text); the case study location source is included to provide ‘community’ context.

3.1 A complex concept

The ‘resilience’ descriptions shown in Table 3 illustrate the complexity and breadth of a concept requiring individual strength of which one can be ‘proud’, but which also allows for accepting help from others. While the Kaikoura earthquake introduced the word ‘resilience’ to many interviewee’s lexicon, reaction to this was mixed, with the first interviewee quoted below reporting that it made them think more about resilience, while for the second interviewee the concept became overused. Other key components of resilience, reported in the definitions shown in Table 3, include support networks, social capital, and having appropriate and robust support systems which are able to be applied at a variety of scales. All of the definitions shown in Table 3 relate to resilience in the immediate ‘response’ and short-term recovery periods and focus on the ability of individuals to respond or cope post-event, although one Blenheim interviewee described a broader (and more generic) concept noting that for them, resilience meant “*making sure that you minimise effects on persons, safety, disruption and flow*”.

Table 3 ‘Resilience’

I guess resilience is – to me – the word that jumps into my head straight way is how we bounce back – so if we are a resilient community then we are a community that despite the setbacks and the negative stuff we have a bit of hope – so resilience would mean provoking hope. I remember during the earthquake my sister was able to come through when we were blocked off and I remember her more than once just saying how resilient she felt the town was during that period, so I did examine that because I didn’t want it to be just a word. (Kaikoura)
Yes – I think with the word resilience – especially six months and nine months after [the earthquake] – people could have taken that word and shoved it down people’s throats. It’s something I think if you are told you are resilient you are really proud, but it is almost that you have gone and off and sorted it yourself and you don’t need help – that is a twin-barbed sort of thing. I think rural communities are really resilient because they are used to having to fix things for themselves and find their own solutions. When we talked about all these other services coming in it was actually quite hard in a lot of cases to convince people to accept help because they are just not used to being given things – because they are proud, and handouts are so foreign. You go and visit someone, and everything would be in disarray and they will say that ‘someone else needs help more than me’ – you strike that mentality quite a lot. (Waiau)
People confuse resilience with number 8 wire – resilience is more complex than that. It is closely connected to things like having support networks – having social capital – so it’s individual, but it is also at neighbourhood, community, regional level. (Blenheim)
Resilience is about people’s capacity to be able to respond, and whether they have the right support at the right time to do that and [those things] are all challenged by isolation. (Blenheim)
It is on different levels – you have it through systems, through your people and just through their ability to mentally handle stuff. In an event we are always going to have people for whom the wheels fall off and I really worry for them because there is not a lot that I can do for them – ‘I can’t go and put the marbles back in the maze’. You have resilience through equipment and supplies – your systems will take care of the last two to a certain degree – a resilient person doesn’t necessarily have to go – ‘look I have it all squared away – here’s my kit and grab bag’ – it actually bigger than that – they need to know about the systems that can support them, and those systems need to be robust enough that there is redundancies built into them – and they need to be able to be scaled up. (St Arnaud)

3.2 An individual attribute

It was notable that, when asked to describe resilience, most interviewees initially provided a description of individual rather than community resilience. As the examples in Table 4 show, this includes having perseverance, optimism, confidence and self-belief, and being able to survive the unexpected. Some perceive these to be ‘innate’ attributes while others suggest that they can, and need to be, developed over time. Past experience of adversity was identified as a key factor in this and the particular resilience of farmers, and people with an ‘outdoors’ background, was noted several times.

Table 4 An individual attribute

That's a really tricky question – the perseverance to bounce back, and to make good, or to make better, or to make new. I think optimism has a lot to do with it and again it's – so much of optimism is personality – so whether you can build that? I guess we [Te Ha o Matauranga] are about building resilience – not particularly for disasters – but what we are about is building optimism and confidence and that comes from ability to achieve – so if we build people's ability to achieve for themselves and empowerment I guess so that they have a strong belief that they can make a difference in whatever situation they are in that builds resilience. (Kaikoura)
St Arnaud is surrounded by farmers and most of the people living here will have a background in the outdoors – most of those people will be resilient purely because of that. (St Arnaud)
It is about human beings – I don't know what that magic piece is. It is about more than your experience – it is about growing from that and often people don't know they have it and a lot of people never have to use it. (Blenheim)
If you are talking about it on an individual basis, it is in my view a person's ability to be able to survive things that are unexpected, and to come out the other end without having mental health issues, and with enough resources to be able to carry on. (Blenheim)
St Arnaud is resilient partly because of the type of people who move there and the type who are there [e.g., the farmers] who have a ‘we'll fix it’ attitude. (St Arnaud)
A lot of resilience is age-based – older people are often more organised about life, but younger ones can be more flexible in how they cope with things [that happen]. (St Arnaud)
The ability to just get on and do stuff irrespective of what is going on around you – to make stuff work even when things are looking a bit pear-shaped. I guess it would be a skill thing – some people are able to suck it up better than others and realise it is a short-term thing. (St Arnaud)
It is about being able to get through things that are hard, using skills you have learnt from previous things being hard – to get through and come out the other side – hopefully leading to thriving. (Blenheim)
I think sometimes the Filipinos might be more resilient because they have already faced challenges – they know the meaning of upheaval and they are brave, they are courageous – because they have left one society to come to another and I think the Culverden Filipino community have really started to support the [wider] community. (Waiau)

Having identified a number of groups perceived to be more resilient than others, some interviewees used the earthquake as an example of how this could be improved on within the community, although this was still strongly focused on the response to the event. As one of the Kaikoura interviewees noted:

In a community you need to provide for the opportunities for personal resilience to happen – so if there are pathways for people to become confident in their abilities and optimistic I think – and opportunities for people to connect – just that one thing of having a really strong email tree made a big difference – after the power

came back on that is (laughs) – I think having a community Facebook page also contributes a lot to resilience.

One of the Blenheim interviewees also reflected on the resilience of their RSE community and how it had strengthened over time:

[The] RSE community is resilient because of their belief that they are doing a job for us and they are doing it well and as long as you give them a sense of self-worth that we cannot survive without them – we need them – they are not doing us a favour – you can actually see some of them grow – they come out here very quiet, shy, timid, and after a couple of years they start to grow within themselves – they know they can cope – they know that they need this money for their families and there is going to be light at the end of the tunnel.

These examples primarily refer to individuals and the ways in which they connect to their own ‘communities’ (i.e., to others similar to themselves), whereas a community of place contains many different groups and institutions.

3.3 Community resilience

Definitions of community resilience are often vague – for example, Daly et al (2009, p.15) discuss community resilience, stating that “Community in this context applies to the ‘public’; individuals and their interactions with one another, other groups and societal institutions”. As the Kaikoura excerpt above shows, having the means to connect such as a ‘a strong email tree and a community Facebook page’ are also important. However, several of those interviewed described their community as consisting of only those people with longevity of connection or residence. For example, one of the St Arnaud interviewees suggested that, “*I think when we talk about community it is the people who have some kind of roots here – it is the people who make up the volunteer fire brigade and the Friends of Rotoiti*” while one of the Waiau interviewees reported their community as being “*the people who live here [permanently]. The people who come in for a while do become like temporary locals, but then they are gone – they go back to their life*”. The Kaikoura District Council (KDC) Economic Recovery Manager also talked about how some groups get left out when people talk about ‘community’:

The thing that I found when we started talking about community – people would exclude business owners from that – they didn’t see a business owner as being part of the community. But we have to support them as well – you have to go to their businesses to talk to them – door knocking won’t find them. Even with the tourism side of things – the tourism board had never taken into account any hospitality or retail as being a part of the tourist economy – but they are, and particularly when you look at the domestic market. They actually play a really big part of our community – particularly because we are a small business community.

Notwithstanding the above debates over community belonging, in terms of community resilience two key factors – leadership and structure – were identified as paramount, as the examples in Table 5 show.

Table 5 Leadership and structure

Needs to have the right leaders in the community – the normal leaders might not necessarily be the best ones after an event. You have to have enough people with the capacity to lift it – to have that leadership. Resilience also links to the systems that are in place – you need to have good systems for people [leaders] to step into. (Blenheim)
It has to be able to look internally for support – but part of that is also knowing where it can get the external support it needs to get through response, and eventually transition back to life, although not necessarily life as normal though. (Blenheim)
It's perhaps not the resilience of the community – it is resilience of the structure – like having the fire engines, vehicles that will be useful. Places that are available – like the Lodge that can be used as centre – it is as much the infrastructure as it is the resilience of individuals – but it is always the infrastructure that gets lost. (St Arnaud)
Well – having a system and I would say our fire brigade – in any sort of event – if they could get out they would certainly get out and around the township people, and the rural fire brigade did come around the rural places when they could. But it is very tricky when you have whatever disaster, because it affects those people that you are relying on to go and check people and they have their own families and their own problems as well – but that is just what some people do, and we are very lucky to have those people. (Waiau)

Despite their perceived importance, however, it is not always easy to find the people in the community who are prepared to step up. One of the St Arnaud interviewees commented that “*if a place loses a key community person [like if they die] then it does recalibrate*”. The Blenheim Community Constable commented that “*Police are always on the look-out for people in the community who can be leaders or be shoulder-tapped to step-up to community roles*”. However, he noted that there are “*some issues with the same people being involved in everything*” adding that those who do get involved “*do it for the feel-good returns*”. Another Blenheim interviewee noted that “*getting volunteers is difficult, partly because people think they need to be able to leap tall buildings in a single bound*”. One of the Blenheim interviewees talked about how these people are often volunteers, and how their actions might not always be appreciated by others in the community:

They have a community hub in Seddon which is made up mainly of volunteers and some people very unkindly describe them as the Mayors and Mayoresses of Seddon, but those people just selflessly do a lot of things for their communities – disaster or no disaster, and really stepped up and did some good stuff for their people, and I think that is the difference between a resilient and non-resilient community.

The identification of different community groups and leaders within those groups is a crucial first step in initiating engagement across the whole community. As the Marlborough Civil Defence and Emergency Management (CDEM) Group Welfare Manager noted, “*from a governance perspective it is about finding the person who can give you an introduction to a group and to someone within that group you can work with*”.

3.4 Understanding place

In addition to having the right people and structures in place, community self-awareness was also identified as an important resilience factor. Community ‘self-awareness’ includes not only knowing

who the different groups in one's community are, but also understanding how those groups connect (to each other and to the community structures that are in place). This self-awareness recognises inherent community vulnerabilities and potential need for risk management. Other important community resilience factors are the degree of community cohesion (i.e., how well connected it is both internally and externally) and its level of autonomy, in respect of being both willing and able to look after itself in the event of a natural hazard event or other challenge. Examples of these resilience factors are shown in Table 6.

Table 6 Community awareness, connectedness, cohesion and autonomy

Where the community is self-identifying in terms of what their need is and where there is a lot more community-led response and recovery, so part of that is looking within the community to see what they need and putting that in place – not relying outside agencies [like council] coming in and delivering – build capacity and strength within the community. (Blenheim)
When a community is not resilient it entrenches – it doesn't look within itself for support – it expects support to be given and that does happen, but it actually doesn't grow from that. (Blenheim)
Knowing your neighbours, being involved in the community in some way, having an idea of how your community works. (St Arnaud)
Having an identity – some self-awareness – makes a community stronger. A resilient community is one that has a degree of insight into itself – warts and all – and knows about uncertainty and can think of some ways to get through that. (Blenheim)
I think you build that resilience by empowering communities – it is probably harder empowering individuals except for having good strategies – and empowering those local services – like in terms of having rural fire services and not making it hard for them. With funding and training and recognising that not one size fits all – so what is appropriate in terms of eligibility in one community shouldn't be set for another community – but it is not about setting your bar too high. (Waiau)
It looks like a community that is supportive of the makeup of the community and also its around that inclusive, 'connected' – a buzz word – community. But then there is the reality of how you really do that? (Blenheim)

The reflection on community self-determination and empowerment, presented by the Waiau interviewee in Table 6, highlights both the connection between services at community level and external governance, and the idiosyncrasy of community. Some interviewees commented on differences between rural and urban communities in respect of the above resilience factors. As the examples in Table 7 illustrate, greater autonomy and self-reliance (as described above) are perceived to be found in smaller (rural) communities.

Table 7 Rural vs urban resilience

If we had a whole community of people with no experience it would have been like Christchurch – everybody in the same boat. But the isolation [of people within the community] wouldn't be the same – the small-town spirit would still come through. You are more self-reliant, and you learn to get things done yourself and not rely on a government agency, I guess. (Waiau)
St Arnaud is a resilient community – absolutely – some people would come together very quickly – senior people in their own areas – that farming attitude [would kick in]. Then it would be all hands-on deck to help people that need help. That is normal for all of New Zealand – maybe not in the city, but that rural community would be way more resilient in the face of a disaster. (St Arnaud)
I would say that it is just rural people, not rural communities, who have some resilience – we are not in a metropolitan area where you come home from work and you flick the light on, and if the power has gone off it is a disaster. In the city it is taken out of your hands – you gave it [the power] away, but some people are better [in terms of resilience] than others in both places. (Kaikoura)

One of the St Arnaud interviewees added that, “*you build a resilient community by having a community spirit and in a small village like we have, you can have a community spirit. To me resilient communities are knowing your neighbours*”. The same speaker went on to give an example of one St Arnaud street (which housed a high proportion of permanent residents) who “*all know each other and called each other after the Kaikoura earthquake, and met for breakfast*” describing this as “*a lovely example of a resilient community*”. There was no mention, however, of any holiday home owners who might have been present in the community at the time. Holiday home owners represent a large proportion of the St Arnaud community (see section 4.4.1).

3.5 Resilience through adversity

A number of interviewees also suggested that resilience is about facing up to, and overcoming, a variety of community challenges (not only disasters). While having faced challenges in the past was proposed as evidence of resilience, this notion was underpinned by the suggestion that such past experiences helped communities learn resilience (see Table 8). Although their earthquake experience (and the response and recovery period) was proposed as ‘just another challenge’, it was also attributed with raising both individual and community ‘self-awareness’ in respect of resilience and the factors that might impact on it.

Table 8 Learning through adversity

A resilient community is just – like Waiau or communities all around the country – a caring community and it’s probably a community that has been through other challenges – right through its history – we have had snows and floods and winds – we have had them all and other social issues at different times, and being able to cope with all those and help out each other, and still be able to talk to each other about it at the end of it all. (Waiau)
I think Kaikoura was a resilient community before the earthquake – it is just the type of community it is, and how your lifestyle is, and how you have to survive and live. It’s not a huge community – it’s not abundant with wealth – they have had stuff like the Fonterra factory closing down – that is hard on a community like this – [losing] employment. This town before Whale Watch came – that changed the place completely. (Kaikoura)
When asked if people become more resilient after something has happened to them one of the Waiau interviewees replied that, ‘I don’t know if they are more resilient than they were before, but I think maybe you realise things after a disaster – things that are more important than you had maybe not thought they were before’. (Waiau)
We are resilient because we have to be, but we don’t realise that we have to be – collectively resilient as well as individually – but it is not something we have really thought about. Most days I am resilient, but the wheels fall off sometimes. (St Arnaud)

3.6 The ‘4Ps’ of resilience

The responses to the ‘what is resilience’ question reflect the type of people interviewed in each community. Interviewees, for example, were selected as representatives of key community groups, including emergency services and, as a result, were community ‘leaders’ and/or people with a high level of engagement in community affairs. Their close involvement in emergency services (and with earthquake response activity in their communities) also meant that they had given considerable thought to how individuals (or communities) can foster resilience. Four key facets (which we have designated as the ‘4Ps’) of resilience emerged early in the fieldwork and, although these primarily

centred around response, they impact on capacity at both the individual and community scales, and ultimately can help build community resilience:

- Personal – being personally resilient
- Practice – be prepared, have a plan, practice your plan
- Patience – expect to wait, take charge
- Place – knowing your place

These 4Ps encapsulate the key resilience themes presented in this chapter – taken together they describe the complexity of resilience which exists at different scales but is heavily dependent on key individuals and extant structures of support. While the first three of the 4Ps perhaps relate more directly to short-term response they also underpin longer-term community resilience and highlight some key facets of community self-awareness and ‘knowing your place’. As one of the Blenheim interviewees explained, having the right people, having a plan and expecting to wait – i.e., being self-reliant – along with a degree of community self-awareness are ultimately what makes a community stronger or more resilient:

A lot of people have this expectation that during a disaster that civil defence will rush in and fix it all and that is not true at all. Communities have to look after themselves for a while until help starts to trickle in and you have those resilient people in the community who can stand up and be leaders and help the people who are less capable – that is really what makes a community stronger.

Key to this is ‘understanding place’ (the fourth of the 4Ps) – being aware of who is in that place, of the connectedness and cohesion of individuals and systems, and the degree of autonomy contained within that community. The next three chapters of the report present interview data describing ‘place’: the case study communities (Chapter 4); the transient populations found within these communities (Chapter 5); and, the interaction of governance and community in respect of the communities and the transient populations contained within them (Chapter 6). In Chapter 7 we draw on these interview data to examine ‘resilience in transient rural communities’.

4 Four communities

The preliminary scoping and governance reports provided an introduction to the four case study communities and informed the interview process. In this chapter we present a selection of interview data to provide a more nuanced description of each community. These interview data describe key community characteristics, perceived changes within that community and the challenges faced by that community (including some specifically associated with the Kaikoura earthquake). The aim of this chapter is to provide broad context within which transient population groups (described in Chapter 5) can be understood. While individual interviewees were selected to provide data relating to their own job or community position (in relation to one or more transient population groups) each also offered a personal ‘resident’ view of their community.

The wide range of community features discussed in interviews (along with a qualitative interview methodology) and the diversity of interviewees (selected to represent the transient population groups found in each community) resulted in a somewhat idiosyncratic collection of material. Overall, as a result of their more ‘immediate’ (and significant) earthquake experience, the Kaikoura and Waiau interviews were much more ‘earthquake-focused’ (i.e., around response and recovery) than those undertaken in Blenheim and St Arnaud. In addition, the amount of data included in this chapter varied by case study location as a result of more targeted focus on particular transient population groups. Many of the Blenheim interviewees, for example, were formally engaged with the (transient) RSE population; these data are reported in Chapter 6. Also, it proved difficult to find interviewees outside of those formally engaged in community governance with ‘whole community’ oversight in the larger Blenheim community. Overall, it proved much easier to get a community overview in the smaller population centres.

Each case study description begins with an introduction to the interviewees in respect of their community role or engagement with the population groups found in that community. Then – based on interview data – each community is described according to a generic ‘settlement type’ (e.g., Blenheim is a ‘service town’, Kaikoura is a ‘tourist town’, Waiau is a ‘(traditional) farming community’ and St Arnaud is a ‘national park village’. These descriptors provide some context for the generalisation of results to rural communities elsewhere in New Zealand.

4.1 Blenheim

The ten interviews undertaken in Blenheim provided a variety of insights into the Blenheim community, lifestyle and economy, and the transient population groups found in that community. Three of these interviewees were involved in formal governance roles (e.g., Marlborough District Council (MDC), CDEM and Police), three were formally involved with the RSE population (e.g., pastoral care, accommodation provider, seasonal labour coordinator), two were involved with the visitor population (e.g., Destination Marlborough, accommodation provider), and two were involved with a particular resident group (e.g., new migrants, permanent residents). While each interviewee was selected because of the specific roles described above, some had dual roles in respect of the population groups they were selected to represent or were involved with multiple groups in the community. Several interviews had previous experience or engagement with other population groups. For example, one of the accommodation providers primarily catered to RSE workers, but also housed some Working Holiday Makers (WHM) during the summer months. The

other accommodation provider housed only WHM, although this interviewee had previously worked in accommodation premises housing both RSE workers and tourists. Both accommodation providers also offered pastoral care to their guests and the WHM accommodation provider offered employment services. The Blenheim Community Constable had broad oversight of the community, with a number of designated engagement roles, including RSE Police liaison.

Blenheim was described by almost all interviewees as being a ‘service town’; one interviewee broadened their description to explain that, “*We have Blenheim which is a service town, we have Picton which is a tourist town, and we have Marlborough that has an identity*”. Even a staff member at the Blenheim i-SITE described Blenheim as a service town.

4.1.1 A service town

As the largest of the case study communities Blenheim is not technically ‘rural’ – its population of 24,957 defines it as ‘secondary urban area’. However, it was of note that when asked about their community, many Blenheim interviewees checked ‘which’ community we were referring to: as the MDC Community Development Advisor noted, “*if you include Marlborough it includes the rural community – Blenheim is just the urban base*”. While, in part, this response may relate to the fact that MDC is a unitary council (representing the wider region as well as the urban area) other interviewees also noted the connection between Blenheim and its rural surrounds and, in particular, the importance of the rural economy to Blenheim (e.g., “*this town wouldn’t be what it is without grapes*”).

Blenheim’s ‘size’ was a contributing factor in respect of the range and number of facilities available and was also perceived to influence its ‘liveability’. In respect of the latter, the relatively small size of Blenheim was seen as a positive (e.g., “*Blenheim is still small enough that many people know each other*”, *Blenheim is small enough to get around easily*”). Others added that, because of its size Blenheim, has a wide range of services and that overall has a “*great environment*” with good library and pool services (with the latter being low priced), good parks, good weather and friendly people. The Taylor River Pathway was specifically identified as a space which facilitated interactions with a range of people from outside people’s own immediate area. MDC figures show a daily average of 528 pedestrians using the Taylor River Pathway (Hulbert, 2018). One interviewee suggested that a lack of public transport was an issue both within Blenheim, and also in respect of “*the urban-rural mix which accommodates both rural workers travelling to town and vice versa*”.

Blenheim is large enough to have a sizeable education sector which includes primary, intermediate and secondary level schools, and a campus of the Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology (NMIT). As a result of sister city arrangements (with Tendo City and Otari Village) the town attracts Japanese exchange students (MDC, 2018). These students are usually billeted with local families with billets arranged by Rotary in conjunction with the schools. The NMIT aviation study programme also attracts a few overseas students.

Despite its size, however, there was perceived to be little to do in the evenings for both the temporary RSE workers and the ‘local’ population with one interviewee commenting that Blenheim has a limited number of social networks outside of “*sport and pubs*”. Another interviewee talked about how the neighbourhood communities within Blenheim had changed over time, and the way in which these changes reflected broader social change:

We have actually lost the community within the community – I know probably about six of my neighbours because the turnover is that great – you tend to ... and this is a sad reflection on my part ... to think that they won't stay long and so there is no point connecting to them. Not having that community is sad and I think that is a breakdown.

A lot of people [and kids] have never lived in an 'owned' house – they have rented or lived in a state house – they have never had a community. That is not just with this generation, but even when we had state houses the people [living] there became a community – even that [community] is lost – we have no actual communities anymore.

In Blenheim they don't congregate around the schools – they try and get their kids into the better [higher decile] schools rather than the local ones, and that splinters that community.

Sport was a big thing when I was growing up – you played sport with the ones from your area or school so that made the community – that brought a lot of people together – kids don't play sport so much now.

A number of those interviewed identified sub-groups within the Blenheim population: “*We have very wealthy people here and very poor people here, but as time has gone on we have a lot of retired farmers and Christchurch people shifted into the area – people with money – people with social whatever – you can see the difference*”. Another interviewee noted that “*Blenheim has a reputation as being a very hard place to break into – and newcomers struggle – is easier if you have an identifiable position [like at the council, as a teacher]*”. The MDC Community Development Advisor also commented that they [the council] were “*not convinced that Blenheim is 100 per cent welcoming [to newcomers] as a community – there are a lot of people saying the right things, but what is really happening?*”

The growth in viticulture is perceived to have brought a significant and rapid population expansion in Blenheim. While one interviewee suggested that the “*main thermometer for Blenheim's rapid expansion is the dramatic increase in traffic*”, for most of those interviewed the key feature of this expansion has been increasing ethnic diversity. One interviewee described Blenheim as an “*affluent white community*”, and several others commented that Blenheim is traditionally not very ethnically diverse. The Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager commented that there was some resistance to change within the Blenheim community, adding that this happens in part “*because people grow up there, go away to train or do a bit of their OE [overseas experience] and when they come back they want it the same as what it was before*”.

There was universal agreement that ethnic diversity in the general population (i.e., outside of the RSE workers) has increased significantly over the last 7-10 years. As the MDC Community Development Advisor noted, “*we were maybe doing two citizenship ceremonies a year and are now holding them at least monthly, if not twice a month*”. A ‘Settling In’ report undertaken a decade previously identified a number of issues around increased migration and, in particular, challenges around “*changing the mind-set of who migrants coming to Blenheim are*” (Campbell, 2013). As one of the Blenheim interviewees noted, migrants were “*traditionally from white Europe*” whereas they

now come from a more diverse set of origin countries; another added that you just need to “*scratch the surface and racism shows*”. The Manager of the Marlborough Multicultural Centre (MMC) also described community attitudes to some of these newcomers:

I don't find it's the Asian backlash in Marlborough – I find it's a black backlash. We do have some Indians coming in – but it's ones from Africa – we have a couple of small groups of them coming in – they are very good workers – there is nothing wrong with them but ... and we are ... and I am sorry to say very prejudiced to them – Marlborough is and always has been very white-centric.

The MDC Community Development Advisor commented that there are “*still some issues with newcomers to the area and discontent [in the host population] around having different ethnicities*”. In response to this, a migrant wellbeing action plan, involving representatives from throughout the community, including social agencies and the Marlborough Primary Health Organisation, has recently been implemented in Blenheim (Heywood, 2017). Notwithstanding the above ethnicity issues, there are a number of broader challenges associated with a rapidly increasing population. The large ageing population in Blenheim (“*one of the largest in New Zealand*” according to the MDC Community Development Advisor) has increased the demand for rest homes, and this demand, along with the expansion of vineyards, in turn increases demand for a more diverse workforce (i.e., one from outside New Zealand).

While vineyard employment demand is currently being managed to some extent via the RSE scheme and the employment of WHMs (described in sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.2), many of the Blenheim interviewees commented on the projected growth of the Marlborough vineyard areas and the future demand for more and more workers. As one noted, these workers are “*not just RSE and WHM, but also support industry people driving tractors, producing wine and so on*”. Another interviewee commented that “*there is some difficulty, however, when you look at demand for people to fill specialised roles – doctors who are part of the population are also ageing*”. However, the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager suggested that there was labour force ‘potential’ in the Blenheim population “*as there are a lot of Blenheim residents who travel away [from Blenheim] for work which brings skills back here*”, adding that “*these skills are not necessarily being used now, but they could be one day*”.

An increasing population also brings additional pressures in respect of housing and social services, such as access to primary health care services (i.e., having a sufficient number of GPs). A number of housing challenges were identified including “*access to housing which matches needs and affordability*” and a need for more social housing. One interviewee noted that accommodation shortages are “*there beyond the RSE [population]*” adding that these (shortages) are “*in part being addressed by the establishment and development of accommodation premises such as Duncannon, which also takes pressure off houses in town*”. Backpacker hostels not accepting New Zealanders was another housing issue, especially as the RSE scheme includes a ‘Kiwi employment quota’ which is often met by workers coming from outside Marlborough. Several interviewees also talked about increasing issues with homelessness with the Blenheim Community Constable reporting that Blenheim “*has a good and growing industry in terms of housing the homeless and we are starting to attract people from outside the district who would fall into the homeless category*”.

4.2 Kaikoura

The seven interviews in Kaikoura involved eight people, of whom: three had formal governance roles (e.g., KDC, CDEM); two were involved in the tourism sector (e.g., i-SITE, activity business); two were involved with temporary population groups (e.g., NCTIR³, primary industry); and, one represented a community support organisation working in the education sector. Once again, however, there was some crossover between interviewees' roles, engagement in the community and involvement with transient population groups. The WHM population, for example, were employed in both the tourism and temporary earthquake repair sectors (NCTIR) and identified by the KDC Economic Recovery Manager as a vital part of the Kaikoura workforce.

The minor urban area of Kaikoura is home to a resident population of 1,971 with an additional 1,581 residents in the Kaikoura rural area (2013 Census). As a result of the small size of Kaikoura the majority of interviewees were 'resident' focused and collectively the Kaikoura interviewees provided a comprehensive overview of the resident community. The importance of tourism to Kaikoura and the earthquake experience were key themes. Importantly, the earthquake provided an opportunity to talk about how the host community engaged with (and managed) the temporary visitor population. However, it was difficult to find interviewees who were well-informed with regard to Kaikoura's holiday home population. The majority of interviewees described Kaikoura as a 'tourist town'.

4.2.1 A tourist town

For most interviewees, tourism was synonymous with Kaikoura; more than a quarter of Kaikoura employment is in the accommodation and food sectors, with a further 15 per cent employed in retail (see Wilson & Simmons, 2017). Visitors are attracted by a variety of marine wildlife experiences, including whale watching (by sea and air) and more interactive experiences with dolphins and seals. As the KDC Economic Recovery Manager noted:

The development in Kaikoura has been on the merits of the natural attractions and we haven't yet worked out how to drive it forward – our biggest fear with the earthquake was that the whales and dolphins would leave – and then what would we do?

Tourism was referred to by one interviewee as a 'dependence' because it supported the majority of Kaikoura's businesses and incomes. Another interviewee described both the longevity and vulnerability of this tourism dependence: "*If you look at us 20 years ago the majority of income would have been through farming and primary produce as opposed to now – it does make you really dependent on things like roads, or weather ...*". Tourism also has some negative impacts on the resident community: "*At the height of the tourist season there are a lot of us [locals] who would not ever go into town for six weeks because of the traffic – I would go to the supermarket and that was it*". There is also a perception that Kaikoura has become more expensive for locals as a result of tourism.

³ North Canterbury Transport Infrastructure Recovery (NCTIR) is an alliance set up by the government to restore the earthquake-damaged infrastructure between Picton and Christchurch.

Kaikoura's rural hinterland supports dairy farming and a growing apiculture industry. The Kaikoura Fonterra cheese factory, which closed down in 2016 with the loss of 22 jobs (Hutching & Dangerfield, 2016), is now owned by a honey company and used for Manuka-focused honey extraction (Dangerfield, 2017). One of the Kaikoura interviewees worked in the apiculture industry and described the impact of the earlier factory closure:

The Fonterra factory closed down prior to us arriving here – and that was just things you learned about the business community – what things had happened and affected employment and the economy and stuff like that – I think they lost a lot of local employment – some people had moved here [to work at the factory], and they moved away again once it shut down.

The availability of good telecommunications (e.g., internet and mobile phone reception) is perceived to be a challenge in respect of broadening the economic base in Kaikoura. The KDC, for example, “*focusses on building community support systems to attract people in order to change the economy – but it is hard without good telecommunications*” and “*people can’t run their business in a rural setting because the internet is so bad*”. While telecommunications were poor pre-earthquake, there has been additional pressure on the systems with the increased population based in Kaikoura post-earthquake.

Kaikoura was located close to the epicentre of the multiple rupturing faults of the November 2016 earthquake and was temporarily isolated as a result of the extensive damage to SH1 (both north and south of the township), the mainline rail line and the Inland Road (providing alternative access to and from the south). While it was not yet the peak visitor season, there were more than 1000 tourists in Kaikoura on the night of the earthquake and the evacuation of these visitors over the following days was a focus in much of the media attention (see, for example, Daly, 2016; MacDonald, 2016). As the i-SITE Supervisor recalled, the tourists who were in Kaikoura had a special experience:

First an earthquake, then there is a tsunami warning, then you have crayfish and paua at the marae and then you are flown out by helicopter – how Kiwi do you want it? It just gave me a warm fuzzy feeling when I think back about it. It was important that we looked after our visitors, and more importantly that they get out of town as soon as possible, so the town could deal with the earthquake – they take up your resources and with the roads closed we knew that the town would not be stocked up for a while.

Although tourists slowly returned over the following months, the continuing road closures (particularly the closure of SH1 to the north of Kaikoura) reduced visitor numbers considerably. However, the road/rail repair work and other earthquake repairs in Kaikoura brought a new ‘transient’ population of road repair crews and other earthquake rebuild workers to Kaikoura (see section 5.2.2). As the i-SITE Supervisor noted, “*the businesses that struggled the most were the souvenir shops because all the other service businesses (accommodation, transport, food outlets and retail) had booming businesses because all of the workers in Kaikoura*”. However, despite being busy post-earthquake, for some Kaikoura businesses’ the “*cost of living has been inflated by what’s happening around us, and that’s been quite difficult, and it’s put pressure on*”.

When asked to describe their community, most of the Kaikoura interviewees suggested three broad groups of people based on their degree of permanence (e.g., “*the stable and ageing community, the people who really want to live here and may or may not make it, and then we have the people who come in and go again*”). The ageing population, noted by several interviewees as a challenge for Kaikoura, includes both holiday home owners retiring to Kaikoura and the naturally ageing local population. While resistance to change was noted as an issue with this population group, the biggest challenge was in respect of resources, as the KDC Economic Recovery Manager explained:

You can't put pressure on the DHB⁴ to put more resources here and you also don't have the ability to attract investors into retirement services. Older people have to get moved out of Kaikoura and they don't want to leave. But on the other side of it is that if we do put a retirement facility here [we have to] make sure that is for the locals and not for other people to retire to.

The natural environment (see Figure 1) was reported as being a large part of Kaikoura's attraction for many new population groups and suggested by one interviewee as contributing to community resilience.

I think that – this is one of the things that makes it resilient – that we all have this very strong attachment to the natural world and that is something that binds us together – we talk about it being a beautiful day and all that.

Figure 1 Kaikoura and its 'natural environment'



Photo Credit: Jude Wilson

One interviewee elaborated further on the attraction of the natural environment and associated environmental ethos of Kaikoura (e.g., “*we have a lot of people who are quite environmentally*

⁴ District Health Board

friendly, our zero-waste approach – there are a lot of people invested in that”). While ‘choosing’ to live in Kaikoura was frequently reported, this was tempered by the ‘difficulties’ of life in Kaikoura:

You have to choose to live here – and [obviously] people choose to live everywhere, but you have to choose to live here because you are not going to be able to go and get a different job – you have to make your place here.

However, Kaikoura was perceived to pose multiple ‘challenges’ for new residents, and if those people did not stay long-term the impact on Kaikoura was significant:

You have people who come here to live, and they think they are going to stay here and one of their partners can’t get meaningful work, or they decide that the schools aren’t good enough and then they leave – so they have been here two-three years and fully participating, and then when they leave they leave an even larger hole in the social fabric.

Most descriptions of the Kaikoura community identified quite distinct groups and, as the excerpt below shows, the members of these groups not only varied in respect of their degree of permanence (e.g., from those who ‘claim birth right’ to ‘hippie kind of free spirits’) but also in respect of their perceived participation in the community (e.g., the retired ‘singular’ people). Interestingly, the speaker quoted below also added an additional group of what they referred to as ‘normal people’:

Kaikoura is a mixture of locals who have to have been here 40 years or more – claim birth right from day dot – I think they are one distinct community in themselves – you have ... um ... kind of like the hippie kind of free spirits, beautiful place to live – ‘it drew me here’ – we get quite a few transient beneficiaries – so that kind of ‘endless wander up and down the island’-type group – you have the people who retired at 55 or 60, and escaped the Christchurch earthquake and came and retired here ... um ... and then you have normal people ... maybe (laughs). You could also say the Māori community is a separate distinct part, but also there is some really good integration too, and [then there are] probably older, retired quite singular people – yeah – that’s my take on it.

Another interviewee also noted distinct sub-groups within the ‘permanent’ resident population:

You have your local-locals that are born and bred locals, you have the ones that have been here 20-30 years, that are nearly locals, and then you do have these longer-term transient populations – people like me – who have only been here for seven years.

The size of the Maori population compared with other South Island towns was also of note. Overall, despite the Kaikoura community “*operating in silos*” there is “*still that nice community flavour – people wave to each other and talk to each other in the street – and you wouldn’t do that in Christchurch*”. One interviewee also commented on the number of people of different nationalities resident in Kaikoura.

The structure of the resident population is mooted to reduce the size of the Kaikoura labour pool (e.g., ageing population, loss of young people) although, as one interviewee noted, “*there are a lot*

of skills here, but it is quite hard to tap into them". The highly seasonal nature of tourism and the temporal demands of tourism employment also present staffing challenges for businesses (e.g., "*Kaikoura is definitely not a nine-to-five town, and locals don't want to work weekends and nights*"). Locals were reported to be more likely to work in retail than in hospitality jobs, as the hours were more favourable. According to another interviewee, the advent of tourism in Kaikoura was responsible for changing the make-up of the community as it not only brings tourists, but also "*new businesses and workers*". The KDC Economic Recovery Manager added that the "*reliance on overseas workers was an issue*" for Kaikoura and that they "*need to find ways to build the home population to fill job vacancies*".

One Kaikoura tourism business owner reported that they had "*never employed so many seasonal [overseas] workers in their entire business history*" as they had post-earthquake. The same business owner, who usually employed a significant number of 'locals' reflected on the changes in local people's attitudes to work in post-earthquake Kaikoura:

We have issues here with finding staff – we have never had so much trouble getting staff – we have had higher than ever staff turnover and it's almost like the natural disaster event that we have been through has unsettled people in ways I hadn't anticipated, and so its caused people to look at absolutely everything about their lives and whether they can see themselves being in a stable business environment and working, or whether they think there is opportunity outside of that, or whether they think 'I have done this for a while, I have been confronted by this life-changing event – I need to make sure I do what I really want to do'.

The post-earthquake road repairs also impacted Kaikoura businesses' ability to get local staff, as the i-SITE Supervisor explained:

All the locals work on the roads because they earn more – it is not maybe better or easier work, but they earn \$3-\$5 more an hour, which is a lot of money. If I compare it to working here at the information centre which can be very stressful from [it] being frontline. A lot of the local staff walked out of their jobs and worked on the roads and all the operators have struggled to find staff. The same here – I have struggled to find staff.

Another interviewee reflected that the locals who took up employment on the earthquake-repair road crews might "*now have some difficulties transitioning back into what they were doing before*".

The relatively small size of Kaikoura impacts on the type and quality of community resources available to the resident community. As one interviewee explained, Kaikoura has a "*lovely new hospital but is very limited in resources*", an especially notable issue given that "*Kaikoura is one of the most geographically isolated St John stations in New Zealand*". In addition to the pressure on health services, there are also challenges around education. As the KDC Economic Recovery Manager noted, some of the people who have been working temporarily in Kaikoura would have liked to stay,

.. but we don't have the quality of education without more kids and more resources for the schools. We have five primary schools and the high school – but

a lot of people leave town for education – either the whole family [leaves], or the kids go to boarding school.

Another interviewee added that there was a challenge with having “*only one high school and limited opportunities for extension*”, while they estimated that “*probably more than 10 per cent of kids leave [Kaikoura] for high school – mostly ones from farming families*”. Some of these issues are being addressed by the establishment of Te Ha o Matauranga, a community education hub (set up using Ministry of Social Development (MSD) and other funding available after the earthquake) which addresses education in a “*very holistic sense*”, providing opportunities for people to “*be involved, to connect and to learn*”. Their initiatives include the establishment of community gardens, a community shed, a time bank and the provision of more formal training courses (e.g., business administration). Te Ha o Matauranga are also trying to enable other groups and organisations in the community to provide learning experiences. It was suggested that, for post-school Kaikoura youth, the challenges of studying in isolation include lack of motivation and having poor computer skills alongside “*difficulties finding on-line learning platforms that really work*”. The provision of e-learning opportunities also requires good WiFi access and supply which, as noted above, is perceived to be an issue in Kaikoura.

Sporting and service groups are well-represented in Kaikoura and there is an array of active church groups (e.g., Jehovah Witness, Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, New Life, Vineyard, Christadelphians and Gospel). According to one interviewee “*sport is very strong in Kaikoura – netball and rugby traditionally, golfing for the older community and bowls has two clubs*” while “*Lions is a connection point for older people with two active and very service-oriented clubs in Kaikoura*”. Holiday home owners, who at the 2013 Census potentially accounted for the ownership of 29 per cent of Kaikoura dwellings (see Wilson & Simmons, 2017), do not appear to play a particularly active role in Kaikoura clubs.

Despite the availability of some of these holiday homes as commercial rental properties accommodation shortages have been a significant issue in Kaikoura post-earthquake, with demand from temporary road repair crews and other earthquake repair workers, WHM, returning tourists (once SH1 was fully reopened) and earthquake-displaced homeowners needing accommodation while their houses are repaired. As the i-SITE Supervisor noted:

Finding accommodation for seasonal tourism staff post-earthquake was difficult, with much of the available accommodation taken by road crews – they were often sleeping in tents, campervans or even their cars while working making it a hard season for everyone – although not revenue-wise.

However, according to one interviewee, there was pressure on accommodation in Kaikoura pre-earthquake because of seasonal workers. Visitor numbers were also impacted by accommodation shortages post-earthquake, with many commercial accommodation and hospitality business being forced to reduce capacity and opening hours as a result of staff shortages. The KDC Economic Recovery Manager and i-SITE Supervisor explained:

A lot of businesses struggled – some cafés only opened five days a week because they couldn't get staff – and they needed that time off for themselves. We have had accommodation providers who haven't been fully operating, so they have

kept rooms closed because they can't get cleaners. That has impacted on the accommodation – especially the bigger places and that has reduced the number of visitors – often they will only check a few places [for availability] and then decide not to come. (KDC Economic Recovery Manager)

Some of the motels even closed off rooms because they didn't have cleaners, and we thought 'oh my god, you are closing the rooms and we need them for our visitors'. (i-SITE Supervisor)

One KDC led post-earthquake economic initiative was the establishment of business sector groups to aid with business recovery in Kaikoura. In the tourism sector it was the larger more prominent businesses like Whale Watch and Dolphin Encounter who 'stepped up' as leaders, but it was hard to "*align their concerns with those of the multitude of smaller businesses within the sector group*". Some of the Kaikoura businesses got together to share staff and coordinate opening hours after the earthquake and the KDC Economic Recovery Manager commented that "*it would be good to continue that – businesses talking to each other and understanding how they can work together to keep areas looking vibrant and open and attracting people*". This was also suggested as a means to counteract the perceived lack of understanding by some in the community – even those working in hospitality – of "*the importance of tourism – and good customer service – to their own business*" which emerged as a result of the post-earthquake experience in Kaikoura. As the KDC Economic Recovery Manager explained:

Some of our takeaway shops don't really understand the impact they have on tourism – if they give people a good experience it is important. The earthquake did make people realise who their market was because they had less of a transient market come through. We found the opposite with one café owner who only took over towards the end of last year and doesn't really understand the local worker market here – and also the need to support the locals not only the transients. Definitely a lot of our smaller business now understand that they need to engage with their customers a lot more – because many of them will come back.

The earthquake was perceived to have also impacted on the connections and integration of the various population groups in the Kaikoura community. Broadly speaking, the resident (and more permanent) community appears to have greater self-awareness of their own population than they have in respect of their interactions with the various transient groups they encounter. When asked if the seasonal workers mixed with the local community one interviewee reflected that, "*they probably do ... some do mix in with the locals straight away – it just depends on those relationships – a lot just mix with those they are working with*".

According to one interviewee the "*when you have a smaller population, you are more aware of who people are – which gives you an idea of where they fit*". However, despite this high level of community awareness, it was suggested that Kaikoura is not an 'easy community' in terms its ability (and willingness) to work collaboratively and in respect of its overall cohesion:

I think there is a lot of division – I think probably because of our geographical isolation we are 20 years behind, and we are kind of a little bit behind in that collaborative approach – there is a real focus on working together around the

world and I think Kaikoura is a little bit behind in that. I think our Maori-Pakeha partnerships are also 20 years behind – if you go to the North Island is clear that – not in every place – but with a hui I have been to recently in Wellington it was just such a better partnership and we struggle. We work in silos and at the moment, even in recovery, we have these amazing exciting projects and they are all happening quite independently of each other.

The KDC Emergency Management Officer gave a wide-ranging overview of post-earthquake Kaikoura which described impacts on inter-community connections, loss of community control and community disempowerment, and the ever-present ‘challenge’ of living in Kaikoura:

It is weird from the earthquake there is that feeling that you know everybody better and then there is all these other people that you don’t know. Then you also have all the people who live here and who have moved from their service jobs to the road works and so you have all new faces at the grocery store – not the ones you are used to seeing.

And people have been shifting – things are disappearing – landmarks are disappearing. The Kaikoura Star is leaving, so sometimes ... you also get this feeling that you are not in charge of your own destiny any more [and the earthquake is a giant reminder of that] ... it’s hard to see things that you have worked on, things that you value and them/it not transitioning to the new people who are here ... because you get government coming in taking charge.

You get this feeling that we were fine to be in charge of the town when everything was OK, but all of a sudden we are ‘country bumpkins’ – I think sometimes people come in from the city and don’t realise that people have made a choice to be here, and it is not because they can’t be anywhere else. It is actually really hard to get a full-time position here.

While the earthquake impacted significantly on Kaikoura, in many respects it exacerbated extant issues and challenges rather than introducing new ones. In respect of the earthquake itself, one interviewee noted that, “*I think we are going to need to find our own solutions – the ones they found in Christchurch don’t fit here – we have different problems. We are not having aftershocks – we didn’t have another giant earthquake*”.

In addition to the road repair crews, the earthquake-related transient community in Kaikoura also included “*additional medical staff and the council staff has increased from 20 to more than 40 people – and ten of our old staff members have left so it is almost a completely different organisation – that has some real stresses with it*”. The KDC Economic Recovery Manager summarised the population challenges in Kaikoura:

Our population has pretty much sat at around 3,500 for the last 30 years, even though the market and everything has changed – we have had great GDP growth between dairy and tourism, but we do have an ageing population and we also have a population that are 55 per cent couples without kids, we are below the national average of under 15-year olds, and a big gap in the 40-50 year olds market here, and so these are big concerns for Kaikoura going forward, because

we don't have that younger population coming through – we lose them once they leave high school.

The population figure quoted above (and the reference to dairying) refers to the Kaikoura District (i.e., the township and the rural area), and reflects the broader remit of the KDC. The majority of the Kaikoura interviewees, however, focused only on the township.

Associated with the community issues identified above, is the high degree of economic dependence on a variety of transient population groups. The seasonal nature of tourism remains a significant issue and as one interviewee noted, “*we need to be looking at how we bring in industries that are operating 12 months of the year*”. One suggestion was for the development of research and education facilities which could attract more staff to live permanently in Kaikoura, and who would, in turn, provide local (rather than transient) support for cafés, bars and restaurants in Kaikoura. Another interviewee suggested that the earthquake improvements to the roading network could work in Kaikoura’s favour, and commented that, “*now we have this beautiful road infrastructure – and we are only two hours to that port and one and a half hours to that one – ‘why haven’t we got industry here’?*” The same interviewee added,

There is so much here apart from the whales and dolphins – the mountains to the sea kaupapa – the Maori history along this coast is probably twice [in my view] as much as in Rotorua – so how do we do all that?

Despite these suggestions most of the focus appears to remain on tourism, and on finding ways to extend the current seasons (e.g., through finding ways to attract the domestic market during the winter). At present, seasonality – and satisfying demand for labour – remain key issues for Kaikoura businesses, as one tourism business owner explained:

There are certain times of the year that we need more staff to be able to offer quality experiences and without the WHM programme, and to some degree without the ability to support people to get work visas, we can’t continue to do that and that is just huge for us, and Whale Watch have been the same. This little town relies on the strong tourism economy, and if we can’t keep our businesses functioning at capacity and beyond, and growing our business confidence to deliver more, we’ve got a real problem.

4.3 Waiau

The Waiau case study involved nine interviews with 11 individuals although only three of these people actually lived in the Waiau township. Of the others, six farmed around Waiau (two of these with jobs or community roles based in Culverden), one farmed outside Culverden, but held a service role covering the wider Amuri area, and one lived in Hawarden, but was connected to Waiau via their job with the Hurunui District Council (HDC). Despite being resident elsewhere, the majority of these interviewees were able to provide a ‘resident’ view of Waiau and had oversight of a number of transient population groups found in both Waiau and its rural surrounds.

In terms of specific interviewee representation five were local business owners (involved in the shearing, accommodation and hospitality sectors), four had formal governance or associated

community service roles (e.g., HDC, Citizens Association, St John, Community Navigator), one was involved in a local service group (Rural Women) and one worked in the education sector in a role focusing on new migrants. Two of the three businesses were small and did not employ anyone from within the local population; these business owners were themselves relatively recent residents in Waiau. The hospitality business had also offered accommodation pre-earthquake, but was no longer doing so as a result of earthquake damage to their premises.

The impact of the earthquake was a key theme in the Waiau interviews and many interviewees talked extensively about how the Waiau community had coped in the response and recovery period since. It was of note that Waiau represented the least contained – in that the township was not as divorced from its rural hinterland – of the four case study communities. Further, Waiau appeared to contain fewer transient population groups than the other four case study communities and, as a result, the Waiau interview data were much more focused on the permanent population. As a result of its small size, however, the transient groups they do see are potentially highly visible, as one interviewee noted, *“probably the more transient ones would slip under the radar a little bit – officially they would slip under the radar, but unofficially there is not much happens in a small town like Waiau that someone doesn’t know about”*.

While Waiau is easily recognised as a farming centre (servicing its local rural surrounds) the moniker was often further qualified as representing a ‘traditional’ farming centre, especially when compared with the nearby settlements of Rotherham and Culverden and the wider Amuri District.

4.3.1 A (traditional) farming centre

The rural centre of Waiau (population 261 at the 2013 Census) services a ‘traditional’ farming area, characterised by sheep and beef farming, rather than the dairying which is prevalent across most of the Amuri District. Dairy farming is much more dominant in the irrigated areas south of the Waiau River and has impacted significantly on the neighbouring communities of Rotherham and Culverden. There is a strong connection between Waiau and its agricultural hinterland. Many people who work in the surrounding farming area live in Waiau: at the 2013 Census one third of the employed Waiau population aged 15 years and over were working in the agriculture, forestry and fishing industries. Conversely, the farming community are closely involved with the Waiau community.

Waiau is home to a mix of people including *“a lot of shearers, retired people, and business-owners like at the hardware store, garages and most have been there for a long time”*. One of the long-term residents (and Chair of the Waiau Citizens Association) described the Waiau population and some of the changes they had observed:

I think we have our traditional sheep and beef farmers, and we have rather a transient population in the village consisting of quite a few shearers – it’s changed a lot from when I was a kid – the village used to be permanent people working on the Nassella tussock, working on the transport, but now there aren’t jobs here. A solo-mother population came in when the housing was cheap – not so much of that now, but still quite a distinctive township-rural division, although we try really hard to have a community – not to be divided. I am perhaps one of the few people

on the Association that isn't a township person, but we are a community, whether you live on a farm or are a shop keeper, or whatever.

Waiau was impacted significantly by the Kaikoura earthquake and according to a Scoop (2018) media report, “the Hurunui earthquakes have exacerbated the stresses being faced by a community already struggling with the impact of three years of drought”. According to one interviewee, Waiau suffered with the loss of community services resulting from the restructuring of the Labour government during the ‘Rogernomics’ period of the 1980s and “*slowly turned into a ghost town*” although there is a perception that in the past 10-15 years it has slowly revived itself. A number of interviewees mentioned a pre-earthquake, HDC-initiated, ‘future plan’ – *Future Hurunui 2050* – addressing development in the Hurunui District and its communities. Similar to many other rural New Zealand communities, tourism development was a prominent feature of the 2050 vision for Waiau, as the Waiau Motor Camp owners explained:

Tourism is one of the things that this town wanted. Before the earthquake there was a big push with the council and the locals – with a council run initiative called Waiau 2050 – we were going to become a trial town to have a plan for what we wanted by 2050 – we started on a big roll with that and then the earthquake happened – tourism was definitely what the town wanted.

Not unexpectedly, however, this tourism focus was primarily noted by interviewees directly involved in the tourism industry and located in the Waiau township, rather than by interviewees associated with farming activity in the area. The latter took a broader economic and community view, identifying population decline and particularly the loss of young people as a significant challenge for Waiau. As one interviewee suggested, “*the biggest challenge [for Waiau] would be retaining youth – or attracting youth to the district [on both the farms and in the township]*” while another reported that “*we need youth to keep the clubs alive*”.

The number of clubs active in Waiau was frequently proposed as an indicator of how strong the community was, although one interviewee noted that “*the rugby club in Waiau used to be really strong and now it's combined [with another club]*”. Others reflected that, although there are a lot of clubs in Waiau, it was often the same people involved in these and as time goes by – and the current population ages – there are challenges with a “*smaller pool of people able to manage or operate clubs and increasing costs for rates and insurances*”. However, as a result of its more stable population, Waiau club membership compared favourably with that in Culverden:

One thing with Waiau is that it still has a lot of the traditional farmers, whereas Culverden has lost that and there is a community sense in Waiau that is no longer in Culverden – because people are in Culverden to make their money and go – they are not worried about [joining] the rugby club or things like that.

Many Waiau farmers are reported to retire to the Waiau (or Rotherham) townships, from where “*they can still get back to the farm to help out and all their friends are still around*”. This maintains the strong family connection to the area, a connection that is further reinforced when farms pass to younger generations of the same family. As one interviewee explained:

A lot of the children are starting to take over farms and so they are putting in what their parents used to, and I am sure their children will be doing the same.

The majority of them [the farm population] would visit the township for the likes of Plunket and playcentre.

The move into Waiau for these retiring farmers is “*OK when there is a husband and wife and they are ticking along nicely*” although “*a few people have said that if they didn’t have their husband here they would move – but in saying that we have got some widows living in the village and there is no way some of them are shifting unless they really have to*”. One of the ideas proposed in the original Hurunui 2050 document was to get a rest home close by as a means to enable more people to stay in the district. Rotherham attracts some of these retirees because the health centre is located there.

Another key issue in (and around) Waiau has been a lack of housing, particularly post-earthquake. According to one interviewee, earthquake damage has reduced the number of houses available on farms, in turn making accommodation in Waiau more difficult to find. Rental properties in Waiau itself are also scarce as a result of earthquake damage. Another interviewee commented that “*there are sections available in Waiau that could be built on – we just need people*”. Other challenges reported for Waiau included having poor internet services (e.g., “*it is still dial-up speed*”) and the fact that they did not have cell phone service until relatively recently.

One interviewee suggested that the “*school-kid families represent a big little pot in Waiau*”, with another suggesting that the need for high-school age children to either travel to Culverden (to the Amuri Area School), or to go to more distant boarding schools, was an issue for people wanting to move to Waiau. However, as one interviewee noted, accepting that your children will perhaps go to boarding school is “*part and parcel of choosing to live in Waiau*”. One Waiau interviewee also reported changes in the type of pre-school services available to the community with “*pre-schools emerging in place of Plunket*”. Another interviewee, reflecting on the differing population growth trajectories of the Waiau and Rotherham settlements, also compared the Waiau School with the school in nearby Rotherham:

Rotherham is a funny little town (laughs). It is bigger than it looks. In some ways it is growing better than Waiau – just with the new houses being built – you don’t see a lot of that here. Is that because it is a newer settlement? – I don’t really know. It has a bit of a different vibe. I don’t get the retired vibe [so much there] – I get that there is a hefty working class there – more farm-oriented than we are I think – we are more service-oriented. There are a lot of younger ones there and that school is booming – they have over 100 kids, whereas we have 30 kids, and like you say it is only 10 kms away.

As noted in the scoping and governance reports, Waiau shares some of its services with the neighbouring communities of Rotherham (Amuri Community Health Centre) and Culverden (Amuri Area School, St John) and, according to one interviewee, the Waiau pub “*shares the locals*” with the Rotherham pub. It was common in interviews for Waiau to be compared with Rotherham and Culverden across a range of measures, including employment opportunities. As one interviewee explained, “*you couldn’t be a choosy about what you got as a job here – probably on a farm or at the gas station*”. Most of those interviewed suggested that there were better employment prospects in areas with dairy farming, but as one said, “[even] those farmers struggled to attract staff when the first conversions happened”. It was suggested that the perception of being too far

from urban areas contributed to these difficulties. The shearing industry also struggles to attract younger staff, but as one interviewee reported “*that is not just here – it is New Zealand-wide*” adding that, in the local context the “*shearers would rather be in Cheviot because it is on the main road*”. As one interviewee noted, “*what Waiau needs is some sort of industry that will employ people and just give it a kick along – but how you do that, I don’t know?*”

The shearing industry represents one of the largest employers in Waiau with two shearing gangs based there, although one interviewee commented that, while the “*shearing industry is reasonably prevalent in this area it is a bit of a hot-cold industry – but that is not a part of the community we see much of*”. One of the Waiau shearing gangs employs 18-20 people and works with a base crew for 10 months of the year and is surprisingly ‘invisible’ in the Waiau community (in that few interviewees reported shearers as part of the permanent resident population). The size of this gang made it more difficult for the shearing business owners to access business support after the earthquake as they were classified as a large business. The initial wage subsidy packages available to earthquake-hit communities was only available to smaller businesses (Jones, 2016).

There have been some internal changes in the shearing industry over time, most notably an increase in the size of sheep making the job a lot more strenuous than in the past. The job also involves working long hours and ‘downtime’ (i.e., periods without pay) when it is wet and “*over a 12-month period the money does not average out all that well – plus the money that can be earned shearing in Australia is better*”. Other issues associated with attracting staff are the distance from Christchurch and the lack of appeal of “*working in a stinky, dirty shed*”. It can also be difficult to get suitable staff (e.g., “*we contact WINZ⁵ and they might have someone, but what the business needs is a person who is trained*”). Although based in Waiau, the shearing gangs work over a large area – Lewis Pass, Amberley, Cheviot and beyond the Conway on the Inland Road – “*basically the whole of the Hurunui*”. Reportedly, there has been 50 per cent reduction in the number of shearing gangs operating in the area because of the shift to dairying.

Dairying jobs are perceived to offer a more appealing employment option and “*many people who worked as shed hands [in shearing gangs] switched to dairying jobs which are full-time, often come with housing and are not weather-impacted*”. This change also impacted on the population demographics, as one interviewee explained: “*Waiau is typical of small towns, in that it has a very stable [and long-term] population – even down at Culverden there is more dairying and a more transient people, so it is different*”. The Waiau-based Chairman of the Culverden St John also talked about the differences between Waiau and the nearby Culverden community:

I think Culverden is very much dairy focussed now and within Culverden itself a lot of the older established family farms have disappeared, and corporate style farming has come in, which is good really. Also, there are a lot of overseas workers coming onto the properties which is fantastic for the community – all the Filipinos, South Americans and Indians – it is a great mix of people down there. I don’t go to church, but there is strong church attendance – the Filipinos fill the church right up and they go off and they have a huge shared lunch somewhere. Another example of the differences between Culverden and Waiau is that Waiau has maintained its

⁵ Work and Income New Zealand

sport clubs like tennis and bowls and things like that, whereas with Culverden they are losing those sorts of things.

While many of these differences are linked to dairying (and its location on the irrigated southern side of the Waiau river), the river was also used more generally as a dividing line. One interviewee (who lived outside Culverden), for example, suggested that “*Waiau has in the past been a problem area socially [with some bad elements], perhaps because it had cheaper housing than ‘on this side’ [of the river]*”. However, all of these communities were reported to be facing similar struggles to attract more permanent residents. There have been concerted efforts to attract more services and business depots to locate to Culverden but, according to one interviewee, they struggle because “*wives won’t come because they are more urban people*”. One solution suggested was to improve Culverden’s physical and social environs by “*tidying up buildings and starting new social groups*” (e.g., a walking group, morning teas for older people).

It was also suggested that the earthquake probably made differences between Culverden, Rotherham and Waiau more apparent. Rotherham, in particular, has experienced significant economic and population growth compared with Waiau; it was also significantly less impacted by the earthquake. Maintaining a healthy school roll was suggested as a useful measure of success and, as one interviewee (who was associated with the Amuri Area School) noted, “*we need our dairy farmers to employ families so that we [the school] can stay strong*”. These migrant dairy workers (and their families) also take on hospitality jobs in Hanmer Springs, although many may still live on-farm or in other Amuri settlements, and is an example of increased mobility as a way of life:

Amuri Area School is a strong school and they get a lot of itinerant workers up there – but Rotherham is another one that seems to be getting a bit more active. People retire there, but there is nothing there. It is quite close to Hanmer Springs – within commuting distance for people who work in Hanmer Springs – and it is cheaper of course – people do that commute. The new irrigation schemes will have a huge impact for employment opportunities, housing prices – it will be huge. But we do still have a lot of movement to town for college.

The closeness and strength of the Waiau community was a strong theme in interviews with several interviewees describing Waiau as being a “*very close-knit and very supportive community*”. One interviewee elaborated further:

Waiau has a good community – and even before the earthquake it was a tight community, and everybody has just built on that – our foundation was here – it wasn’t that it just happened after the earthquake. All you have to do is see what happens when old identities pass away – everybody comes with plates [of food]. It’s the old farmers and so the boys are now on the farm – going to second generations.

A more recent arrival in Waiau also reported that the Waiau community “*is reasonably close-knit – it has a really good heart*” and went on to compare their own experience of being in Christchurch and Waiau when earthquake events happened: “*In the big city you are surrounded by people, but you could easily feel isolated, whereas out here there was absolutely none of that*”. When asked if Waiau was a welcoming place one interviewee replied: “*I think so – yeah, definitely – and I think*

people from outside the community that come here and work here – they come here knowing what it is like – they come because they want to be here". Two interviewees were relatively new Waiau residents, having purchased a business there a year prior to the Kaikoura earthquake and talked about their move from Christchurch:

It was an adjustment moving to a small community – you have to watch how you are a little bit more – there is always that small town clique, but there are lovely people out here – you just have to think about things a bit more, I guess. I have always been one to support the local industry and that, so we have tried to involve local businesses where and when we can and keep that connection going, and we just want to be an active part of the community.

Another interviewee suggested that, "*it is a very welcoming community-based area – if you have any problems or get into trouble there is always someone around the Waiau area who will listen or help*". These 'people' connections are perceived to be a key strength of the Waiau community, and are helped by its small size, although there was some recognition that this might not suit everybody:

I think that the most special thing is that people know each other and that is possibly not for everyone – because people know your business, they know your movements – but I think that is a real strength of the community and at the time of the earthquake that was really highlighted – because everyone just came together – everyone supported everyone.

One interviewee, who worked as a community 'connector' post-earthquake, commented that the community is "*a bit touchy in some ways*" and talked about having to be careful "*how you approach helping people in the community*":

If you come in all guns blazing then most people will say they don't need help, but when you can come in with some help – like dropping in with food – then you build those relationships and you get that trust. I think being referred to another agency – if someone you trust is doing that then it is easier, and I think we are all like that – we like things to be endorsed. Also, in a small community everything is a bit more public, but I think the work that I do is just general – and it's so different – I could just be dropping something off or just be giving them a phone number for community law – but I do think marked cars are not very helpful in a community like this – everyone knows that you have someone visiting – whatever agency you are. You might as well have a loud speaker and a neon light flashing.

While the majority of interview data suggested that Waiau has a fairly cohesive and unified community the 'traditional' moniker described a 'dairy-traditional farm divide' and extended to also identify a perceptible 'town-farm divide'. As the HDC interviewee noted, this divide exists "*everywhere in North Canterbury*" although another interviewee suggested that the divide was not as strong as in the past:

I think there is always the 'township-not township', and I think back in the day there was probably more a divide with that and most people really don't want that divide – but there definitely is that – and then you have, within the township,

the people who work rurally or not – and then the shearers – lots of communities, but then there are lots of links between everyone – you have common ground with people.

A number of interviewees suggested that attitudes were changing. For example, the Chair of the Citizen's Association (who was from the surrounding farming community) reflected that the Association “*used to be really [only] the township, but that's not right because we are all the community*. Another interviewee (who had insight over the Hurunui District) agreed with this observation and suggested the underlying community perception was that, “*the townspeople don't have the ability – that is the perception – that the farmers will run everything*”, and also noted that these ‘divisive’ attitudes also featured in reverse when new irrigation development in the district was proposed:

I have noticed it – at the beginning of this water project and they put out communication to the district – but only the farmers and not the townspeople – and really the townspeople are just as involved as the farmers.

Another interviewee talked about how the level of post-earthquake support also varied across the town-farm divide:

If you wanted a challenge then Waiau would be a community to go to – it was interesting after the earthquake too – like on the farm we got one visit where a local woman asked if we were OK and then ticked a few boxes, gave us some groceries and left. The township got so much support – but we live five kms away and we were more affected, but there is a real distinction between the township and the wider community – it was quite a funny experience.

However, it was also suggested that this divide was not as strong in Waiau as in other nearby communities as a result of the high degree of inter-group interaction and strong perceptions of ‘belonging’ to Waiau community. As one of the farm-based interviewees explained:

We [the people in the surrounding area] all service it [Waiau] and their families [are there] – a lot of their extended families are in the village. I think that we are better than a lot of the other rural places – there would be more of a divide in the likes of Culverden – here I don't think it is so big, because depending on what kind of groups you are with too – with netball you will get a lot of people in the village who are involved. We consider that we live in Waiau [despite being quite a few kilometres outside the township]. We think of Christchurch as town.

Another reinforced the ‘strength’ of attachment people held for Waiau (even if they lived outside it) and described their input in respect of getting services for the township:

If you have something advertised for the Waiau community, half of the people there will be from out of Waiau. It's true – everybody classes themselves as being from Waiau – it is vital that the township had adequate lighting and we have our roads done. We are very lucky with old [past] residents – they all come back [it is where they grew up]. It has a pull – its own magnetic field.

A significant impact of the earthquake was the increase in traffic passing through Waiau while repairs to SH1 were underway. The shearing business owners talked about benefits accruing local businesses simply from being located on the (new) travel route to popular tourism destinations:

But apart from dairy, the growth has been the tourism – the traffic from Kaikoura through to Hanmer Springs, through to the vineyards at Waipara, so it is that too that has really added to it. We are just for through traffic and that is OK – we don't mind. You don't rely on it, but it is just a nice wee buffer for the Waiau businesses. You do support your local businesses.

The campground owners also noted that for Waiau hospitality businesses (including themselves) the reality is that “*we are a drive through kind of town and that was all we did before we bought the place – so our trick is trying to get them to stay here*”. The push to get free WiFi in Waiau was an attempt to keep visitors there for longer and recognition that for Waiau to “*keep up with other towns we need to have WiFi*” (see Figure 2). The increase in the number of people passing through Waiau, as a result of the closure of SH1, put pressure on the available commercial accommodation, not helped by the loss of the earthquake-damaged Waiau Hotel.

Figure 2 Free WiFi provided by Waiau Citizen's Association



Photo Credit: Jude Wilson

There was significant earthquake damage to buildings in Waiau, as well as to the surrounding roading infrastructure and farmland. In the days immediately after the earthquake many of the rural roads around Waiau were closed to traffic, restricting residents' access and creating tensions within the community. There was also considerable resentment in Waiau when the authorities (e.g., HDC, CDEM) came in and imposed 'red tape' on what was happening. According to one Waiau interviewee, “*the biggest problem was around the community wanting to do their part and help and sort out food and all sorts of other things, but the bureaucracy that came along complicated that and shut it all down*”.

The earthquake also had significant impact on a variety of industry sectors affecting business owners, employees, and ultimately the population of Waiau. The loss of the Waiau Hotel, noted above, had widespread impact, as did earthquake damage to shearing sheds, presses and fences

(leaving farmers unable to bring sheep in for shearing) which disrupted the operations of the Waiau shearing gangs. It was also reported that that a lot of shearers left Waiau as a result of earthquake damage to accommodation; this limited accommodation supply occurred alongside “*a lack of work, as the farmers stopped worrying about keeping the sheep shorn*”. Long-term impacts of the earthquake on the Waiau population numbers were perceived to be minimal, however, with one interviewee comparing the Waiau experience to the Christchurch one:

The thing is that it is not like Christchurch where people just up and left – everyone had to stay – because where do you go? – we lost one family and they were in bad shape anyway – their house burnt down not long before the earthquake, and then the earthquake [happened] and they had two young kids, and I think that was just the icing on the cake – that just threw them over the top.

There was some resentment that, compared with other earthquake-impacted communities such as Cheviot and Kaikoura, Waiau had been ‘forgotten’. As one interviewee noted, in May 2018 there were still Waiau ‘cockies’⁶ living in caravans,

... and because they are not seen, and because they are very quiet and just getting on with it, people don't realise how many cockies are in a bad way. Everyone heard about Kaikoura and Cheviot and how horrible things were and there are some cockies out there that have been really badly hit, and of course they didn't get income relief. They were the ones going around knocking on doors and helping others.

Others commented on the amount of support that was made available to the community post-earthquake, particularly after the establishment of Waiau Recovery Hub (see Figure 3). The Recovery Hub also addressed the fact that, despite the large number of sport and social clubs in Waiau, some people are “*a bit isolated – a bit lonely – in the community*” and a number of new initiatives like indoor bowls and a community vegetable garden (see Figure 4) were set up to facilitate more community interaction. One interviewee commented that post-earthquake:

I would say there is renewed vigour – I think the community has come together [post-earthquake] – the amount of money that has gone into that area is mind-blowing. That is directly earthquake-related. Before that it was just a sleepy little place.

The earthquake was also perceived to have given the Waiau community the impetus to address longstanding community projects, as this interviewee explained:

The earthquake has rejuvenated Waiau totally – they have just done up the kitchen in the hall and that had been on the agenda for years and years – and suddenly they all got together and got the funding, and I am sure that would never have happened if the earthquake hadn't happened.

The Hurunui 2050 initiative (sometimes also referred to as Waiau 2050) was reinstated in 2018 with a visit to both Waiau and Cheviot communities by a community development expert. Sessions were

⁶ Cockies: New Zealand dairy farmers have long been known as cow-cockies, a term with Australian origins (<https://teara.govt.nz/en/rural-language/page-5>).

held with each community to identify what they wanted to see happen as part of their town's future and to enable the community to go ahead and further discuss their ideas and plans, reflecting the council's Hurunui 2050 project to facilitate community-led development (Hurunui District Council, 2018). The focus in Waiau was still on its tourism potential with the drive to develop tourism in Waiau reinvigorated by the community's earthquake experience, as this interviewee explained:

The Waiau Historical Society has been around for ever – has maybe eight-ten people involved, and it is having a bit of a resurgence since this disaster, because the cob cottage that they use is damaged and can't be used – we hope it is going to be repaired, but it is taking a long, long time to get any results. The resurgence is because we have some passionate people, we have tourists coming through, we have an old church on the village green that things have gone into, and we have had this horrific event which really was centred here, so we want to capture those tourists and trying to think of ways to promote Waiau.

Figure 3 Waiau Recovery Hub

On The Ground Support Staff Ready To Go

We can help!

We know that times have been tough in recent years in the Hurunui. First the droughts and then the November earthquakes have left many people struggling to cope with insurance red tape, draughty broken homes, businesses that have taken a knock as well as the emotional effects of all of this.

We have good news.

A new team of support staff is now out and about in Hurunui ready to help residents through their drought and earthquake recoveries.

Community Wellbeing North Canterbury and Presbyterian Support have employed five staff to provide on-the-ground, one-on-one support and advice. The positions have been funded by the Lottery Hurunui Kaikoura Marlborough Earthquake Relief Fund and the Canterbury District Health Board.

The five positions include a social worker, outreach coordinator, and workforce wellbeing facilitator and two navigators. "Navigators" can help guide and support you through the recovery process. They will connect you to the information, local services and supports for every aspect from insurance issues to temporary accommodation to the stresses earthquakes can cause.

<http://www.hurunui.govt.nz/news-and-views/council-news/on-the-ground-support-staff-ready-to-go/>

Figure 4 Waiau community garden



Photo Credit: Jude Wilson

Despite strong community interest, engagement and ‘passionate’ people in Waiau, however, the tourism focus in the Hurunui District is perceived to be primarily on Hanmer Springs. The recent rebranding of the Alpine Pacific Touring Route (previously the Alpine Pacific Triangle) is not perceived to benefit settlements such as Waiau and Cheviot as they “*are just places on the way [between Kaikoura, Hanmer Springs and Christchurch]*” (see Figure 5).

Figure 5 Visit Hurunui – Alpine Pacific Touring Route

The screenshot shows the homepage of the Visit Hurunui website. The main header features the "VISIT HURUNUI" logo and the "ALPINE PACIFIC TOURING ROUTE". Below the header, there's a "GENERAL INFO" section with details about the route (approx. 8 days), highlights (rural and alpine scenery, natural hot springs, wineries, whales, seals, and other marine life), and best time (all year). There's also a "A POPULAR SAMPLE ITINERARY" section with three day trips: "CHRISTCHURCH - KAIKOURA" (2.5 hours 135km), "KAIKOURA - HANMER SPRINGS" (2 hours 125km), and "HANMER SPRINGS - CHRISTCHURCH" (3.5 hours 135km). The central part of the page is a map of the Alpine Pacific Touring Route, showing the coastal route from Christchurch up through Hanmer Springs, Cheviot, and Kaikoura. The map is overlaid with various icons representing different attractions and activities. Several inset images are placed around the map, showing scenes like a hot spring, dolphins, a person in a boat, and a wine tasting. The bottom of the page has the website address "aptouroute.co.nz" and the "HURUNUI" logo.

<https://visithurunui.co.nz/alpine-pacific-touring-route>

Waiau does, however, have the nearby winter attraction of the Mt Lyford Ski Area which “*makes a bit of a difference*” during the otherwise quiet winter months. As the HDC interviewee explained, however, the tourism board have a lot of concerns/problems with Waiau:

Because there is no product there. The people will go through there, but they need a reason to stop there. One thing that people are working on at the moment is the cycle trail that will go up through the inland road.

4.4 St Arnaud

In St Arnaud a total of nine people were interviewed in seven interviews. Of these, five lived in the village, one lived in Nelson but had a holiday house in St Arnaud (and had lived in St Arnaud as a child) and three lived outside the village. Altogether four of the St Arnaud interviewees held governance or local representative roles (e.g., RDCC⁷, FENZ⁸, CDEM Welfare and CDEM Controller), four were involved in the tourism sector (Destination Nelson Lakes (DNL), accommodation providers, holiday home manager) and one was a social group organiser. Once again, several interviewees had multiple roles within the community. For example, the social group organiser also owned an accommodation business, and the Destination Nelson Lakes interviewee also worked for the Department of Conservation (DOC). A DOC representative was also a key informant in the preliminary scoping fieldwork.

St Arnaud was the smallest of the four case study communities and its population included a small number of permanent residents, farmers from the surrounding area, as well as a significant number of holiday home owners. This latter group were generally considered to be part of the resident population and included as such by most interviewees – perhaps because without them the population is very small. St Arnaud also attracts a considerable number of visitors for recreation in the nearby Nelson Lakes National Park and, post-earthquake, experienced increased visitation associated with the use of SH63 as the alternative highway linking Blenheim with Christchurch and the lower South Island. The importance of the Nelson Lakes National Park and of DOC as a significant employer in the area gives St Arnaud its designation as a ‘national park village’.

4.4.1 A national park village

In addition to DOC staff and their families, the village community contains a small number of business owners/employees and a high proportion of retired older people. At the 2013 census, 28 per cent of the population contained within the two St Arnaud meshblocks were aged 65 years and over (compared with 18 per cent and 14 per cent in Tasman District and New Zealand, respectively) while 36 per cent were not in the labour force (compared with 33 per cent in Tasman District). As one interviewee noted, St Arnaud has “*an interesting mix of people – not much to do as far as jobs go – DOC, limited accommodation and retail, the farming community and then quite a large contingent of retirees and part-timers*”. The surrounding area is primarily traditional farming (i.e., sheep and beef) although there have been a small number of dairy conversions in recent years. While the shift to dairying has not been as significant as in other areas, it is perceived to have

⁷ Rotoiti District Community Council

⁸ Fire and Emergency New Zealand

impacted on the community: “*The change to dairying has changed communities – people lament the loss of the heart of the community – because dairy workers are more transient*”. Although many farming women do work off-farm, this is less common with those who are dairying because of the time demands of dairying.

While a number of interviewees provided an estimate of the size of the St Arnaud population, these were commonly over-inflated (e.g., between two and three hundred permanent residents, compared with the 105 counted at the 2013 Census as being ‘usually resident’ in the two main meshblocks comprising St Arnaud), possibly as a result of the high percentage of holiday homes in the village. Community issues associated with having a large absentee population include managing rubbish collection (e.g., “*the recycling collection does not fit well with bach owners’ occupancy patterns*”) and the large number of empty properties which have led to “*spates of burglary in the past, but the [permanent] residents are aware of which properties are baches and if anyone is there at the time or not*”.

Because of its popularity as a holiday destination the population peaks over the summer months, with a smaller peak in the winter associated with the Rainbow Ski Area. Holidaymakers attracted to the area are primarily domestic (although international visitor numbers are increasing) and include holiday home owners, campers and trampers accessing the national park. In recent years St Arnaud has hosted increasing numbers of trampers on the national Te Aroha trail. The busiest time for domestic visitors is the Christmas period and the school holidays, while for international visitors it is February-March. In addition to the general holidaymaker market, visitors are also attracted by one-off events (e.g., sailing regatta at the lake) and social events, such as weddings, which are held in the village. The high domestic visitation impacts on demand for commercial visitor services and as one interviewee noted, in respect of international visitors, “*we have always said that St Arnaud in itself is not a destination – it’s just a place you stop for coffee or get off the ferry and stop to sleep*”.

A local promotion group – Destination Nelson Lakes (DNL) – was established several years ago in an attempt to promote the village, but at the time of this research the group was not particularly active. According to the acting Secretary for the group, the majority of DNL members represented tourism businesses, but “*in terms of having a strategy it was not clear what they were really trying to achieve*”. The establishment of organisations such as DNL illustrate some of the complexities of starting (and maintaining) community groups. DNL, for example, was initially established to help promote a community festival that was being planned. Because this festival was to be held at the lakefront, a DOC concession was required. In order to get the concession DNL had to become an incorporated society. DNL do still operate a website (<http://www.destinationnelsonlakes.co.nz/>), primarily funded from membership fees, with some contribution from Tasman District Council (TDC).

Staffing challenges are a significant issue for St Arnaud businesses, with a limited pool of residents to draw from and a corresponding reliance on a more transient workforce. One of the biggest issues lies with accommodation availability, exacerbated by the fact that “*most people here own their own properties – it is difficult to get rentals*”. The limited availability and high cost of housing in St Arnaud means that some DOC staff live outside St Arnaud, often as far away as Murchison (60 kms away), although one interviewee noted that “*shifting is usually around the school thing and [the fact] that there is a bit more going on in Murchison*”. Likewise, many of the permanent staff at the

largest accommodation business, the Alpine Lodge, who “may have started out owning or renting in St Arnaud but were forced out by limited housing options and high prices” live in Murchison, or “down valleys on farms”. The Rainbow Ski Area also struggles to accommodate their workers.

When describing their community more generally, interviewees focused on four key topic areas: the characteristics of the community; the ways in which different community groups mixed; the importance of the school to the community; and, to a lesser extent, the influence of the nearby national park on St Arnaud. St Arnaud was variously described as being an “*incredibly caring community*”, “*an older community*”, “*an affluent community*”, “*a tight wee community – it looks after itself well*”, although there was often no clarity provided as to which sections of the community were being referred to. A number of references were made to the size of the community (see Figure 6). As one interviewee noted, “*people seem to help each other out in St Arnaud even when it is not an emergency event – like helping widows with firewood – that is just what you do in a small community*”. Another made a correlation between population size and community harmony:

If you are small enough everyone gets on and accepts differences. If you get bigger you get different groups, but you are still too small to accommodate a lot of differences, and then you get bigger again and all the different groups are fine, and they don't clash.

Figure 6 St Arnaud Alpine Village Store – ‘small enough to be charming’



Photo Credit: Jude Wilson

Opinions on how well the community was integrated varied considerably, with interviewees suggesting that: “*Farmers are very well linked into the St Arnaud community*”; “*DOC does not communicate well with the locals*”. The St Arnaud CDEM Welfare Officer, who also belonged to the farming community, described the different community groups and the extent of their interactions:

We have definitely got a DOC community, a community of people at the Lodge, the village community of the retired people and then we have the farming community – the farming community all know each other, but the DOC and the Lodge community don't necessarily know each other. The farming community know the village community. There is a sports group that meet once a week – the fitness group is for the retired women – but the other group meets for badminton

and other sports – and that brings a lot of younger people all together – from DOC and the Lodge and the farming community.

Those people who are working (especially in tourism businesses) were reported to be less engaged in the community as a result of their work demands: as the Manager of the Alpine Lodge noted, “*I don’t have the time to mingle with the community at social events and things*”. While this included not being in a position to volunteer for any of the emergency services, the Lodge does have a relationship with local CDEM and had been “*asked to help out with food if necessary [in an emergency]*”. He then went on to say that there were not many social activities, services, or entertainment options – like movies, restaurants, things going on – and, “*if wasn’t running this business I probably wouldn’t want to live here permanently*”.

St Arnaud has a number of active social networks and community groups. There are, for example, several church groups and a strong garden group. There is also an informal community get together on Friday evenings called ‘Friendly Fridays’ which has been running for more than ten years and which brings together both residents and holiday home owners. As one of the group’s organisers explained:

It is held at private houses with those attending bringing their own drinks and a small plate to share and attracts anywhere between six and 26 [or more] people.

The get together has to end at 7pm because the St Arnaud fish and chip shop shuts at 7.30pm – this also means people don’t drag it out and impose on hosts.

However, the visitor and holiday home population that comes in the summer disrupts many of the usual community networks and activities. It was reported, for example, that “*the tight community we have [in St Arnaud] disperses for the month of January*” while “*some residents have extended family visiting in summer and that distracts them from usual community activity*”.

The small Lake Rotoiti School (full primary, years 1-8) had a roll of 30 students in July 2018. The school was described positively by one interviewee who noted that “*country schools are great – they go skiing in winter and they go camping*”. A number of the St Arnaud interviewees had been active on the school’s Board of Trustees when they had children at the school. However, several interviewees commented on the size of the school catchment area: e.g., “[*the] school manages to drag in 29 kids, but the bus collects them from 20 kms [away] in each direction*”, while another added that, “*Lake Rotoiti has the most expensive school bus run in NZ – 35 kms towards Blenheim, 15 kms towards Kikiwa, 25 kms to Kawatiri Junction – the sprawl is significant*”. Others talked about the importance of the school to the community as a whole and the challenge of keeping the school open. As one interviewee noted, “*losing the school would have a significant impact on DOC recruitment*”. Not having a high school was also perceived to be an issue as it “*puts families in a dilemma – they have to either send their kids to boarding school or move the family*” and the village “*loses families because of that*”.

While the national park was noted as a drawcard for visitors to St Arnaud (with one interviewee noting, for example, that the “*use of the national park is increasing – because it is a family friendly park that offers wilderness experience to people without expert skills*”) it did not feature significantly as an attraction for residents. When asked specifically about community interest in conservation, for example, one interviewee replied that “*there is the Friends of Rotoiti group who*

are interested in that". One of the St Arnaud interviewees worked for DOC and commented that it is "easy to make the assumption that everybody coming to St Arnaud loves the outdoors, but that is not the case" and that "the national park is great, but 'it doesn't rock everybody's boat' – people want other things to do". Another interviewee noted that "many kids today are more screen time and less time outdoors" with the DOC interviewee adding, "kids living here and in school don't necessarily use the national park much, but DOC does do some work with the school".

The relationship between the village residents and DOC was perceived to have changed over time as a result of the withdrawal of DOC's involvement in service provision. As one interviewee noted, "*in the old days DOC was the centre of the community in St Arnaud – they used to be responsible for a lot of services such as rubbish collection, but those have been taken over by TDC*". Another interviewee commented that "*in the past DOC would permit the use of their epi-pens if a member of public needed it [e.g., for wasp issues], but nowadays they only have them for their own staff*". However, the same speaker, also noted that there was "*a strong relationship between DOC and the locals, compared to that between TDC and the locals*". DOC was reported to help community groups (such as Rural Women) when they required printing and other administrative services not otherwise available in St Arnaud.

DOC are also closely involved with the various emergency service providers present in St Arnaud. The fire service for example, liaises with both CDEM and DOC, although as one interviewee noted, "*the fire service is more visible than civil defence as they are seen practising and the siren goes off*". Many DOC staff are in FENZ which operates independently of DOC's own fire services. The Fire Chief explained that the St Arnaud fire brigade is 'technically' a rural service (which is supposed to tend to grass and scrub fires), "*but about a third of what we do is medical – we are the point of first response for everything*". The 'complexity' of dealing with emergency services was also described by this interviewee, "*when trampers get hurt they should use an EPIRB⁹, rather than calling DOC because using an EPIRB is a much more direct means to reach help whereas contacting DOC requires more negotiation with emergency services*". The Fire Chief commented that it was "*important in the fire service to make sure team members can operate without the controller, so that they can make decisions without having to wait*", going on to admit that this would not be the national FENZ organisation's preference.

The relative geographic isolation of St Arnaud presents challenges in respect of health service provision more generally. Nelson (88 kms away) offers a wider range of health services, although Blenheim (103 kms away) falls within the same administrative health district (Nelson-Marlborough District Health Board). A number of concerns were raised around access to medicines in the event of a major emergency. One concern was the difficulty of both accessing, and being able to administer morphine (e.g., "*I don't think we have anyone who could administer morphine*"). Another was the general disruption caused by an emergency event in respect of "*getting scripts, getting to doctors, and so one, and then being able to access the medicines themselves*". Population demographics also add to the community's vulnerability as one interviewed pointed out:

In a small place, with few services and an older population, medicines can be a problem because often you can't get them in long batches – and then you need a

⁹ Emergency Position Indicating Radio Beacon

script and for it to be signed off – most people's doctors are in Blenheim, Wakefield or Nelson.

Key amongst the other community concerns were a number relating to the size of the St Arnaud population. These included being able to maintain a large enough student population to keep the school open, the provision of services for the current (and future) population and the limited potential for future growth in St Arnaud. One of the ironies associated with St Arnaud's proximity to the national park was that it both attracts visitors and restricts growth in the village. While there has been some property development in recent years this is perceived to have almost reached its maximum, as there is minimal zoned land available; expansion of residential areas is also limited by the neighbouring conservation land areas (on which no development is possible) (TDC, 2018a).

In recent years, the population of St Arnaud has increased slightly, growth which, as one interviewee noted, 'confounds' the population projections made by the TDC (e.g., "about 10 years ago TDC had an overview of the future and predicted a decline – which did not happen"). According to 2015 TDC population projections, the population was projected fall from 101 to 95 people between 2015 and 2035 (TDC, 2018b). However, revised projections now suggest a population of 126 in 2028, growing to 136 by 2048 (TDC, 2018a).

Although a lack of services (such as doctors, hairdressers, and so on) is perceived to be a handicap in respect of attracting more people to live in St Arnaud, these were often dismissed by the current residents. As one interviewee noted, "*St Arnaud is not a service place – it is predominantly a farming and DOC community – but more people are coming to live here*". Some of the appeal was thought to be the 'rural' nature of St Arnaud, although this did not always suit newcomers with one interviewee suggesting that "*people moving into St Arnaud often don't have a rural background, but they generally don't stay very long*". Another questioned how 'rural' the St Arnaud community actually is:

When you look at our community that are the permanent residents – a lot of them have come from the cities – so they are not rural, but also I think a lot of the people kind of discover it [the place and the community] and find that they quite like it – they quite like to give back and think that 'I am not that selfish person who lives in the city and [only] looks after me and forgets the neighbour'.

One interviewee had moved to St Arnaud in 2002 and described the community as being more welcoming than many other small communities:

It was welcoming ... um ... there is a great community and it's not like some small communities where if your great, great grandfather didn't live there you are a newbie – if you get involved and you are part of the community you become part of the community and that's really nice.

One notable new group of residents are retirees, often with varying degrees of prior connection to St Arnaud: "*95 per cent have some sort of historical connection to the village*" and "*some of whom have no ties to the place beyond it being somewhere nice they have visited in the past*". Retiring holiday home owners are common and "*often build new houses when they retire here*". There were also a number of comments about how long these people stayed: "*People retire to St Arnaud and stay a few years – move on when they get a bit of a health scare*" and "*people retiring here often*

stay five-six years and then leave – you have to be passionate about the area to stay and [you have to] join things like Friends of Rotoiti”.

Another interviewee noted that, while newcomers to the community were traditionally the “*bach owners and retirees*”, more recently the number of young people moving to St Arnaud has increased – in part as a result of telecommunications enabling remote employment, although the quality of telecommunication services was also reported to be an issue in St Arnaud. The presence of more young people was perceived to be a positive “*as it is more vibrant with younger people in the community*”. However, another interviewee suggested that young New Zealanders don’t want to work in places like St Arnaud, “*because they are so isolated and have limited entertainments*” while for others “*remoteness is the attraction*”. One significant group of young people found in St Arnaud is the seasonal WHM population (see section 5.3.2).

Although not specifically identified as a challenge, the isolation of St Arnaud featured in a number of comments by those interviewees involved in public safety and the ‘reality’ of emergency situation responses. Fire is a significant concern in the area while, in the absence of any other emergency services in the village, the fire service also attend road accidents and medical events. As the Fire Chief explained:

We see our biggest threat as being fire and part of our evacuation plan – a formal plan – is everyone on those streets that have a permanent resident – with their cooperation they have become like street wardens – so during the day time it is a matter of making sure that no one is in harm’s way and then plan two is stopping the fire. The plan is – works in theory – is that each street has a warden – the DOC guys will put their boat in the lake and go around the lake edge checking the peninsula area. Our job in the fire force is to coordinate those street wardens and then to try and empty the village, street by street as fast as we can. If we need to we can call in others from Nelson and Richmond and we can block off roads, so we don’t have people coming into the village and we can get people out.

There are also local infrastructure concerns (especially telecommunications as noted above) that impact on community safety and the ability of emergency services to get messaging out. The local Fire Chief commented that “*many New Zealand communities are getting rid of sirens because the community don’t want to hear the noise, but that is an issue in an area where telecommunications are poor*” adding that “*landline service is poor and can be hit by lightning – email is a more reliable form of communication and we do have two satellite phones*”. They also noted that the national body (FENZ) thought crashes could be attended by units from Murchison, Wakefield or Tapawera “*but they are all at least 45 minutes away and anything could happen in that time*”. Several other interviewees also commented on the reliance on helicopter services, although one (who did not live in St Arnaud full-time) noted that, “*it’s only 20 minutes from Nelson for the rescue helicopter*”. However, another interviewee (who was a fire service volunteer) suggested that help was a lot further away and reported that some of the newcomers (to St Arnaud) have unrealistic expectations of what might actually happen if they were to have a medical emergency:

We will sit there and hold their hand and on a good day we will see a helicopter in 45 minutes, an ambulance in 50 minutes – and that is on a good day. The more permanent population are more aware of that reality.

Other interviewees talked about the isolation of St Arnaud in respect of both emergency events and more generally. One noted, for example, that “*St Arnaud is easily isolated, but we do have access to air strip and have equipment to get through [if needed] although it might not adhere to council regulatory processes*”. Others talked about having to travel “*that bit further for supplies, but Nelson is only 86 kms away and it's a beautiful drive*” adding that, “*Nelson is town for most people*”.

The St Arnaud interviewees were confident that the community could cope should a significant natural hazard event occur, especially given an expectation that they might be required to look after themselves for some time. As one commented, “*for the size of St Arnaud we have some skilled operators with good machinery, so we are quite well placed should something happen [like AF8], but we might be a low priority*”. The St Arnaud CDEM Controller added that as a community they have a huge amount of resources (e.g., farm machinery, diggers, trucks, food) at their disposal. However, he also noted that while the “*St Arnaud farming community is quite self-sufficient, there are others living more remotely in rural areas that are of some concern for local civil defence, as we don't know exactly who or where they are*”. The Fire Chief added that although the fire service has good supply of volunteers in St Arnaud, “*it can be an issue if there is a call out during the day with around a third of these people working for DOC, and potentially not in the village*”.

It was suggested that St Arnaud was impacted by the Christchurch earthquake more than the Kaikoura one, primarily because the former brought new people into the community. As one interviewee explained, “*tourist-wise it went crazy after Kaikoura, but Christchurch brought families into the village and kids into the school – they came up for three months and resettled because of having family here*”. These family connections potentially contributed to “*a lot of St Arnaud people offering their holiday homes for Christchurch refugees*”. In comparison, it was suggested that the Kaikoura earthquake had “*little impact – maybe a bit more road noise – but most locals really don't have to engage with the people passing through. It does make a difference in the DOC visitor centre, but not for the average person with a house*”.

The primary impact of the Kaikoura earthquake was increased traffic on SH63 and as one interviewee noted “*the first summer season [after the Kaikoura earthquake] was absolutely nuts in St Arnaud*”. This traffic increase necessitated substantial road improvements to SH63 which were perceived to be beneficial to the St Arnaud community, as the Manager of the Alpine Lodge explained:

It will have to keep being improved because they realised how vulnerable we are if they lose that east coast road. We are going to be better off and they got the speed limit down through the village and the 40 km zone at the school.

The crews working on the road were housed in the village and “*this community just stepped up – everybody helped*”. Rural Women provided meals for the road crews until the contractors were able put commercial services in place and continued to provide home-cooked meals on a regular basis. The Alpine Lodge also provided some meals, but they found this difficult to fit around other customer demand. Although having a much busier road (post-earthquake) and more people in the village (the road crews) was suggested as “*a foretaste of the future – St Arnaud becoming bigger and busier*” it was also noted that “*having all the road freight coming through was not indicative of what that future would look like*”. While the increased use of the road brought greater exposure for Nelson Lakes National Park, DOC in St Arnaud had a ‘bad’ summer after the Kaikoura earthquake,

"with dogs in the national park [which are not allowed] and more freedom campers [also not allowed] as well as a norovirus outbreak on one of the tramping tracks – overall a lot more things to contend with". However, for St Arnaud businesses *"it was a bonus while it lasted"*. There was also perceived to have been a slight increase in visitation after SH1 reopened as a result of having a higher profile.

Even without the increased number of temporary residents and visitors resulting from the Kaikoura earthquake, the small St Arnaud settlement is subject to considerable population flux with a high number of transient population groups present at different times throughout the year. The most sizable are the holiday home owners who make up a large proportion of the property owners, but alongside these are increasing numbers of casual visitors (both domestic and international) and the seasonal workforce needed to cater to a visitor population. There are significant *"business challenges associated with not knowing how many people are in the village on a certain day"*. There are also ongoing challenges with a transient population who come and go, and who do things that people *"don't feel are acceptable"*. However, it was reported that the *"village population work together to monitor undesirables who may turn up"*. Changes in more distant governance systems can have an impact on communities, however, as one St Arnaud interviewee noted in respect of being alerted to potentially undesirable transient people who might pass through the village:

We had an awesome policeman in Murchison and he used to send me notes about these transient people coming through and to watch out for this car etc, and so I would send it out to all our Friendly Friday people and 99 per cent of the time there would be some contact. But unfortunately, he left the Police and when I asked [about that system continuing] it was just too hard because it had to go to Wellington first, and then come back [to here] and by that time the troublemakers are long gone.

4.5 Community challenges

The four case studies communities were selected to represent community types commonly found in rural New Zealand. These included a service town (Blenheim), a tourist town (Kaikoura), a farming centre (Waiau) and a national park village (St Arnaud). These communities were all affected by the Kaikoura earthquake, albeit in quite different ways and degrees of impact. The earthquake also either highlighted or exacerbated a range of extant challenges faced by many rural communities in New Zealand. These challenges, identified in the scoping report, include, *inter alia*: the struggle to maintain and fund community services; problems of isolation; the departure of young people and an ageing resident population; difficulties attracting and retaining workers in rural areas; a shortage of accommodation; and, increasing reliance on a transient workforce (Wilson & Simmons, 2018).

This in-depth investigation highlighted a number of broad challenges facing all four case study communities, although the specific issues facing each individual community varied:

- Population: maintaining/growing the population (Kaikoura, Waiau, St Arnaud); rapidly growing population (Blenheim)

- Demographics: ageing population (Blenheim, Waiau); departure of aged (St Arnaud); retaining youth (Waiau, Kaikoura); increasing ethnic diversity (Blenheim, Waiau)
- Employment: unable to meet demand for labour (Blenheim, St Arnaud, Kaikoura), lack of employment opportunities for locals (Kaikoura, Waiau)
- Housing: shortages (Blenheim, St Arnaud, Kaikoura); earthquake damage (Waiau); increased demand from new migrants and seasonal labour (Blenheim, Kaikoura, St Arnaud)
- Economic: diversification (Kaikoura); limited potential for development (Waiau, St Arnaud); projected growth (Blenheim); poor telecommunications (Waiau, Kaikoura, St Arnaud)
- Governance: distance from services (Waiau, Kaikoura, St Arnaud); increased need for community support (Waiau, Kaikoura, Blenheim)

The challenges listed above are interconnected in many ways and are closely entwined (in terms of both cause and effect) with the transient population groups examined in the next chapter. Issues associated with governance and social networks are examined in Chapter 6.

5 The population transience continuum

The previous chapter presented an overview of the four case study communities based on data collected in interviews. From this, a number of key community challenges were identified, many of which were associated with increasing population transience. We now examine the various transient population groups, found in varying degrees across all the case study communities, using the ‘population transience continuum’ (see Appendix 1) as a framework.

The continuum contains four broad categories of residence (based on length of stay):

- Permanent residents (more than one year);
- Semi-permanent residents (between six months and one year);
- Temporary residents (between two weeks and six months); and,
- Transient populations (less than two weeks)

The population groups found within each category can be described by a range of variables including: their intention to remain and degree of attachment; demographic, social and spatial characteristics; and, overall visibility within the population. In terms of the community resilience and transient population group nexus, those falling to the two middle categories are the most significant as they commonly represent an essential labour force, without which the local economies could not operate; their presence in these communities also contributes to the ongoing ability of each community to maintain a variety of social services. In respect of the permanent residents, ‘transience’ is represented by new residents and new migrants around whom there is often no certainty of ‘permanence’. In the case of the ‘transient populations’, in-group resilience is perhaps not as important as the need to protect and manage them within the community in the event of a natural hazard event.

5.1 Permanent residents

The focus of this research is community resilience and, as noted in the ‘resilient communities’ chapter of the report (see section 3.3) there was some reflection on what was meant by ‘community’ in interviews. As the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager explained:

I am just having a battle with MCDEM about a plan I have to write that says you have to consult with your community – and I said, ‘which one?’ Sometimes there is not just one community and all you can hope for is a community of place, but there is no coherence.

In many interviews ‘community of place’ extended the spatial boundaries of the case study communities well beyond their settlement limits to include the (rural) farming community. While farming communities do not normally require an additional ‘rural’ designation, we do so here to highlight the fact that these farming communities give several of our ‘urban’ case study settlements their rural nomenclature. The farming community represents an important sub-group of permanent residents and in respect of community resilience this population group was reported to have both strength and vulnerability. In respect of overall community resilience associated with permanent residents, however, the most vulnerable are potentially new residents (who are not familiar with a

particular place and not yet integrated or connected into the community) and new migrants, for whom language and cultural distance adds another layer of vulnerability.

5.1.1 The (rural) farming community

The rural farming community represented an important and often influential population group in all four case studies but was also described as being more isolated (both spatially and socially) and – as a result – more difficult to connect to, at least from a social services perspective. After the earthquake, for example, the assistance provided to the farming community was often of a different type and came from quite different agencies to that available to ‘township’ residents. In many ways this contributes to the on-going perception of a rural-town divide that emerged in interviews and was particularly a feature in the Waiau case study (see section 4.3.1). Despite the influx into the surrounding district of new migrants, the Waiau farming and township communities contained many long-term (and often multi-generational) residents. With its resident shearers, Waiau was also home to an important segment of the (traditional) farming workforce.

What was interesting in Waiau was the number of interviewees who described the shearing gangs as being a ‘transient population’, while the operators of one of the Waiau-based gangs described a resident population group. As they noted, they do sometimes employ outsiders, but “*you try to get as much done as you can with your own crew because with these blokes living here – the more you can keep them going the better you are. You are feeding the community, aren’t you?*” The nature of shearing employment meant that their staff often had periods of downtime, but they usually stayed active in the community “*doing casual work*” or supported their families by going “*pig hunting and collecting firewood for the whole whanau*”. According to them, the only ‘transients’ are “*the young fellas who aren’t married*” while those with families, or who are a bit older, are permanent residents. These ‘transient’ shearers are discussed further in the ‘seasonal worker’ section (5.3.1).

The St Arnaud farming community was very active in the village community, but there was minimal economic (i.e., employment) exchange between the two groups. In Kaikoura, the focus in interviews was much more on the township itself and its tourism economy than on its rural farming surrounds. Blenheim is also home to a significant segment of the rural workforce although the viticulture/horticulture workforce was differentiated from the ‘farming community’. Most of the discussion around the farming community in the Blenheim interviews related to the more traditional farmers (i.e., not those involved in viticulture) with this community described by one interviewee as being “*more vulnerable in the event of a hazard event as there would be a lot of people who are land rich and financially poor*”. There was also some concern about the isolation of the rural farming community, as the Blenheim Community Constable explained:

We have worked quite hard on our connections with our rural community who often feel that they are not looked after by the Police. My boss has created a rural newsletter for them telling them what has been going on in various rural areas and we have a way for them to be able to contact us without it being an overt thing – we make our phone numbers available to them and we go and visit [farming] communities regularly.

The MDC Community Development Officer noted that “*popular opinion is that farmers are resilient, but they face a lot of challenges*”. They went on to add that the farming community were actually the hardest to manage post-hazard event, simply because they are “*self-isolating in our really rural areas and so they have become very self-sufficient people, and they don’t know how to ask for help even when it is being offered*”. However, one of the St Arnaud interviewees noted that:

A rural community is not as reliant on outsiders as an urban one. In an urban environment you are sheltered from an awful lot of stuff – when you live in a rural environment you spend a lot more of your time dealing with stuff yourself – there is no council worker to fix it for you.

5.1.2 New residents

In most interviews, ‘newcomers’ to the community were differentiated according to their origins, with New Zealanders generally referred to as being ‘new residents’ and those from overseas designated as ‘new migrants’. Attracting new residents was of considerable concern to both the Waiau and Kaikoura communities, albeit in slightly different contexts. In both communities, the primary concern was to initiate some sort of new economic development which would attract new residents. In Waiau, the underlying drivers were to help ensure sustainable population levels (e.g., to support the school, local businesses, local clubs, and so on) whereas in Kaikoura the goal was to broaden the economic base beyond tourism, in order to address issues of economic vulnerability. While the 2016 earthquake highlighted the Kaikoura community’s vulnerability to natural hazard events (particularly in respect of its potential spatial isolation), its overall resilience is also challenged by reliance on a highly seasonal economic base and on temporary overseas workers, rather than providing employment for – and attracting employees from within – the local population.

These concerns did not appear to be as significant in Blenheim, possibly as a result of its larger population and with a correspondingly broader economic base. Also, new residents in Blenheim are potentially less ‘visible’ than are the increasingly ethnically diverse new migrants (discussed in section 5.1.3). In St Arnaud, while no active measures are taken to attract new residents, those people who do move there often have some prior association with the place (e.g., they are previous holiday home owners). It is not always easy moving into a new community, especially one with a small (and established) population such as Waiau. Several of the Waiau interviewees were new residents, both having moved there from Christchurch after purchasing local businesses, and described their experiences:

It was a bit scary – absolutely – but we heard things [about ourselves] – that I was Japanese, he was a pimp, my ex was security. But they slowly get to know you and I think that we have shown them [what type of people we are] – after the earthquake we could have just gone, but with perseverance you don’t give up on challenges and pushing forward. Without the earthquake it probably would have taken longer for them to trust us.

We are part of the Citizens Association and the Historical Society and wouldn’t have joined things like that in Christchurch. I think I just rocked up and said, ‘right

I'm here' and that was about it – small towns struggle for people to really care a whole lot so it's all important to us. I was a person that kept to myself, coming to a small community like this has made us involved more. I think when you take over a business in the community you really have to be up with what is going on in the town and you can't afford to sit on the side-lines. It makes me feel like part of the community – we had never had that connection in Christchurch.

While 'gaining the trust' of the community was important, the second of these examples also shows that becoming 'part of the Waiau community' did not happen organically but required a certain degree of proactiveness on their part. As one of the long-term Waiau residents noted:

If new people are linked to the school, they come under that umbrella of welcome – like in Culverden there is a group that looks after and welcomes people – they organise a few community events to get people together. There is nothing formal like that here, but then Waiau wouldn't be big enough for that – Waiau is small enough where the culture is that we are all one.

Interestingly, neither of the two new Waiau arrivals had any links to the school. While not explicitly stated, the reference to Waiau people being 'all one culture' also may relate to New Zealand culture especially when it is considered that the group (Rural Women) who looks after, welcomes, and hosts events for new people in nearby Culverden focuses on new migrants. However, while their original Welcome Packs were targeted to all newcomers to the district, Rural Women subsequently put together two different packs, having "*realised that a lot of information contained in them was not relevant to new Kiwis coming to the area – but that a pack was still useful to them*".

5.1.3 New migrants

New migrants represented a significant population group in both the Blenheim and Waiau communities, albeit contained within the wider district community in the case of the latter. In addition to the semi-permanent RSE workers and temporary WHM described in later sections of this report, Blenheim has also attracted considerable numbers of new migrants as permanent residents in recent years. While in the past migrants tended to be from a European background, nowadays they are more ethnically diverse, a change reflected in the renaming of the Marlborough Migrant Centre to the Marlborough Multicultural Centre (MMC). The Multicultural Centre recorded more than 450 new and repeat contacts, representing 47 different nationalities in 2017 (Wilson & Simmons, 2017). In comparison, the new migrants in Waiau represent a more discrete group, being primarily from the Philippines and employed in the dairy industry. One Kaikoura interviewee reported that, while they haven't had that big influx of dairy workers from overseas, they have "*had a little bit of it*"; there are also a small number of Filipinos employed in the apiculture industry in Kaikoura (described in section 5.3.1).

A similar temporal progression – through stages of introduction, adjustment and integration – was identified for these new migrants in both Blenheim and Waiau. The Manager of the MMC suggested that there needs to be more planning around the integration of new migrants and provision of more help when they first arrive in the community. One of the issues in Marlborough

lies with migrants who gain New Zealand residency via the Pacific Island Quota (i.e., they are granted entry via the national immigration policy) but who are not supported in situ. The MDC Community Development Advisor added that “*there is lack of clarity around their process and how they actually arrive here*” and added that because they are “*coming as residents they need that support. They are coming for a better life, but how can you do that when you are coming in at ground zero?*” Blenheim does not have the full range of governance agencies needed to support new migrants, although a large part of the issue is associated with funding support measures. There is a perception that no one is taking responsibility (“*the buck is being passed*”) and it was suggested that these issues “*should be followed back at the source – at immigration*”.

For migrants in Hurunui there have been considerable efforts made by employer groups (e.g., the Amuri Area Employers Group) and local support groups, such as Rural Women, to both welcome and assist new migrants. As noted, the majority of these migrants are Filipino although there are also some South American and Fijian Indians employed in the dairy industry. One of the local Rural Women members explained the background behind the welcome committee and their Welcome Packs:

What we found was that we have become so reliant on immigrants – other areas have a lot, but we were up the creek without them – and then we thought – we had a couple who were not supported and so we developed – with some other ladies in the area – either Enterprise North Canterbury or MSD – this gap appeared and so we called ourselves the welcome committee and we just met – we have a Filipino and a South American representative – any minority people in the area – and what came out of that was that we could put together something to give information about getting EFTPOS cards, and things like that.

While the focus is on helping these new migrants adjust to life in New Zealand there are also sometimes issues with mistreatment in the workplace. One Waiau interviewee, for example, reported that while they rarely saw the migrant workers employed nearby they knew that “*one dairy farm around the road chews through immigrant workers – for not good reasons*”. The KDC Emergency Management Officer also talked about the need for employers to take responsibility for their staff in the event of a natural hazard event. They pointed out that “*it is very clear in the Health & Safety Act that it is their responsibility*”, but that it was less clear what their due diligence was outside of work in respect of single families of foreign workers. She suggested that migrant families on dairy farms “*are probably the most isolated people in the community*” and you have to ask, “*how resilient are they, even without anything happening?*” One of the Waiau interviewees employed Filipino workers and recalled one who did not realise for several months that their pay was being put directly into their bank account.

For newly arriving migrants – especially those arriving in winter – adjustment to New Zealand can be especially challenging. In Blenheim, for example, migrants entering on the Pacific Quota “*often find themselves without houses or the right clothing for the weather and it can be an issue trying to resource those people*”. The Filipinos are often in a similar position when they first arrive to work in New Zealand. In the Culverden area, for example, they often come to start a job on 1 June (mid-winter) with “*very few possessions, limited warm clothing and some come to an unfurnished house and are really reliant on their employers to help them*”.

Almost 12 per cent of the Amuri Area School roll are migrant students – primarily Filipino, but also some Fijian Indian and South American and the school employs a Migrant Coordinator. She noted that, “*there are many facets to being a migrant student that are not just about language*”, adding that “*the school gives them welcome packs – I have junior and senior student welcome packs, but I also do things like give them lip balms and teach them about polypro and things, because they just look so cold*”. While most of the Migrant Coordinator role is dedicated to English language support, they “*are also starting to reach out into the community – helping families support reading at home*”. She described Filipino parents as being “*fiercely interested but just too humble*” to participate in their children’s education.

These new migrants present significant challenges for the school when they arrive with poor English and, at the time of the interviews, the school had just appointed a bilingual (Tagalog) tutor. ESOL¹⁰ programmes are funded by Ministry of Education with some top-up by the school’s Board of Trustees. It makes a significant difference when the Filipino children enter school having come through pre-school in New Zealand. The Migrant Coordinator also noted that it was “*frustrating for the school when students return to Philippines for longish periods*” such as in the downtime when cows were drying off, but that in recent years this was happening less often with the senior students after the school expressed their concerns about their absence from school. The school is also learning from the bilingual tutor:

My bilingual tutor was saying that that power distance between the teacher and the parent is huge in the Philippines, whereas in New Zealand it is almost the other way so that has been interesting, but I can see now we will be able to use that tutor at our parent teacher conferences just to really get these parents understanding what is happening with their children.

Although adjustment for new migrant families is often easier if they have children in school, the language barrier can be challenging especially when there are health issues. While the national Language Line¹¹ translation service is helpful, the Manager of the MMC suggested that “*it [the service] needs a physical presence – like when someone is in hospital*”. In Blenheim, one of the common challenges the centre deals with is social isolation of people who have been ill. The Kaikoura earthquake highlighted the number of migrants in the community without strong social networks and “*these people were often also more vulnerable as they were not familiar with earthquakes*”. Also, as one of the Waiau interviewees (who employed Filipino workers) commented, “*you become aware of increasing instances of cultural differences and misunderstandings as time goes on*”.

Several interviewees commented on cultural differences they had noticed in respect of migrant’s leisure time activity. As one Filipino employer noted, “*not many of the Filipino boys play sport – ours barely leave the house – you never even see them on the farm*”. The Migrant Coordinator added that, “*at weekends a lot of the Filipino will go to Christchurch [to shop] or to Hanmer Springs, while Fijians Indians might go to Christchurch to meet family there*”. She also commented on the difference a local swim-school had made in Culverden, as many Filipino children learned to swim for

¹⁰ ESOL: English for Speakers of Other Languages

¹¹ Language Line (<https://ethniccommunities.govt.nz/story/how-language-line-works>) is run by the Office of Ethnic Communities out of the Department of Internal Affairs.

the first time and subsequently participated fully in school swimming sports, something they would have avoided previously. It was notable that any school events (or issues) tend to default to the Filipino mothers, as “*the fathers are working long hours and are not as available*”. However, often Filipino families have a child after arriving in New Zealand and this “*anchors them [the mothers] to the home – especially if they can’t drive*”.

Overall it was perceived that the Filipino community tended to ‘stick together’, with one interviewee noting that, “*while they belong to local churches, they do not all belong to one – we have Jehovah Witness, Catholic and Baptist Filipino, with three separate groups within the Baptist congregation*”. The Migrant Coordinator at the school agreed, describing the community cohesion and cultural practises she had observed:

Absolutely – even at school – they are happy together and, if anything, there is the odd European student with them, but the foundation group is the Filipino group and they go to church together on a Sunday and they have family groups of four or five [people], and they even have family colours that the kids predominantly wear. They are their own support system – hugely – and they celebrate birthdays – anyone’s birthday is a party and they are always up late at night because they are always working on the dairy farms, so the night time is when they can connect – so the kids are exhausted, but they don’t care.

It was suggested, however, that this social segregation is slowly changing as a result of the length of time these migrants have been in the community. As one Waiau interviewee noted:

After they have been in a community for a number of years, they will have a sense of belonging to that community and want to put something back in. They come over here, get a good job, have children in school and then want to do more – the ones with children probably join in more.

Evidence of this was provided by several other interviewees who talked about migrant participation in the local A&P¹² show. One described the way they are “*just starting now to put tentacles out*” while the other commented that:

Already our Filipinos had a food stall at the local A&P show and they took the money they raised and put it into the local swimming pool, so they are starting – as a community group – to see their worth as well.

Another example was given in respect of St John in Culverden and illustrates the impact of new migrants in respect of attracting volunteers and how this is expected to change over time:

... just because people haven’t got the time these days but, in most cases, both husband and wife are working and actually St John doesn’t help itself because they make the training very awkward and not very user-friendly and the application process takes a long time. Also, the advent of dairying into the area has brought a lot of new people while older families are moving away, and a lot of the volunteer base has gone. The migrant workers are not stepping up into

¹² Agricultural & Pastoral

volunteer roles as yet – not within St John anyway, although they do get involved – we have one in a cleaning role at the station. But not when they first arrive – we send an information pack out around gypsy day¹³ – Rural Women have an afternoon down the Culverden Community Hall and they invite all the new workers to that – and St John have info there.

The excerpt above also illustrates the ways in which multiple service groups – outside of those formally involved in immigration and employment matters – are involved in migrant assistance. Both employers and migrant workers also need the support of governance and agency structures and funding available through these. Employers of migrant labour undertake a significant amount of responsibility for their migrant workers, reinforcing the importance of these workers to the local economy. The new migrants themselves often face challenges associated with their visa conditions. The Filipinos come with work visas which are attached to a specific employer, but variances are not hard to get (so that they can move) if they wish. There is less clarity around these migrants' future plans. One interviewee employed Filipino workers and commented that, "*ours are residents, but they say they will go home [to the Philippines] to retire – but saying that, all their family is here*". Another interviewee noted that the Filipino dairy workers tend not to aspire to become employers themselves:

[There is] a real lack of employers [in these migrant groups] and that is sad – we do have some contract milkers now – so some of the real go-getters will move up to that, but most of them are happy to get to herd manager, or manager, and cruise along there. I would doubt that many have any aspirations to buy any land – some, the ones with more family here or with more encouraging employers, might – like ours have bought a house in Christchurch with their children – when the boys leave Amuri they will go and stay there.

Other interviewees agreed with these observations with one adding that the Fijian Indians were more committed (than the Filipinos) to staying permanently in New Zealand:

The Filipinos do mostly go home when they reach their goal of being able to build a home in the Philippines – for them that is a dream come true and I would have thought that [dream] would have been getting their own farm here. I get the feeling that they are keen to go home – they leave their pets there and their parents are there, whereas with the Fijian Indians there is a cloud of anxiety that even sits on their kids' shoulders, about being able to get that pathway to residency.

Residency status also determines what migrant children do after finishing school. The Migrant Coordinator noted that "*tertiary education is often beyond their means which is sad because a lot of their peers are doing that*". They went on to add that having a plan to return to the Philippines did not necessarily hold back their integration in the New Zealand community, suggesting that this was more likely the "*result of power distance and practical barriers, such as the mother's isolation with*

¹³ Gypsy day occurs on June 1 each year and marks the start of a new dairy farming season. Typically, sharemilkers own their own cows, and will often take the herd with them when shifting between properties on "Gypsy Day".

the father at work, the lack of a driver licence and language issues". One of the interviewees who employed Filipino workers added that, even if they ultimately return to the Philippines:

The returning Filipinos take back English skills that will help them with their career pathways. The difference that having this work – like RSE in Marlborough and here on farms – will make for their families is immeasurable.

In addition to those migrants holding long-term work visas (such as the dairy farm workers and other new migrants described above) there are a significant number of people who are in New Zealand on one-year (but renewable) work permits. This can be very stressful – “*even without things like earthquakes happening*” – as “*they do not qualify for some public services (e.g., health care) and are also not allowed to buy property, own businesses, and so on*”. The Manager of the MMC suggested that there needs to be more advocacy for these people, adding that, “*if they get to the point where they can no longer stay [i.e., there is no pathway to settle] they need some support to exit*”. In Kaikoura, temporary hospitality workers (from overseas), who often come on work visas and stay for two-three years, was another important group of long-term, but not necessarily permanent residents. While it was reported that some of these people do eventually seek residency, getting them there (to Kaikoura to work) in the first instance is challenging for the employers who sponsor their visas.

5.2 Semi-permanent residents

The two key groups of semi-permanent residents (who stay for between six months and one year) found in the case study communities are the RSE workers (in Blenheim) and earthquake road and rebuild workers (in Kaikoura, Waiau and St Arnaud). These classifications are not absolute, however, as some of the earthquake-related population may stay for fewer than six months. It is also possible that WHMs (discussed in section 5.3.2) stay for longer than six months.

One of the most difficult groups to classify on a population continuum are holiday home owners, as the length of time they might actually be in ‘residence’ can vary considerably. In the original classification (see Appendix 1) they were included as temporary residents, but here we include them in the semi-permanent resident category. Holiday home owners have ‘resident’ rights as ratepayers and can have strong generational attachment to the place. While there are no data to show how long they might be in residence, a considerable number appear to join community groups, attend community events and support the community from afar. Further, in both St Arnaud and Kaikoura it was reported that holiday home owners often retire permanently to the community.

5.2.1 RSE workers

The Recognised Seasonal Employers (RSE) scheme was established to assist employers overcome significant staff shortages in the horticulture and viticulture sectors (see Wilson & Simmons, 2017). The Marlborough viticulture industry is heavily reliant on these (mainly) Pacific Island workers, most of whom come for seven months at a time. A large number of RSE workers are in housed in Blenheim and are present year-round, although the winter season is the busiest (with pruning and vineyard maintenance work) in terms of worker numbers. One interviewee reported that there

would be approximately 2,000 RSE workers in Blenheim over the winter months, while another estimated that the annual figure was around 4,500. With predicted increases in vineyard acreage demand for RSE workers is expected to increase (Druce, 2016), although there is a cap on the number of workers permitted to enter New Zealand under the scheme. When the scheme first started in 2007, numbers were capped at 5,000 (per annum); in November 2018 the cap was raised to 12,850 (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). Marlborough also competes with other parts of New Zealand for these workers.

The RSE scheme is highly regulated, with employers accessing the scheme having to be approved. RSE employers are also required to employ some New Zealanders: these are generally sourced through WINZ and MSD and it was suggested that the implementation of more formal schemes to upskill and train these workers have been more successful than “*simply planting them in the vineyard alongside the RSE workers*”. One of the vineyard employment contractors interviewed reported that “*about half of our Kiwi RSE quota would come from outside Marlborough*”. Over time, considerable work has been done to improve and fine tune the RSE scheme, particularly in respect of workers’ rights. The scheme is closely monitored and “*employers can lose their RSE status if they step out of line*” while “*the workers are generally paid on time, paid well, they get their holiday pay and are treated well*”.

The RSE workers themselves are supported by a range of measures including an induction when they first arrive in New Zealand. As the Marlborough Seasonal Labour Coordinator explained:

Part of the format of the RSE is when they come into the country they have an induction – the labour inspector attends and then from the community we have people talking about social issues – it is ticking all those boxes before they even start.

They are also helped via the RSE Vakameasina scheme (see Figure 7), which is funded by the New Zealand government, and which provides training to people from the South Pacific “so that they can increase their confidence speaking English, and receive guidance in financial and personal goal setting, budgeting, workers’ rights and responsibilities, leadership, computer skills, general health and sexual health issues” (Fruition Horticulture, 2012).

While the RSE workers are primarily looked after by their employers, there is also some community involvement (e.g., they have a Police liaison) and active and ongoing management of issues that arise in respect of this population. Wine Marlborough initiated a White Paper in 2017 establishing best practice employment guidelines, along with a range of other support measures for the RSE workers (Lewis, 2017). According to one interviewee this White Paper has “*already led to establishment of a health clinic*” which was better for the RSE population (who must have health insurance as they do not qualify for public health care) as it enabled them to maintain a medical record, which had not been possible when they visited different doctors every time. The establishment of this health clinic also addressed the shortage of doctors in Blenheim (noted earlier) and many “*Kiwis have also been using the new services*”. However, as the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager noted, “*RSE workers are a very well supported community until something happens – then it becomes obvious that they are not actually entitled to much [in respect of formal support], and that they are a fairly impoverished group*”.

The Marlborough Seasonal Labour Coordinator attributed the success of the RSE scheme to good pastoral care, the above-mentioned labour protections, and accommodation support and advocacy services. In terms of day-to-day management, the pastoral care system looks after the RSE workers' accommodation, heating, food, wellbeing and transport to work. As one interviewee noted, "*it is quite a big job – you might have to take them to hospital, or something might have happened to their family at home [and they need support for dealing with that]*". The RSE Police liaison described the benefit of good pastoral care:

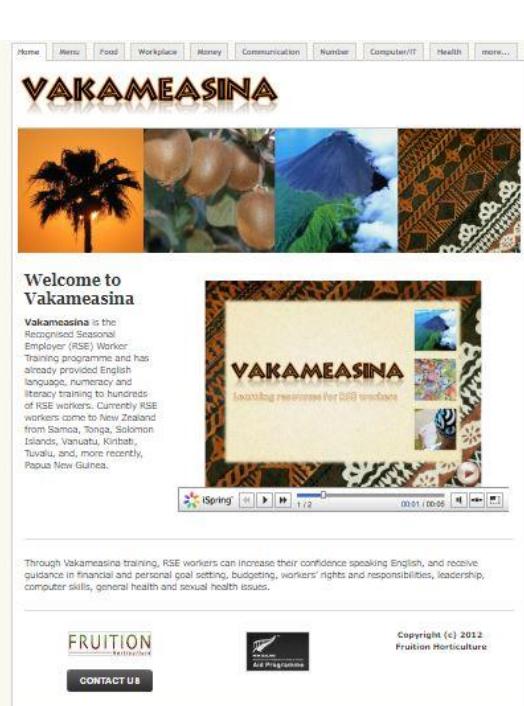
The employers are good at pastoral care and it is the single most important thing. That is what I like about RSE – the good employers [and that is most of them] do a lot for their workers – they treat them like they have a social responsibility for their workers and take them on day trips or take them to a store en masse and ask for discounts for them. They do things that make them feel valued and looked after, and they get good work out of them as a result.

Figure 7 Marlborough Multicultural Festival/Vakameasina



MARLBOROUGH MULTICULTURAL FESTIVAL
CELEBRATE MANY CULTURES. ONE HOME.
SATURDAY 3 MARCH 2018 11am-4pm
POLLARD PARK BADEN POWELL GREEN
CELEBRATING RACE RELATIONS DAY
PROMOTING UNITY IN DIVERSITY
MUSIC • DANCE • ETHNIC FOOD • STALLS
Marlborough Multicultural Centre many cultures. one home.
FOR MORE INFORMATION PHONE 579 6410 or 021 158 4426. EMAIL: info@migrantcentre.co.nz

<http://www.migrantcentre.org.nz/news/54-marlborough-multicultural-festival-2018>



VAKAMEASINA

Welcome to Vakameasina

Vakameasina is the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) Worker Training programme and has already provided English language, numeracy and literacy training to thousands of RSE workers. Currently RSE workers come to New Zealand from Samoa, Tonga, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Kiribati, Tuvalu, and, more recently, Papua New Guinea.

Through Vakameasina training, RSE workers can increase their confidence speaking English, and receive guidance in financial and personal goal setting, budgeting, workers' rights and responsibilities, leadership, computer skills, general health and sexual health issues.

<http://www.vakameasina.co.nz/>

As noted in the Blenheim community section (4.1.1), there are considerable housing shortages in Blenheim and housing RSE workers (given the size of this population group) has been an ongoing challenge. In recent years the trend has been towards accommodating them in purpose-built premises, which can house many hundreds of people. The new RSE accommodation premises are

being built to high ‘specs’, whereas renting houses for them is more difficult in terms of providing adequate facilities. Another Blenheim interviewee commented that having the RSE workers in community housing (i.e., the accommodation villages) actually provides them with “*large social spaces that they can use – is better than if they were just in houses*”.

Transport logistics are also easier from the larger accommodation premises and as one interviewee noted, “*they are easier to manage when they are all in one place*”. While the wine companies might take ‘responsibility’ for their guests in the larger accommodation premises, in both these and in shared houses the RSE community also ‘self-manages’ to some extent:

They [the RSE workers] will often have someone who is held in high regard – like a chief or son of a chief – managing the house so the respect thing occurs, and they have some authority over the people in the house.

The RSE community is not homogenous, as these workers come from many different countries. While it was suggested that the different groups mix in the workplace they are not as integrated socially. The Police liaison acts in the event of social issues while the ‘chiefs’, noted above, also provide important liaison services. The Marlborough Seasonal Labour Coordinator added that “*they usually have their own leader that they can go to with any gripes*”. When asked if the different RSE groups mix, one of the interviewees (who was involved with one of the larger accommodation premises) suggested that,

They do now – they are getting better, and I think that is to do with the company having this place – because everybody is here for the same reason and they are all working for the same company – it is more like we are all part of the [---] family.

The above sentiment was reinforced by other interviewees, with one noting that “*it is better to have them self-contained so that pastoral care can operate easily and the RSE people are used to living in a more communal village style than are New Zealanders*”. While the Manager of the MMC noted that the RSE workers were “*a bit separate from other new migrants*” because of their pastoral care, she also added that “*the people on the RSE scheme are part of our community and need to be treated as such*”. The RSE workers fully participate in the commercial economy of Blenheim providing a “*large customer base for the supermarkets*”. Other businesses which benefit from the RSE population include: Western Union (used to send money home); Asian speciality shops; the Warehouse (buying goods to take home); while second-hand shops and recycling outlets were also popular. It was suggested that the RSE population “*socialise within their own groups and also within the wider vineyard community that supports them with activities often arranged by their employers*”.

One interviewee noted a number of ways in which the RSE population connect to the host community, commenting that they are “*maybe getting a little bit more accepted in the community now*” explaining that “*a lot of them have been here for multiple seasons so they are getting used to the area as well – they go to church, they partake in the multicultural festival, they go shopping*”. However, another interviewee noted the importance of making “*the [host] community more aware of cultural differences and of what they [the RSE workers] bring to the community*” going on to suggest that events like the Multicultural Festival (see Figure 7) and the Wine Festival (where an RSE band played) make people more aware of the ethnic diversity surrounding them. A fundraising

day to support Vanuatu earthquake victims (after a significant earthquake struck the island nation) also “*made the Blenheim community more aware of these people in their community*”. It was reported, however, that the RSE workers connected to the host community better in Seddon than in Blenheim because “*a lot of the workers there [in Seddon] were very religious and went to the local church*”.

The RSE Police liaison also suggested that there had been changes in community acceptance over time (e.g., “*when they first came the police would get feedback about how they [the RSE workers] felt unwelcome walking down the street*”). He noted that it was the elderly population, in particular, that were fearful, commenting that, for them, it was an experience “*made worse probably by the Pacific Islanders tendency to walk around in large groups*” and went on to say:

I've done lots of talking with – I speak to groups all the time – people around [even if talk isn't specifically about that] how many [RSE] people we have here, and how good it is for our community, and how much money they bring in, and what would happen if they weren't working here and, by the way they, are all lovely men and women and if you give them a wave and a smile they will return it ... and that they walk around in groups because that is the way they do it at home ... so that kind of stuff ... I try and reassure people.

Several other Blenheim interviewees agreed, saying that the RSE workers were becoming part of “*our [Blenheim] culture now and we are used to having them around and they are not these strange faces – it's getting more into harmony*”. The Manager of the MMC also reiterated the need to recognise the economic benefits of our diverse community, but also “*how that diversity of culture enriches the lives of people in our community*”.

Although RSE visas only permit a seven month stay many of these workers return to work over multiple seasons and years which is a particular benefit of their employers as it can take “*several years to become a proficient pruner*”. However, a number of interviewees reported that there can be challenges with RSE workers who have worked in New Zealand over multiple years and who might become less likely to follow the ‘rules’ (e.g., “*getting a bit too cocky*”), with the RSE Police liaison noting that there can also be a “*negative crossover with Kiwi workers selling the RSE workers drugs and backyard alcohol*”:

A lot of the work I do around these guys [the RSE workers] is about warning them of the risks of certain behaviours and the trouble it will get them into, warning them about people who prey on them because our local criminals do see them as an easy target. So, it is about personal security and looking after your money, locking your house, not leaving valuables lying around, not going into town late at night on a Saturday, not going drinking because it will get them sent home and end up on a blacklist at home that stops them coming back.

He added that when there was an incident it would often be related to a problem occurring at home, and that the RSE workers missed their families a lot while they were in New Zealand. These workers commit to the RSE scheme and the money they are able to earn makes a considerable difference to their families back in the islands. As one interviewee (who was associated with RSE accommodation) noted:

When you realise what they are coming here to do and what they can do when they go home and that is a really nice thing to be a part of – it is definitely more than just housing a whole lot of workers.

There are, however, a few concerns around the impact of the RSE worker scheme on the workers' home countries. According to one interviewee there has been some talk of having a cut-off stage for RSE workers (i.e., after so many visas) to allow other people – the younger ones – to come to New Zealand. Another concern is that participation in the RSE scheme has become a 'social ladder' back in these workers' home countries, fostering some inequalities.

5.2.2 Earthquake rebuild workers

After the Kaikoura earthquake both Kaikoura and Waiau hosted semi-permanent populations of earthquake repair and rebuild workers with more than 1,500 Kaikoura-based NCTIR employees working on the road/rail repair sites between Blenheim and Christchurch. While NCTIR was the most prominent organisation, there were also several other companies involved in the earthquake road repairs, all of whom also employed numerous subcontractors. In addition to the road workers, Kaikoura and Waiau also hosted a range of other contractors working on earthquake repair and rebuild projects. There were also road crews upgrading the alternative route through the Wairau Valley (SH63) who were based in St Arnaud.

The number of people involved represented a significant temporary population in Kaikoura and several interviewees talked about pre-arrival expectations of hosting this population (e.g., "*there were a lot of rumours about increased prostitution*"), what it was like when they first arrived, and how they gradually assimilated into the Kaikoura community:

For kids initially, it was quite daunting – especially in the supermarket at 4.30-5 o'clock when there was a swarm of orange and my kids felt quite daunted by the strange men. They are quite accepted now, but it took quite a while to become a familiar normal sight. And I think there was a bit of a history of them and us – so there was a bit of that in the pubs, in town and I know pubs are still worried a little bit about closing time. Parochialism is the word.

They started to assimilate and trickle out into the boats and the diving and sort of started to show that they are actually – these transient people were part of our community. I really did sense – in the last few months – that we are moving away in conversations I am having with different people at council and whatnot – we are starting to move away from that 'them and us' [scenario]. For example, the gambling stats came out the other day and Kaikoura has gone up and we were saying 'why and how to address it?' rather than saying that it is them pushing the numbers up. 'What other activities can we do during the week?' – on a good day before the earthquake we used to say, 'what do you do here in winter?' So, there are those kinds of issues in terms of that transient population.

The logistics of hosting a temporary population group of this size was challenging, although the off-season demand was an economic bonus for many businesses and holiday home owners in Kaikoura, Waiau and St Arnaud. In Kaikoura, workers were housed in commercial accommodation premises,

rental properties (including holiday homes) and in a purpose-built accommodation village (see Figure 8), which was brought in when not enough extant accommodation could be found. However, it was suggested by one interviewee that “*road workers were reluctant to move into the village – preferring to stay around the town*”. The council worked closely with accommodation providers to assist with accommodation demand, although there were some concerns around ‘shutting out the visitor market’ and reluctance by accommodation providers to host longer-term guests. As one interviewee explained:

A lot of commercial accommodation premises weren’t necessarily keen on taking longer-term residents as they wanted to keep them purely ‘backpacker’ because that was the sort of environment they had created within their hostels.

Pressure on the accommodation stock, particularly in Kaikoura, also increased as a result of visitor demand at different times and associated with improved access to Kaikoura (e.g., over summer months, when the road re-opened, when special events were on). Some of these concerns were expressed explicitly in terms of the implications for the Kaikoura community once the temporary population had departed. One of the Kaikoura interviewees explained:

We had the NCTIR village and I know families here that had employment, but then had to leave because there was nowhere to live – there was just no accommodation – Kaikoura is not that big of a place. When there were events on they said they would send the NCTIR workers home for that time – they can’t turn around and tell them that they have double-booked accommodation – once this all goes away, Kaikoura and the local businesses all need these visitors – they will be left with what they had beforehand and if they hadn’t looked after them in the past [they would suffer] once the NCTIR workers have gone as well.

Figure 8 NCTIR accommodation village – Kaikoura



Photo Credits: Jude Wilson

A large stock of holiday homes were available for rental in St Arnaud and one St Arnaud interviewee suggested that “*while the road crews put some pressure on St Arnaud accommodation it was no worse than the usual pressure over the busy summer months*”. The construction workers based in Waiau provided a surprising (but welcome) customer base for the owners of the camping ground who usually struggle with seasonality issues:

You always want a mix of industry as well as tourism – that was always something we looked to, but it wasn't what we expected to have – especially at the level we have had. It has allowed us to put a lot of improvements back into the business – it's given it a good stable income.

Another Waiau interviewee added that many “*local businesses in Waiau benefitted from all the contract workers – the accommodation, the pub, the café and the garages, but not so much the shop*”, while the KDC Economic Recovery Manager noted that:

Housing and feeding them [the earthquake rebuild workers] provided many Kaikoura businesses with welcome income and instantly took away all the issues about isolation, loss of market and cash flow. It also had a huge psycho-social benefit in terms of being able to retain staff, provide work and staying engaged in their business. Housing rebuild workers in holiday homes and rental properties also increased demand for cleaners.

While hosting this semi-permanent population was largely managed by employers in Kaikoura (e.g., NCTIR) and St Arnaud (e.g., Fulton Hogan), this took some time to be put in place and did not apply to the entire transient population. In Kaikoura, for example, those sub-contractors not employed by NCTIR struggled to find accommodation and there were “*issues with people sleeping in their vehicles*”. In St Arnaud, many holiday homes were initially rented by individual workers before the “*logistics [which included the provision of meals] were taken over by the employers*” and it was suggested that it was “*easier to cater for them in one place – I guess especially when there were not really any commercial options in the village that were suitable*”.

Efforts were made to make sure both the transient population and the host communities were comfortable with the arrangements that were in place. In Kaikoura, NCTIR employed a Wellbeing and Rehabilitation Advisor and “*part of their role was to ensure that they [the road crews] were happy with the accommodation or food*”. NCTIR also worked hard to liaise with the local community about the work being done, providing regular updates as well as holding an open day at the accommodation village and “*taking local people on bus trips to see the progress for themselves*”. One St Arnaud interviewee recalled that some members of one of the road crews had made some rude comments to the local shopkeeper and were sent home by their bosses: “*The boss said he wouldn't tolerate fallout [from the crews being in St Arnaud]*”. Another St Arnaud interviewee described the ways in which this semi-permanent transient population group integrated with the local community, while also pointing out how ‘long-term’ arrivals differed from more ‘permanent’ ones:

I think people who come into the community will integrate over time, but long-term people like the Fulton Hogan workers – they were somewhat welcomed because they were paying such extraordinary prices for house – I know people who shifted out and got somewhere cheaper in Nelson. So that was a bit of a windfall, so people were more tolerant of that. A lot of them went home on the weekends and they were working long hours – so there weren't really the opportunities to mesh. I mean Rural Women – we did a dinner for them once a month, but then they had their own catering.

Many of the St Arnaud interviewees talked about the variety of ways in which the road crews became part of their community during the year they were there. The relative spatial isolation of St Arnaud meant that many of the road crews were from some distance away, making it more practical for them to remain in St Arnaud over the weekends. As a result, they contributed money and time (e.g., “*doing volunteer jobs*”) to the local community and attended local sporting activities held at the community hall. Several community dinners were held which attracted both residents and the road workers – these ‘home-cooked’ meals were supplied by Rural Women and were perceived to be welcomed by the road crews who were primarily being commercially catered. The same thing happened in Kaikoura, with the road crews going to the local ‘soup kitchen’ – an initiative started pre-earthquake in which a free meal was provided once a week to anyone who wanted it. As one interviewee noted, “*the road crews go partly for the free food, but also because of the community connections they make and because it is a home-cooked meal*”.

At the time of the field work the majority of the road crews had left St Arnaud and as one interviewee noted: “*It is quite quiet without them- some of them were like old friends leaving*”. Another interviewee added that “*it is quite hollow*”, while a third recalled that “*we befriended quite a few of them*”. One of the Kaikoura interviewees (who was employed by NCTIR) also noted that “*there is also a Filipino contingent working on the roads and I have loved getting to know them*” and went on to describe the ways in which the NCTIR population had connected with the host community:

Some of them have been here just on a year – so the rugby club and squash club are both really popular, and we have had people looking at joining the fire brigade because they are going to be here a bit longer, and back home they are in the fire brigade. The gun clubs – the clubs around the place. We are really proud of a little thing we started around Muay Thai boxing that we had in the old council building – we are about to move – but we started off as someone coming to me and saying they were a Muay Thai boxer and wanted to train and that they had a few guys who were interested, they are now getting some Kaikoura community people joining them.

In addition to the financial and community benefits described above, it was noted that there was potential for some of the semi-permanent earthquake rebuild population – particularly those in management or semi-management roles who had brought their families to Kaikoura with them – to stay on in Kaikoura. As one interviewee noted, however, that this would “*require employment opportunities of some sort*”. The same interviewee also reflected that “*the road work opportunities had also upskilled some of the locals and going forwards we need to try and keep them in Kaikoura as well*”. Employment on the road crews was a welcome opportunity in Waiau, and it was reported that “*the shearing gang lost a few workers to the road crews, but you can't blame them because they are getting a good wage and regular money*”. Another Waiau interviewee noted that having road crews in town, and locals employed on them, added several issues for the community: “*Accommodation prices [rents] skyrocketed after the earthquake in Waiau and put pressure on families – some wives started working on the road crews which meant they had to source babysitters*”.

5.2.3 Holiday home (bach) owners

Two of the four case study communities (Kaikoura and St Arnaud) contained a sizable number of holiday homes and, as noted above, these provided much needed rental accommodation for the earthquake rebuild workers. There was a perception in Kaikoura, however, that some holiday homes were empty at a time when there was a lot of pressure on housing, with one interviewee reflecting that “*it is their right to have that house empty, but I do wonder when there is so much pressure for places*”. The KDC Economic Recovery Manager agreed:

[There is a] high absentee ratepayer base – they all live in Christchurch, but they didn't want to rent out their places because they still wanted to use them in the weekends themselves. So, we had vacant accommodation and an accommodation shortage at the same time – that was a frustration.

While Blenheim itself does not contain holiday homes, a number of interviewees talked about those located in the Marlborough Sounds. Although councils maintain ratepayer databases from which holiday home owners can be extracted (i.e., they are property owners with home addresses recorded as being elsewhere) there was a clear sense in interviews that these property ownership data are not always readily available. What is also less clear is how many people are in ‘residence’ at these properties at any given time. As the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager noted:

Civil defence know how many baches there are through the council database, and know how many people are in the Sounds via the mail boat, but are less sure where there is road access – [we] assume baches are all occupied during the summer.

Overall, there appeared to be a quite different attitude to holiday home owners in each of the case study communities. In Blenheim there was high level of awareness – particularly by the authorities (i.e., CDEM and MDC) who have responsibility across the Marlborough region as a whole, including the Marlborough Sounds (referred to in the excerpt above). This awareness of holiday home owners (and holiday home renters) is also an indication of their importance in respect of the Marlborough visitor economy. In St Arnaud, the holiday home owners represented a large part of the community (in terms of both property and people) and support the host community economically and functionally (i.e., by attending events and through their demand for, and use of, community services).

Although Kaikoura does have a reasonable number of holiday homes these do not represent as large a percentage of properties (or visitors) to the township as in St Arnaud. As noted in the scoping report, unoccupied dwellings at census time can be used as a proxy for the number of holiday homes in a location and these data show that 29.2 per cent of Kaikoura dwellings were unoccupied compared with 47.6 per cent in St Arnaud at the 2013 Census (Wilson & Simmons, 2017). One Kaikoura interviewee was of the opinion that holiday home owners did not belong to the Kaikoura community because they were (only) ratepayers, not residents. Another reported that their predominance in South Bay (which is separated from the Kaikoura township by the Kaikoura peninsula) makes them:

Geographically distant from the main township – locals don't look at South Bay as somewhere where you live – it is too far away – it is over the hill. It is not in the midst of things, it is not part of town.

In the St Arnaud interviews both the size of the holiday home population, and that population's length of association were described. The holiday home population was large enough to allow for sub-groups, with one interviewee noting that, "*it is also about how people identify – there are the new people, the old people, the new locals, the old locals, the new bach owners, the old bach owners – everyone wants to belong to a tribe*" and another adding that "*there have been people here with a holiday home for generations, so they have all got to know each other quite well. I don't know if they are a sub-community in themselves*".

Interviewees in all three case study communities described the holiday home owners as being both 'generational' (i.e., family ownership over generations) or habitual (i.e., they visit frequently and often). This is perceived to give them community rights which some interviewees disputed. As one St Arnaud interviewee noted, "*some of the bach owners would describe themselves as being permanents, but they are not – they might have an association with the area going back for decades, but they don't really reside here*". One of the Blenheim interviewees added that "*if you are not living in a community permanently you don't have as much ownership – even though you might think you have*". Another Blenheim interviewee also commented that many of the Marlborough Sounds bach owners are "*second generation family owners and have a sense of entitlement*".

The St Arnaud interviewees had mixed views on whether or not their holiday home population 'belonged' (to the community) and around what (if any) contributions they made in respect of wider St Arnaud community. One interviewee reported that there was "*some animosity between bach owners and locals in St Arnaud – over things like management of dogs*", while the Manager of the Alpine Lodge noted that "*a lot of the bach owners don't frequent local hospitality businesses in St Arnaud – they just come to be at their baches*". While one interviewee suggested that "*bach owners don't do a lot for the community*", others talked about many of the St Arnaud bach owners being on a number of community mailing lists, their attendance at Friendly Fridays and their contribution to various community fundraising events. As one interviewee noted, "*all small communities need money from outside – bach owners are 'outsiders' and contribute to community coffers*".

Another contribution made indirectly to communities containing high numbers of holiday homes is via employment generation. Often holiday home are rented by casual visitors and, as one of the St Arnaud interviewees noted, renting out baches can be time consuming, especially for those who are not "*big into computers*". Twenty-five of the St Arnaud baches are managed by a local company who provide booking services, manage payments and are on site to prepare properties for rental (e.g., opening curtains, turning on power and water, and so on). While the default is that renters clean these baches themselves – which "*reflects the primarily New Zealand market*" – the company also offers a cleaning service, employing other St Arnaud locals in the process. The busy period for holiday home occupation is from Boxing Day through to mid-March, along with event weekends. However, many holiday homes are also rented to other more casual visitors who are essentially the same as the tourists in respect of visitation patterns and visitor behaviour characteristics (see section 5.4.1).

The perceived preparedness (or vulnerability) of the holiday home population was also addressed in interviews. The Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager, for example, talked about the concerns CDEM has about how prepared people staying in Marlborough Sounds' baches actually are. Marlborough CDEM has produced special information sheet for people out in the Sounds – one side of this sheet is designed for bach owners, the other for visitors staying in baches (see Figure 9). In respect of the latter there are concerns around “*visitors not being prepared to not be able to get back home [if something was to happen]*”. In contrast, the bach owners are more likely to assume that they “*don't need roads anyway and that they will be alright because they have a boat*” and that they are more self-sufficient than is the case. One example given in support of this view was the reliance of many bach owners on natural water sources (i.e., simple hoses running from nearby streams) which could be easily compromised by landslips and other natural hazard-related events.

Figure 9 CDEM Marlborough Sounds visitor information



Preparing for an emergency For Visitors to the Marlborough Sounds

The Marlborough Sounds is a great place for a holiday – there's nothing like that feeling of getting away from it all!

Even when you're on holiday, you and your family could still be vulnerable to the effects of a natural or man-made disaster or bad weather. You could be on your own for some time.

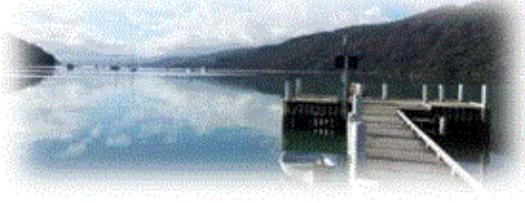
So, while you're loading the car and the boat, or booking the water taxi, take some time to think about how you'd manage if.....

- Your water supply is cut off by a slip
- Your septic tank is broken
- Your nearest town is inaccessible and water taxis can't reach you
- Your generator is damaged and/or you have limited fuel supplies
- Your bach or accommodation is unsafe
- There's no landline or very limited cellphone reception

Make a plan – and relax!

Marlborough Civil Defence and Emergency Management (CDEM) has some great resources to help you plan for an emergency. You might like to think about anything extra you'd need if you are isolated (such as medication, baby formula).

- Introduce yourself to your neighbours; find out about other people's skills and assets (e.g. first aid training, access to a land-based VHF radio).
- The Marlborough Sounds are vulnerable in an earthquake or a tsunami. Have a look at the tsunami inundation zones on Smart Maps on the Marlborough District Council website to check your property risk in a tsunami (<https://maps.marlborough.govt.nz/smaps>).
- Check which radio stations you can receive (FM and AM). Marlborough CDEM broadcasts directly through Brian FM in an emergency (Blenheim 100.9 FM, Picton 105.9 FM and Havelock 100.1 FM).
- In an emergency, Marlborough CDEM can use marine radio channels 63 and 65 to provide information.
- Think about how you'll let family know that you are safe and ask them to think about what they would do if you can't get home for a while.



For more information, check out get www.happens.nz/make-a-plan



https://www.marlborough.govt.nz/repository/libraries/id:1w1mps0ir17q9sgxanf9/hierarchy/Documents/CDEM/Sound_EmergencyLetter.pdf

One of the St Arnaud holiday home interviewees also suggested that “*a lot of bach owners would say that they are self-reliant but, when push comes to shove, I would say that they are not – they don’t actually have the resources here to look after themselves long-term*”. The Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager also suggested that holiday home owners in the Sounds were perhaps not as well-prepared as they thought:

[It is] wrong to think or say that people in the Marlborough Sounds are resilient – for a lot of people living in the Sounds you are about as resilient as the next mail boat and people on holiday are not as clear thinking as in their normal life.

5.3 Temporary residents

The temporary resident category on the population continuum includes people who are present in the community for between two weeks and six months. This group includes people who may be doing short-term contract work on farms or in construction, as well as the seasonal workers – including many WHM – employed across a range of industries. In respect of the four case study communities these workers are present in various degrees: Waiau (agricultural); Kaikoura (tourism, hospitality, apiculture); Blenheim (viticulture, horticulture, hospitality); St Arnaud (hospitality). The temporary resident group may also include a significant number of earthquake-rebuild workers in Waiau and Kaikoura and some of the holiday home owners in Kaikoura and St Arnaud already described in the previous (semi-permanent residents) section.

The majority of temporary residents are working whilst in these communities, and the category includes both New Zealanders and overseas residents with visas which allow them work in New Zealand on a temporary basis (for an overview of these visas see Wilson & Simmons, 2017). While all of these workers can be classified as being ‘seasonal’ workers, we treat the WHM group as a distinct group. The WHM are subject to fewer visa restrictions (in respect of employment type, length of employment and location) than is the case of many other seasonal workers. In Blenheim, the WHM also work (and stay) alongside the semi-permanent RSE workers.

5.3.1 Seasonal workers

Seasonal workers are employed across a wide range of industry sectors and in respect of the case study communities included shearers (Waiau), beekeepers (Kaikoura) and seasonal DOC staff (St Arnaud). There was a perceived shortage of seasonal workers and, even if workers can be found, there are additional challenges around housing and transport. One Kaikoura interviewee described the prevalence of seasonal employment in rural New Zealand:

A lot of employment in New Zealand is seasonal unless you go into your metropolitan areas – in rural areas it is mostly seasonal – seasonal tourism, seasonal agricultural work – even the dairy, cropping, fruit, honey – like up in the North Island now they can’t get enough people to pick kiwifruit – they are adding carrots to that with accommodation, travel, transport.

While the majority of shearers working in and around Waiau were reported to be permanent residents (see section 4.3.1), a number of interviewees talked about the shearing gangs also

containing a more itinerant (and seasonal) population segment. Accommodating temporary agricultural workers has been particularly challenging since the Kaikoura earthquake, as the earthquake damaged many farm buildings (including shearers' quarters). One interviewee noted, however, that "*shearers and other seasonal farm workers don't go and stay on properties the way they used to in the past*". There was added pressure on accommodation in Waiau as a result of damage to – and closure of – the Waiau Hotel (which had been popular with temporary contractors) and competition from the earthquake repair workers for rental and commercial accommodation options. Seasonal shearers had previously used the Waiau Motor Camp but that was being used by earthquake rebuild workers. While they do not stay very long on each visit, many of these seasonal workers return to work over multiple seasons and "*become quite familiar with the community*".

In Kaikoura, the apiculture industry is reliant on seasonal workers, many of whom come from overseas. One apiculture company was reported to have employed 18 Filipinos during the season (which for Manuka runs from November to February), while another had advertised beekeeper positions "*on Trade Me and other agencies – open to locals, internationals and we ended up with an Italian, a Frenchman and a guy from Latvia and other local people*". A significant challenge in the industry has been to find experienced beekeepers, exacerbated by the difficulties of getting "*beekeepers at different levels, because a lot of people that gain a bit of experience then go out on their own*". The overseas workers employed represent a "*mix of people who might be looking for a pathway to residence and those who return home at the end of each season*" and it can be difficult for employers to manage the employment process as "*the overseas employees apply for their job and then they look for sponsors or a company that is willing to support them*".

Employers usually either supply or help find accommodation for these seasonal workers, often with the assistance of the local council. However, those who are in New Zealand permanently, and who often have families with them, will pay their own rent and find their own accommodation. One of the interviewees was involved in the apiculture industry and talked about his experiences with a seasonal worker population, noting the importance of being aware of cultural differences and the challenges these workers face. He also described the scope of employer engagement associated with taking 'responsibility' for this transient population group whilst they are in New Zealand:

One brought out his wife who was pregnant and gave birth here and we weren't expecting that – you just don't know what you are going to get – you talk to them on the phone, get the paperwork and look at their credentials and then talk to them a few times and they are all keen, and then in reality it all becomes something that is far different.

It is too easy to say – oh, 'she'll be right' – you have to stop and pause and think about how much they actually understand. There are different cultures and environments that they are working in [when they are here] and we are pretty happy-go-lucky here, and don't take the time to appreciate the differences they might be experiencing when they come here.

Some settle in really well, some struggle to settle – some settle too well – some can misbehave and are no different from anyone else – they get in trouble and struggle to retain their visas – they like to drink so you have to be careful and

monitor them – you have a responsibility – it is not just during work hours – it is during the whole time they are here – [including] their social hours.

In St Arnaud, DOC ‘employs’ volunteer workers over the summer months. Many of these volunteers are in St Arnaud for up to a month, but the nature of their work and the limited social activities on offer in St Arnaud combine to limit the extent to which they integrate into the wider community. They do, however, integrate into the ‘DOC whanau’ and are looked after by DOC. As one interviewee (who worked for DOC) explained:

We look after the ones that volunteer for us at DOC – the longest would be here for a month and they have accommodation provided and they have integrated into the DOC whanau – for want of a better word, and let’s be honest usually they are working with our biodiversity team and they come home exhausted – and they might come home, have a swim, have tea and that’s it – and really that is kind of all there is to do here.

5.3.2 Working Holiday Makers (WHM)

There are around 70,000 working holiday maker (WHM) visas issued each year in New Zealand. While a large number of WHMs work in tourism and hospitality, horticulture and viticulture work is also popular as it offers a longer employment season than is the case with many tourism-related jobs. WHMs who have worked in horticulture or viticulture jobs are also able to apply for an extension to their WHM visa (Wilson & Simmons, 2017). WHMs represented a significant proportion of the tourism/hospitality workforce in both Kaikoura and St Arnaud, while in Blenheim they were employed both on vineyards and in other jobs associated with the viticulture industry (e.g., factory jobs, processing). The skill and experience required for employment in many other agricultural jobs (e.g., dairying, shearing) precludes the employment of WHMs, although some may volunteer on farms through the WWOOF¹⁴ scheme. As noted in the scoping report, however, WWOOFing also technically requires a WHM visa. Because of the shorter duration of most volunteer jobs, WWOOFing is discussed in the transient populations section (5.4.2).

As a result of their relative freedom (in respect of where they are able to work) the WHMs are the least well-documented of the transient working populations. For example, the Blenheim Community Constable reported that, “*there is no oversight of WHM once they enter the country, and they can become involved in crime – a conversation between Police and Immigration needs to take place*”. Many WHMs were reported to have a casual approach to seeking work, simply asking about opportunities when they visit a place they like during their New Zealand travels. The number of WHMs seeking work in Kaikoura was impacted significantly by the road closure following the Kaikoura earthquake, and many businesses struggled to maintain their staffing levels. One of the Kaikoura interviewees explained further:

They did walk in – just that opportunity – they might have decided to come to Kaikoura for a night or two and they come and see it on a perfect day and can see themselves staying here for a few months – they didn’t have a fixed plan of where

¹⁴ WWOOF – Willing Workers on Organic Farms

they wanted to work in New Zealand – I don't know what the percentage of uptake around that would be, but we would find some really cool people who loved the place, loved the ocean and had the right passion for the place, but of course that was impacted by the feeling of – ‘what say the road closes and I get stuck here?’ – ‘or if there is another earthquake?’

One of the Kaikoura tourism business owners described their usual staffing arrangements, and the difficulties finding additional seasonal WHMs to fill the positions vacated by locals (who, as noted, shifted to earthquake rebuild employment):

We would run on about 65 per cent local and 35 per cent WHM normally – this last summer has been probably more like 55 per cent local and 45 per cent WHM – because we have had to attract more seasonal workers – and that is where the challenge has come in because of the pressures around accommodation and also every other region is short of staff – so it is a national issue, so we are trying to find those people, but they are fully engaged.

There is considerable competition across New Zealand to attract WHMs, with demand for workers outstripping supply in the busy summer tourist season. The WHMs themselves use a variety of approaches source employment including the ‘serendipitous’ (e.g., “many used to find work in Kaikoura by simply walking around and looking for ‘staff wanted’ signs in windows”) and more targeted searches using a variety of internet resources. Amongst others, there are a number of groups on Facebook which focus on backpacker employment (see Figure 10) as well as the dedicated ‘backpackerboard’ website (<http://www.backpackerboard.co.nz/>, also see Figure 11) which offers an online jobs board.

Figure 10 Facebook pages listing backpacker jobs

The screenshot shows a list of three Facebook groups:

- New Zealand Backpacker Jobs, Work and Travel**: 14K members · 10+ posts a day. Description: PLEASE READ: This group revolves around the theme "Backpacker Jobs in New Zealand"! It should hel... 10 members said they went to University of Canterbury. +1 Join button.
- Backpacker Work and Travel New Zealand 2018**: 1.4K members · 10+ posts a day. Description: Buy and Sell Group · New Zealand · This Group is for your Work and Travel Year in New Zealand. To make your sta... 31 members said they live in Christchurch, New Zealand. +1 Join button.
- NEW ZEALAND Backpacker / Traveler / Work and Travel**: 3.9K members · 10+ posts a day. Description: Buy and Sell Group · New Zealand · PLEASE READ: We welcome all new members to the "NEW ZEALAND Backpacker / Trav... 35 members said they live in Christchurch, New Zealand. +1 Join button.

<https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=backpacker%20jobs%20new%20zealand>

Many backpackers still rely on assistance from tourism service suppliers in their employment search. In Blenheim, for example, the i-SITE assists WHMs looking for employment via the distribution of employment information sheets. One of these contains the contact details of potential employers and accommodation options, while the other provides an ‘Employment tips for seasonal workers’ page published by MBIE¹⁵. The latter outlines both documentation requirements and information about worker rights.

One of the biggest challenges associated with the WHM population is with staff accommodation, as the Manager of the Alpine Lodge in St Arnaud explained: “*Housing WHMs can be a challenge, but we have three staff rooms on site and we can use [our own] backpackers and we have a couple of properties we can use*”. However, even in St Arnaud (which was not impacted directly by the earthquake) this was “*made harder when the holiday homes were rented by Fulton Hogan [for the road crews]*”. The road crew market segment was also noted to be “*paying good rents*”. In Blenheim, pressure on accommodation more broadly was also reported to have impacted on the WHM population. As one interviewee noted, “*some [WHMs] get into house share situations, but that is less common now with the pressure on accommodation and rental properties*”. In post-earthquake Kaikoura, businesses struggled to deal with a more mobile workforce than usual which, as this interviewee explained, had a knock-on effect on accommodation demand:

We have had people stay for four weeks and then move on and so now what we are facing is a skill shortage – we thought we could fill the gap to get us through the season with WHM people, but the challenges around that have been accommodation – somewhere to stay – if they find somewhere to stay the cost is so inflated – people are living in vans and now it’s getting cold. The town is starting to empty out a little bit, but the room rates are still inflated because the demand – even though it is pulling back – is still evident.

The demand for WHMs in Blenheim is so high that most of the backpacker hostels in Blenheim are now “*fully worker hostels*”. One of these hostel managers noted the benefits of this: “*It is all year round – tourists are nice – it’s nice to deal with them, but they are very short-lived, and we would be empty by now [in May]*”. However, they also reflected that this “*does create a shortage of accommodation options for visitors wanting only one- or two-night’s accommodation*”. The switch to worker hostel was potentially influenced by the post-earthquake situation, whereby the worker hostels “*were doing very well [such was demand for accommodation and work availability] but the tourist hostels didn’t do so well with the road closed*”. This change is also made possible, in part, because Blenheim-based WHM employment is available year-round, whereas in Kaikoura and St Arnaud it is more seasonal (associated with the peak summer tourist season).

As a result of these changes, hostels in Blenheim are not only “*known to be a working hostel*” but have been assimilated into the broader employment system, with both contractors and local employment agencies contacting hostel managers when they need workers. These hostels might then advertise ‘work and accommodation offers’ as shown in Figure 11. Ensuring the availability of year-round and regular employment (i.e., not relying solely on vineyard work for their guests as it is

¹⁵ Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment

too seasonal and weather-reliant) is key to the success of the worker hostels, as one interviewee explained:

So, we have definitely diversified in making sure that our connections – or relationships – are with employers across the field – factories and horticulture as well as the vineyards to ensure a consistent demand for workforce throughout the year.

The hostel owners also ‘vet’ the employers to some extent, making sure that their ‘guests’ are not taken advantage of, or treated poorly in the workplace. One Blenheim interviewee noted that it was better for casual workers to seek employment via registered services such as the Seasonal Labour Coordinator or their accommodation providers. However, another interviewee (who worked in accommodation housing both WHMs and RSE workers) talked about treating the WHM population differently in the event of a natural hazard event:

As an accommodation provider what we do for the backpackers and as an RSE provider would be a lot different, and [for the latter] the rest of [---] would step up. It is our job to make sure they are safe for the duration of their stay, but with the backpackers we are just an accommodation provider – to a certain extent – obviously, we need to keep them safe while they are here also.

Figure 11 Backpacker board advertisement for employment and accommodation

Need Seasonal Work??

Payment: Paid Position (\$1234)
Location: Blenheim
Region: Marlborough/Blenheim/Picton
Experience: No Experience Necessary

This is a work and accomodation offer :)

Our contractors need workers! If you want to stay with us and have a good job in the vineyards you will need to be heading this way as soon as you can!

The Pruning season will be starting between the 5-8th of June!! so get ready to secure your spots before they are all gone as the beds are starting to fill up, but we still have plenty of tent and van sites available! No you do not always need your own transport but it does help, once you have arrived here and YOU HAVE CHECKED IN FOR ONE WEEK we put your name on our list in the office and as soon as we know about what day you will be starting you will be told, if this sounds good to you send us an email and we will try our best to help :)

What do you get when you decide to stay with us at Blenheim backpackers?

We might not have a bar in our hostel but with lots of space, BBQS and fire drums to keep you warm during these cold months we are sure you will enjoy your stay

We also offer free WiFi, Free use of BBQS, 24hr hot showers, hammocks to laze in and a large grassy areas for activities.

Some rooms have their own kitchen, all rooms have their own fridge, kettle and toaster and cooking utensils. Don't hesitate to contact us when you have any more questions.

http://www.backpackerboard.co.nz/work_jobs/new-zealand-jobs79495.html

This change in hostel guests has also brought in a more pastoral management style in the hostels, although there are considerable variations in how well the hostels are managed, with the poorly managed ones “*attracting a lot of Police attention*”. From a safety perspective (e.g., in the event of an emergency), it is easier to account for worker guests than for leisure ones, in part because the former are also subject to an added layer of oversight from employers, but also because their whereabouts are more easily known. However, one interviewee, who was involved with WHM

population in Blenheim, commented that the RSE workers are “*better looked after than the WHM*”. Another interviewee reflected that if Blenheim lost accommodation options, as a result of a natural hazard event, the implications in respect of being able to maintain a WHM population would be significant.

Comparisons of the WHM and RSE worker populations were common, as these two groups not only work alongside each other in Marlborough, but are also sometimes housed together in Blenheim. The Duncannon complex, for example, houses both groups over the summer months when there are fewer RSE workers employed. One interviewee noted that, although the advent of the RSE scheme “*initially pushed the backpackers out of the market for seasonal work*”, demand for workers has now increased to the point where more workers from both groups are needed. However, differences remain in respect of the amount of practical assistance and support given to each group. With most of the viticulture worker population living in Blenheim, but working in the surrounding rural areas, transport (to work) was often an issue with the WHM population, effectively “*making them a harder employment prospect*”. In contrast, the RSE workers have transport supplied through the RSE scheme.

For the WHMs themselves, there were also challenges associated with working alongside the RSE workers. As one interviewee explained, “*for the WHMs it can be demoralising working alongside RSE workers because they [the WHMs] are much slower, and a lot of the work is on contract rates*”. They added that the WHMs also “*come with an attitude of entitlement*”. In addition, several other interviewees noted that “*as a workforce they are much more unreliable than the RSE workers – but they are here to earn money and then travel – so they have quite a different motivation*”. Several Blenheim interviewees also described the contrasting motivations of the two groups:

The WHMs are on an OE – they are travelling and having fun and want to play as hard as they work, whereas the RSE are focused on what they are here to do.

The RSE are hard workers – they are determined – they are building houses from their work, whereas the backpackers are just funding their alcohol and bungy jumps.

In St Arnaud, the majority of staff at the Alpine Lodge are WHMs and “*within that group it can be challenging to get good workers – the work can be stressful, and it is busy – and some WHM just want to have a holiday and work [a bit]*”.

While businesses were reliant on the WHM population to maintain staffing levels there were some concerns around their length of stay (in jobs) and the challenge of training a transient workforce. Businesses in St Arnaud, for example, “*hire WHMs but it is difficult because they train them and then they leave*”. However, the Blenheim WHMs tend to stay longer working over the winter season (“*hunkering down*”) and look for shorter contracts during summer. The employers also want them to stay longer over winter, as jobs such as pruning require more training. One Blenheim interviewee also noted that the WHMs who are slightly older are generally better workers. The Kaikoura i-SITE Supervisor also talked about the challenges of training seasonal WHM staff and the potential negative impact of employing foreigners:

Usually those WHMs have a true passion for New Zealand – they come here for a reason and they love New Zealand – so they bring that passion to the i-SITE

visitors [they help], but it has to do with the seasonality – I don't have any other option really – but it is hard as an i-SITE because we have to train someone, and the training is very hard. We want to deliver a good customer service and you want your staff to promote your town and New Zealand properly – and [make sure] that they know everything – but they don't – and maybe for the domestic market they don't like it when foreigners are promoting their country.

There were mixed views on the extent to which the WHM population mixed with the host population. Those working in hospitality (i.e., in Kaikoura and St Arnaud) are limited by their work schedules (e.g., “*often working in the evenings when community events are on in St Arnaud*”). Several Blenheim interviewees noted that the WHMs based there were ‘visible’ in the community as they frequented local gyms, bars and get involved in sports – activities facilitated by their more regular employment schedules and longer periods of employment. Another Blenheim interviewee suggested that the WHMs do generally socialise within their own population group, however, commenting that “*one of the Blenheim pubs has been reoriented and reorganised to cater to this group, edging out the local drinkers to some extent*”. An inclination to ‘stick together’ socially was also reported in St Arnaud along with a “*tendency to go to town [i.e., Blenheim or Nelson] when they have time off, since there is little to do in St Arnaud*”. One of the Kaikoura interviewees commented that it “*can be a challenge to keep the WHMs as they like to socialise – as well as working – and what we are finding out is that our little town closes up at 9 o'clock at night*”.

Overall, there was a perception that the WHM population was less committed to ‘work’, and to staying in jobs, than most other transient worker population groups. In Blenheim, for example, there was an expectation that “*if a hazard event were to occur [and accommodation premises were damaged] the WHMs would just leave – find work elsewhere in NZ*” and that doing so “*would not be such a big deal to them [the WHMs] as they could get annoyed with a job and go regardless [of an event]*”. Several of the Kaikoura interviewees talked about the importance of investing in the WHM population. A tourism business owner explained:

It's about economic development – we have had loose talks in the past with the RTO¹⁶ and council about putting together a resource for these seasonal workers – when they come in they get a welcome pack – they know where everything is and where the services they need are, and so we are investing in them – they are not just a fly-by night population – they are actually an important part of what we can offer as a business to this community, to our visitors and it's so vital.

Kaikoura tourism businesses will sometimes support WHM to apply for permanent positions (i.e., ones which require a more formal work visa), further indication of their importance to the Kaikoura economy. As one interviewee noted, “*the government forgets how valuable WHMs are to the country – beyond their work contribution they travel the country and contribute to the economy, particularly in the regions*”.

¹⁶ Regional Tourism Organisation

5.4 Transient populations

The most transient of the population groups on the continuum include domestic and international tourists who stay for a short length of time, as well as people who are travelling for work, but who might be only passing through, or stopping for a few days in a location. People travelling for work and domestic tourists are often habitual visitors to a location and will have some awareness of the local community's structure and may also have made some social connections within that community. As one of the Kaikoura interviewees noted, "*as well as the tourists and the travelling public there are businesses that come through [Kaikoura] and do two-three days a month here doing work with clients*". Pre-earthquake, the Waiau Hotel attracted a variety of guests including "*contractors coming into town for a few nights, people for the annual bike rally – local events plus people passing by, and just people just coming out of the blue*".

The size and economic characteristics of each case study community determine the importance of these different transient populations, with tourists (both international and domestic) prominent in Kaikoura and St Arnaud. While tourists do travel through Waiau (and sometimes stay) working transients are perhaps more common. It is more difficult to differentiate transient population groups from within the (larger) resident population in Blenheim, but the size of its commercial accommodation sector suggests that the town hosts many visitors. The 'visitor population' is not homogenous and the sections below describe visitor patterns, earthquake impact, perceived vulnerability, and resilience associated with two broad visitor types: the 'tourists', both international and domestic, who are found within/avail themselves of the more formalised and commercial tourism industry milieu; and 'experiential visitors', including trampers, campers, freedom campers and WWOOFers, who are often more widely dispersed and whose travel is undertaken outside of the commercial tourism systems.

5.4.1 Tourists

Tourism is a valuable contributor to the New Zealand economy and the Kaikoura earthquake impacted significantly on all four case study communities as a result of earthquake-related road closures and changes in visitor flows. It was reported, for example, that "*since the Kaikoura earthquake [international] visitor growth in Marlborough was considerably slower than across rest of New Zealand and, with a third of domestic visitors from Christchurch, 'that tap got turned off as well'*". Even after SH1 was partially re-opened, road closures continued to impact on the travel patterns of visitors coming to Kaikoura. One of the Kaikoura tourism businesses, for example, lost a lot of business on their previously popular dawn trip, as a result of day-trippers being unable to get there with the overnight road closures. The impact of these changes in tourist flows was uneven, however, with both Waiau and St Arnaud benefitting from Kaikoura and Blenheim's losses.

Waiau had attracted some tourists pre-earthquake, but as one Waiau interviewee explained, this was mainly because "*we are on the road between the two tourist hotspots of Hanmer Springs and Kaikoura*". Other attractions of Waiau included its small size (e.g., "*you get the ones that just like small towns – they would rather experience a bit more of the backyard Kiwi way*") and price competitiveness, as one of the Waiau accommodation providers noted:

Germans in campervans keep us going, and freedom campers because it's too expensive to stay in Hanmer Springs or Kaikoura – we are a third of the price and

they are willing to drive. We are at the bottom end [of pricing] and we rely on turnover, but we get it because of that. Also, WHMs come through here a lot – staying here – they don't find work in Waiau – a lot have come from Marlborough.

With the road north of Kaikoura closed post-earthquake, however, many of these visitors were lost. There were also issues with visitor awareness of the earthquake-related road closures. According to one of the Blenheim interviewees (who was involved with WHMs) “*word doesn't really seem to spread in backpacker market – earthquake news is not an issue [for these visitors] – people thought road was open*”. Knowing how many visitors are in situ is important should an emergency event occur, and, as the Destination Marlborough General Manager noted, “*it is difficult when you are not a major port/airport location – most tourism is measured by visitor spend [not where they visit]*”.

Generally speaking, those tourists staying within the formal/commercial tourism environment are more easily managed and kept up-to-date in the event of an emergency. The Destination Marlborough RTO, for example, has an 800-strong database of members to whom they can “*get messaging to in an emergency – and ask that it is passed on to [their] guests*”. RTOs are also an important link in the emergency management communication system which includes both council and CDEM. Booking system data can be used to estimate how many visitors might be around, and, although not completely accurate, “[it] gives emergency management a level of comfort around what to expect”. A lot depends on what type of event occurs and response can be varied. According to the Destination Marlborough General Manager, for example:

[The] first question emergency management ask is if there is a cruise ship in town, but the cruise company will depart as soon as something happens – they may leave their passengers behind. Another issue would be if there was a cruise ship issue in the Sounds – [and issues around] how to get passengers off?

International tourists are potentially the most vulnerable visitor group as they often have minimal knowledge of natural hazard events that may occur, as well as being in an unfamiliar country and dealing with a different culture and language. When the Kaikoura earthquake happened the Kaikoura community response, in the first instance, was to make sure their visitors were safe and then to evacuate them. This is described in the first excerpt below, although as the second speaker notes this may not always be in the best interests of these tourists as they have also experienced a traumatic event:

If I look back – we as a town really looked after our visitors – they were all gathered at the Churchill Park and the marae was open to everyone – and instead of looking after their families, they [the locals] actually looked after the tourists – I am really proud of the way that Kaikoura dealt with their visitors and got them out as soon as possible.

In terms of tourists' resilience after an event, the ones who stayed were able to be with people who understood [the experience], whereas the ones who left were taken to Christchurch and could have been home within a week. Everyone is pleased you are safe, but you don't feel safe – you have to process this whole trauma by yourself.

Domestic tourism is much broader in terms of its motivational drivers and visitation patterns (both temporal and geographic). For example, domestic tourists may travel for annual holidays and short leisure breaks and for more targeted events (such as weddings, participation in sport and recreation activities, cultural festivals, local community events, as so on). Domestic tourists may stay in commercial accommodation, in holiday homes (which might be their own or rented) or with friends and family. While domestic tourism is also seasonal, it is less so than international tourism and a ‘winter tourism boost’ was reported in Waiau and St Arnaud as a result of having ski areas located nearby.

In St Arnaud, the ‘generational’ nature of many domestic holiday home visitors was also noted as contributing to at least some visitor awareness of place. Many of these holiday home owners were also reported to live relatively close to St Arnaud (e.g., Blenheim or Nelson) facilitating regular visitation. Likewise, many of the Kaikoura holiday home owners were reported to live in Christchurch. Overall, however, the domestic visitor market in Kaikoura was reported to be more reliant on commercial accommodation, and this market was ‘under pressure’ post-earthquake, as a result of the accommodation shortages described in previous sections. There was, however, a perceived increase in domestic visitation post-earthquake with “*some people wanting to see what happened and others wanting to support Kaikoura*”.

5.4.2 Experiential visitors

The experiential visitor group includes those visitors seeking a more independent, less structured (and often less commercial) experience. These include WWOOFers (reported in all four case study communities), freedom campers (reported in Blenheim, Kaikoura and St Arnaud) and trampers and campers (reported in St Arnaud). Trampers and campers represent a significant visitor group in St Arnaud with the former attracted by the tracks and routes in the adjacent Nelson Lakes National Park and the latter frequenting lakeside camping areas which are also managed by DOC. DOC maintains an office in St Arnaud and, as noted, employs volunteer staff throughout the summer season. Visitation to the national park – by both international and domestic visitors – is highly seasonal.

Conservation land in New Zealand is ‘public’ (i.e., open to everyone) and DOC have no legal authority over anyone in the national park. While they also have no way of knowing who is there at any given time, they do have some ‘proxies’, including “*online bookings for campsites (so have some record of names), wardens in some of the busier huts over summer and radio contact with the huts*”. It was suggested that, in the event of an emergency event, “*people in the national park ‘kind of look after themselves by definition’*” with the same speaker adding that “*if there was a major event helicopters would probably be needed for more important work than finding trampers*”. Another St Arnaud interviewee noted that, “*trampers aren’t so much of an issue [in the event of an emergency] as most of them are well-equipped and have food supplies with them*”. However, one interviewee (who worked for DOC), commented on the lack of preparedness (in respect of any emergency event) of many trampers, noting that, “*few people carry an EPIR and they are sometimes reluctant to use it when they do*”. It was also suggested that there may be some variations in both understanding potential natural hazards and in preparedness, depending on where trampers were from:

I am a wee bit callous when it comes to trampers – if something happens while I am out there, I have shelter and food and the ability to do something – if I am hurt there is probably not a whole lot anyone can do for me. I believe that a lot of our international visitors don't have that mind-set.

There was also further differentiation between visitors of different nationalities in respect of the level of natural hazard understanding they might have. The St Arnaud interviewee who worked for DOC described having one of their Israeli volunteer workers talk to the DOC staff about Israel and Israelis (“*a group DOC struggle to understand and communicate with*”). From this the DOC staff learnt that “*they [Israelis] don't understand our obsession with the wind and so what they think we are fussing about seems irrelevant to them and we are missing the point completely*”. Likewise, “*a North American visitor might get the message about fire risk if they are from California, but not if they are from New York*”.

The differences between trampers and campers was also commented on, with one interviewee describing the latter as ‘all-comers really’ and others reporting issues with “*campers not understanding fire risks and not behaving in a safe fashion*”. DOC has procedures to evacuate campsites, or to manage with some continuity of service, were anything to happen and one interviewee (who worked for DOC) noted that they “*had a foreshadowing of an event with the norovirus outbreak on one of the popular tramping tracks in the national park in the 2016/17 summer*”. The size of the area managed by DOC was an issue, however, with a media report at the time noting that this outbreak presented “a new challenge for the Nelson Marlborough District Health Board, which was familiar with norovirus, but not with managing its spread over an 80 km area” (Carson, 2017).

While DOC engages with the trampers (via hut registrations and through their visitor centre) the majority are perceived to simply pass through St Arnaud en route to the park and have minimal interaction with the wider St Arnaud community. Although it was suggested that “*campers don't integrate much because they are here to do their own thing*” it was also reported that community events are advertised to campers with “*notices put up in the shelters – often these are fundraising events and so having new money [coming into the community] is useful*”. Another interviewee added that the “*campers enjoy coming [to these events] and [they often] want to know what money is being raised for*” suggesting that this type of experience enhances their holiday (or New Zealand) experience. Because they are paying to camp (albeit on conservation land with minimal facilities) a clear distinction was made between these campers and the more maligned ‘freedom campers’.

Freedom campers were reported as a social/community issue in all the communities except Waiau; although freedom campers were reported as being present in Waiau they appeared more likely to make use of the moderately priced commercial accommodation available, along with a designated freedom camping area in nearby Rotherham. Comments about this group broadly addressed three concerns: the behaviour of the freedom campers; governance and agency issues associated with managing their safety in the event of a natural hazard event; and, concerns around providing a good visitor experience. The main behavioural issues reported were littering, public toileting and lighting fires. One interviewee described the community discontent with freedom camping in (and around) Kaikoura and the impact of the earthquake on freedom camping:

[There has been] people getting angry at people parking up, and there has been a lot of talk about them using the beach as a toilet. I think the pressure has been put on because so many of the traditional spots around the coast can't be used – which means they [the freedom campers] are more visible.

The KDC Economic Recovery Manager also commented that, “*the more condensed nature of freedom camping areas also changed the experience for those who were freedom camping*”.

When asked about protecting freedom campers in the event of an emergency, the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager reported that, while they do go to known freedom camping spots after an emergency, there are issues with how prepared some of this group might be:

Most visitors will be looked after by their accommodation providers, but freedom campers who are more independent are hard to keep tabs on – they are also poorly prepared, undersupplied and living off the smell of an oily rag – they might have somewhere to sleep, but they won't have much food and no water.

In Blenheim, Destination Marlborough helps manage (i.e., find) alternative freedom camping spots for these visitors should an emergency event occur, while in St Arnaud DOC do not take any responsibility for freedom campers because “*they would be under TDC jurisdiction as they are not allowed in the national park*” (see Figure 12). There is, however, no TDC representation in St Arnaud.

Figure 12 Freedom camping sign – St Arnaud



Photo Credit: Jude Wilson

The final group of experiential visitors are the ‘volunteer’ WWOOFers who can be found all over New Zealand. This group is challenging to classify for a variety of reasons. One is that they do not always fit the ‘visitor’ category as many also find paid employment while in New Zealand. Also, technically speaking, WWOOFers should hold a working holiday visa (even if they are undertaking volunteer work). They should also be paid appropriately for any activity that could be classed as work, an issue which has attracted considerable media attention over recent years (see, for example, Cropp, 2016, 2018b). Ideally WWOOFing should be ‘learning’ experience for the

WWOOFers, rather providing hosts with ‘freebie labour’. According to the WWOOF organisation, “Out of more than 2000 hosts on its register, about 10 a year were removed for failing to meet the organisation’s standards, either for ‘inappropriate behaviour or not providing a learning experience’” (Cropp, 2018a).

Many of the interviewees were aware of the above issues. One of the Waiau interviewees had experience of hosting French students who were in New Zealand to learn about farming systems and talked about their concerns around being able to legally continue do this. They commented that they *“have them as family guests and try to accommodate their travel around New Zealand as well – and one girl even played rugby while she was here”*. A Blenheim interviewee also explained that the couple of ‘genuine’ WWOOFing hosts they knew of *“offered more general farm work than vineyard work”* noting that some backpackers also do WWOOFing when there *“is no paid work around”*.

In Kaikoura, issues around WWOOFer employment surfaced post-earthquake when a number of commercial premises who had WWOOFers working for them lost their staff. While some of the WWOOFers simply left to continue their travels, the businesses ‘employing’ them also *“found that they were not eligible for MSD employee funding post-earthquake”* as a result of them not being a ‘legitimate workforce’. Another of the Kaikoura interviewees, who had considered taking on some WWOOFers to house-sit their rural property, decided that it was too difficult to ‘arrange (i.e., attract) and manage’ this population. While WWOOFers usually stay for a short period of time only, there were reports of WWOOFers in Kaikoura staying ‘for a summer’ and fully participating in community life. One Kaikoura interviewee, for example, recalled how WWOOFers were often people who were *“very motivated to volunteer”* as, in addition to working as WWOOFers, they also *“volunteer at the OpShop, and so they connect with all these older ladies from the community and then they somehow got involved in DOC’s shearwater project, so they became involved in the community”*.

5.5 Population challenges

The transient population groups found in these rural communities include both New Zealand residents and those from overseas. As described by the population transience continuum, some ‘transients’ arrive in these communities with the intention of becoming permanent residents, while others will become semi-permanent or temporary residents depending on employment opportunities and (often) visa conditions. The most transient of the population groups on the continuum are generally those who are not working. While the classification of transients is based on their length of stay, each transient population group can also be described according to a range of demographic factors including age, family status and country of origin; factors which also determine how well they both fit with, and integrate into, the host community. For members of transient population groups who are working, integration also varies with employment type, work schedules and location (of both employment and residence).

The size of the host community and its resources (e.g., social, governance, infrastructure) impact on a community’s capacity to accommodate and assimilate new people. Robust structures and support systems are found in communities where the economic value of transient population groups is recognised, such as with the RSE in Marlborough and, to a lesser extent, the Filipino engaged on

dairy farms in Amuri. This also correlates with the lobbying power and cohesiveness of these industries. In contrast, the WHM population are poorly supported as a result of their spatial dispersion, multiple sector employment (e.g., agriculture, horticulture, retail, hospitality) and the fact that they are particularly prominent in the more disparate tourism sector.

While the primary focus for Blenheim and Kaikoura (and to a lesser extent, Waiau and St Arnaud) was on transient population groups who come to New Zealand to work, a number of visitor groups (both domestic and international) are also economically and socially important to these communities. The level of attention paid to both the holiday home owners and the incidental campers (who were invited to community events) by the St Arnaud interviewees, for example, was an indication of their importance in the St Arnaud community. As noted, all of these ‘outsiders’ are valuable financially to both businesses and the community more broadly (via fundraising), as well as ‘inflating’ the population numbers and contributing as a social presence. Although holiday home owners did not appear to be as well-regarded in Kaikoura, they contributed economically via rates and other spending while in the town and were appreciated for their social support in the Kaikoura community post-earthquake.

The economic importance and vulnerability of the transient visitors (e.g., tourists) necessitates a greater degree of protection and management (at least in the short term) should a natural hazard event occur, as the evacuation efforts activated in Kaikoura immediately post-earthquake demonstrated. The visitor groups who have limited interactions with the commercial tourism industry, such as the experiential visitors (e.g., freedom campers) or those who work voluntarily (e.g., WWOOFers) or incidentally (e.g., some WHMs) are the most vulnerable in respect of both natural hazard events and employment exploitation. These visitor groups also have the least interaction with host communities and with extant governance structures.

6 Governance and community

Prior to beginning fieldwork, we undertook a desktop review of governance and social networks relevant to the case study communities (see Wilson & Simmons, 2018). Here we report interview data relating to governance and social networks: in some instances, these data provide a more nuanced picture of the governance and networks already described while, in others, the data describe governance and social networks which had not previously been identified. While by no means exhaustive (i.e., the data were collected within the broader interview context) these data provide insights into how communities and governance connect ‘on the ground’.

The governance and community data presented here highlight a number of earthquake-specific governance issues and provide greater detail around some of the community challenges associated with governance identified in the previous ‘four communities’ and ‘transient population continuum’ sections of the report. While there is some overlap in respect of these governance challenges, they are examined here according to four broad areas of governance: governance and civic structure; immigration; civil defence in the community; and, social networks and community groups.

Together, these were identified as key ‘governance challenges’ in respect of natural hazard events, transient population groups and resilient rural communities.

6.1 Governance and civic structure

The four communities studied fall under the jurisdiction of two unitary (Tasman and Marlborough District Councils) and one regional council (Environment Canterbury), with the latter incorporating the Hurunui and Kaikoura District Councils at territorial authority level. Within each of these council areas are found multiple individual communities which differ across a range of factors including population size, demographics and economic activity. Each community also has a physical geography which encompasses spatial location and isolation and, in respect of this research, distance from the epicentre of the Kaikoura earthquake. Together, these social and physical factors contributed to variations in community experiences of the Kaikoura earthquake and its ongoing effects. Even within single local government areas the impact of the earthquake varied considerably. As the MDC Community Development Advisor noted, “*Blenheim has never been tested in terms of needing to be resilient, but South Marlborough has*”, adding that the impact of the Kaikoura earthquake on the Blenheim council was increased because South Marlborough was only able to be accessed from the north.

A number of governance versus community issues emerged in the immediate aftermath of the Kaikoura earthquake. In Waiau, tensions between locals and the ‘authorities’ in the immediate response period were documented in the media (see, for example, Broughton, 2016) and the number of times these were reported in interviews suggested that they were not easily forgotten (or forgiven). In the wake of significant natural hazard events (such as the Christchurch and Kaikoura earthquakes) new governance structures are put in place and do not always align with extant systems. As one of the Waiau interviewees (who was involved with HDC) noted, “*we found that since the earthquake recovery team moved in, we [council] were duplicating all sorts of things*”. The Destination Marlborough General Manager also suggested that “*Marlborough is very lucky as a region to have only one council, one roading agency – and the Kaikoura earthquake made everyone aware of how the pieces all fitted together*”.

Local councils are the governing entity with which many people in the community have at least some interaction or engagement. In some locations, council-community partnerships have been used to provide community facilities. In St Arnaud, for example, “*the community hall is owned by TDC and they have appointed a manager, but a huge amount of money came out of the community to build the hall*”. Both Waiau and St Arnaud have community groups which represented residents at council (respectively, the Amuri Community Committee and the Rotoiti District Community Council (RDCC)) but there is no formal community representation at council in either Kaikoura or Blenheim. In Blenheim, the Resident and Ratepayers group has “*supporters rather than members*” and has no formal connection to the MDC. The group “*steps up [i.e., putting in submissions] when the council does something they disagree with*”. In St Arnaud it was noted that “*a lot of people aren’t interested in being on the RDCC – [they] only come along when they have an issue*”. The RDCC had changed over time however, as one of the St Arnaud interviewees explained:

A while back there were the two groups looking out for the interests of the area. The RDCC and the St Arnaud Community Association [or something like that] and the community association seemed to be predominantly bach owners and the RDCC was predominantly farmers and permanent people ... but the community association has disbanded – I think the RDCC is doing a very good job.

The St Arnaud community committee includes both permanent and temporary (i.e., holiday home owners) residents and is indicative of that community’s population structure. The Secretary of the RDCC described the involvement of the bach owners and the way in which changes in the community had impacted on the structure and operation of the committee:

It is funded by TDC – under their umbrella, but we don’t actually have any statutory status – it is very much an advisory thing – we represent the Rotoiti area – Kawatiri down to Rainbow Station area. The area is roughly 50/50 locals and bach owners – it used to have to be 50/50 permanent residents and bach owners, but the rules got changed four or five years ago – now it can be anybody, but you have to be a property owner. We have our meetings on a Friday night so the bach owners can be here, but quite a few of the bach owners have ended up being permanent residents here – that is one of the reasons we had to change the rules.

The Waiau Citizens Association (which reports to the Amuri Community Council and ultimately the HDC) includes representatives from both the township and the surrounding farming community.

The challenges faced post-earthquake by the KDC were recognised by interviewees, with one interviewee noting that it was time Kaikoura had a “*community forum that stands alongside council without the legal responsibility, because council are overburdened without a doubt*”. Others suggested that there were issues around participation from both sides (i.e., the council and the community). It was suggested that the council did not listen to the community in the immediate post-earthquake period (e.g., “*the council wasn’t great with listening at the start – they were good with messaging but hopeless with listening*”) and that “*while public meetings were good, they still only attract a certain portion of the community*”. Councils were reported to connect to their communities more generally (i.e., beyond those active in these community groups or who attend public meetings) via social media (especially Facebook and Twitter) and, while the Marlborough

CDEM was also “*trialling Neighbourly, it is not proving very effective*”. It was widely acknowledged, however, that social media misses some people in the community.

Another governance issue that emerged in interviews was the logic behind the ways in which many central government services are devolved at a regional (and sometimes district) level. As one of the Waiau interviewees commented:

The services tend to think that Rangiora is North Canterbury and they don't realise that there are people further out – all those welfare type services. Not long ago with St John they wanted to put the person to whom the station officer relates to in Blenheim – nobody goes to Blenheim from here – they decided to even the numbers they were going to move it to Blenheim [from Christchurch].

The ‘artificial’ boundaries imposed by governance structures can present some communities with administrative challenges. Kaikoura, for example, lies within Canterbury for health services and Marlborough for education. When asked if they identify with Marlborough or Canterbury, one of the Kaikoura interviewees replied:

It depends – for health we are in Canterbury, for education we are in Marlborough and we celebrate Marlborough anniversary, so we really are a little bit lost. That is one of the barriers to whatever – to moving forward because it is difficult. I work in corrections part time and they come from Blenheim, and health comes from Christchurch, and we are always referring to different people and sometimes you want them to go to Blenheim, and sometimes Christchurch.

Another Kaikoura interviewee added that most Kaikoura people would look to Christchurch for services, especially as people are “*more likely to travel for health than for education*”. The prolonged closure of SH1 north of Kaikoura after the earthquake reinforced this connection to Christchurch.

Boundary issues also emerged in relation to the size or extent of the case study communities. As noted above, for example, Waiau interviewees often extended their reports of Waiau to include comparisons with the nearby communities Rotherham and Culverden (and occasionally Hanmer Springs). Likewise, in the tourism space, even when asked specifically about Blenheim, the Destination Marlborough General Manager ‘talked Marlborough’ in order to include both the Marlborough Sounds and the Blenheim area. They also talked about the promotion of the Top of the South to international tourists (see Figure 13), noting that “*visitors don't see borders – the Top of the South is an area – it is not divided into Kaikoura, Marlborough, Nelson*”.

While many of the governance issues described above relate primarily to permanent residents, it has to be remembered that it is these residents who either host, or employ, people from all of the transient population groups described in the continuum (see Chapter 5). As noted, many of these transient populations are not only from overseas, but are also working in New Zealand, and this also poses some challenges associated with immigration (for employers, communities and the workers themselves).

Figure 13 Top of the South (Tourism New Zealand)

The screenshot shows the homepage of the 100% Pure New Zealand website. At the top, there's a navigation bar with links for International (dropdown), Sign in, Sign up, Wishlist, and a search icon. Below the navigation is a horizontal menu with Destinations, Things to do, Facts, Recommended trips (which is highlighted in blue), Transport, and Accommodation. The main content area features a large banner image of a man and a woman swimming in a pool. Overlaid on the banner is the text "TOP OF THE SOUTH ITINERARY". To the left of the banner, it says "5 DAYS" and "860 km". To the right, under "HIGHLIGHTS", are listed Marine wildlife, Abel Tasman National Park, and Thermal hot springs. Under "PROXIMITY", it says "From Christchurch to Nelson via Kaikoura" and "Total travel time: 11 h 45 min".

<https://www.newzealand.com/int/feature/top-of-the-south-island-itinerary/>

6.2 Immigration

Across three of the four case studies (St Arnaud was the notable exception), and in relation to many of the transient population groups described in Chapter 5, there were two key immigration challenges reported. The first was the logistical and regulatory difficulties associated with employing overseas workers; the second was around the provision of migrant support in the community in respect of both employment protection and social services. While responding to the first of these challenges appears to bring government and employment groups together, the second can involve multiple government agencies as well as a variety of service clubs and community groups.

Several of the Waiau interviewees reported challenges around “*keeping up with work visa regulations*” with additional difficulties associated with particular types of employment. The manager of one of the Waiau shearing gangs, for example, talked about it being “*difficult to work with immigration when the shearing business needs more staff – because it is ‘piece work’, what you are able to guarantee as an income is hard, plus it could rain for the whole of January*”. They went on to explain that “*there are some seasonal shearers who work the northern and southern hemisphere seasons – some of whom might come on a WHM visa the first time, but after that getting work visas can be a problem – immigration is not accommodating*”.

Similar immigration issues (e.g., “*changing regulations*”, “*the amount of stress and work required to employ staff from overseas*”) were reported in respect of many Kaikoura tourism businesses, as well as those in the apiculture industry. While employing people on WHM visas might be a relatively easy option in the short-term, in the long-term more semi-permanent and permanent workers from overseas are needed to ensure a properly trained and stable workforce. In this respect, Kaikoura

tourism businesses are keen to be granted overseas worker visas exemptions, similar to those available to Queenstown businesses. Given the difficulties associated with getting staff, some interviewees questioned the current visa processes, suggesting that people could have access to multiple one-year visas:

If someone is here – committing to living here, contributing to society, paying tax, enabling a business to function – being self-reliant – taking responsibility, what is the problem?

A recent *New Zealand Geographic* article, which described the increasing importance of migrant labour in rural New Zealand, noted concerns around the reality that “many new-migrant families lead insecure lives, at the whim of immigration law, their future in this country uncertain” (Morris, 2018). Immigration issues associated with migrant worker visa processes also extend beyond New Zealand jurisdiction. Lee (2016), for example, reported that “changes to recruitment rules in the Philippines brought in as an apparent protection for Filipino workers, particularly construction workers for the Canterbury re-build, would restrict the ability of direct hiring of Filipino dairy farm staff”. Another example of an ‘external’ visa condition is the alcohol ban imposed by the Vanuatu government on their RSE workers in New Zealand.

There were also issues around the protection of migrant workers in New Zealand and a number of interviewees suggested that these are often left to be dealt with at the local (rather than national) level. As noted in the ‘new migrants’ section (5.1.3), a number of central government services available to assist migrants (e.g., Language Line) are also administered at national level. While the involvement of employer groups and service clubs such as Rural Women represent local level engagement, these groups do not have the legal or administrative powers to affect change. Also, as one of the Waiau interviewees explained, it can be difficult to identify and to engage those agencies which are perceived to have some responsibility:

Issues with bad employers are difficult to address via immigration New Zealand and the labour department as they only focus on the employees getting the visas and not the employers [unlike the RSE scheme]. Rural Support have been trying to do something about it via employment agencies, but it is hard to get any traction. Also, the immigrants will not complain because they don't want to lose their jobs and that is really sad because they are people with rights – they have every right I have got.

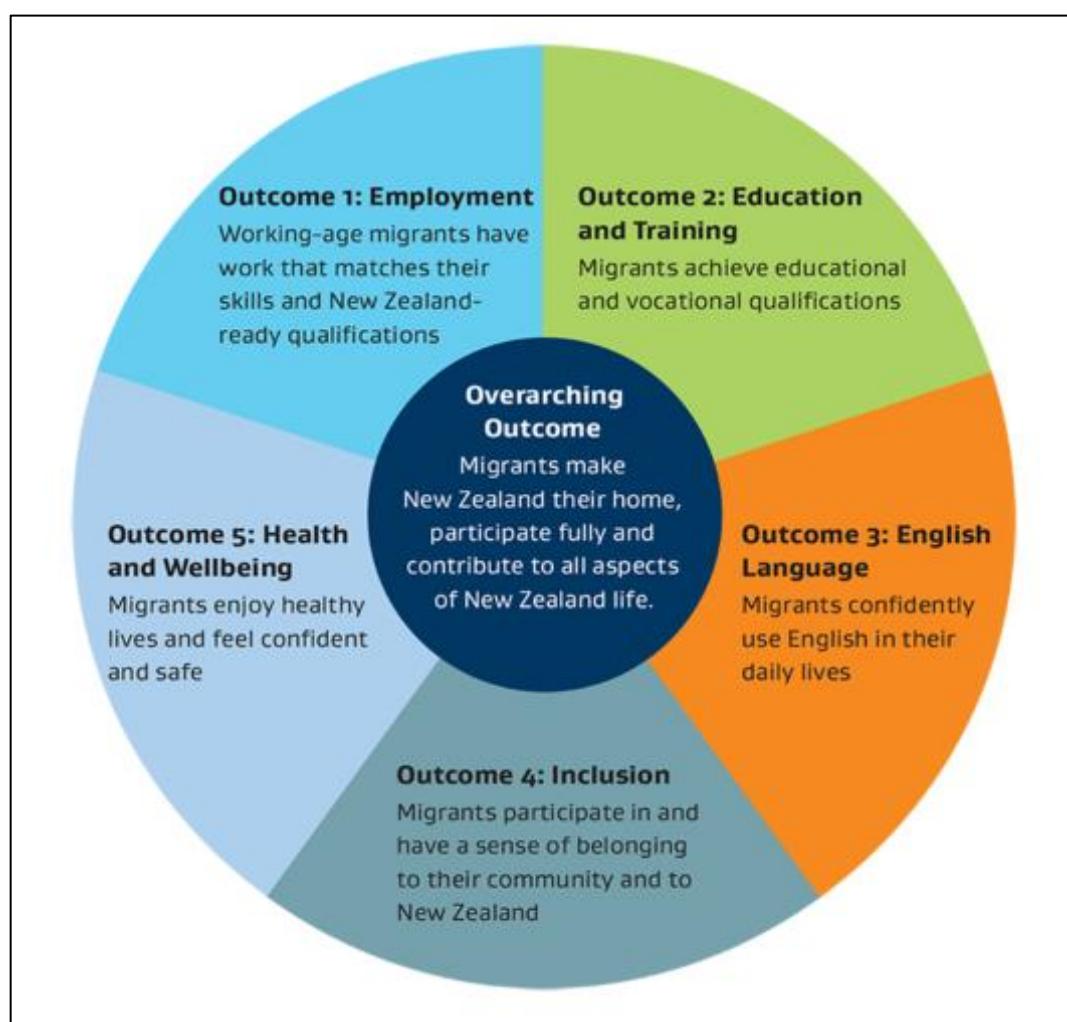
The importance of these protections also extend beyond New Zealand’s border. The RSE workers (referred to in the above excerpt) represent a significant contribution to the GDP of the various origin countries and the success of the scheme has attracted international interest. In New Zealand an MBIE review of RSE remittance transfers, undertaken in 2016, found that income derived from Tongan and Samoan RSE earnings supports on average nine other people in Tonga, and more than ten other people in Samoa (MBIE, 2016). A UK review of the scheme noted the importance of both the formal international agreements and local administrative arrangements in respect of the RSE, and suggested it as an example of effective governance:

The RSE was enshrined in formal agreements between New Zealand and each participating island, but, for implementation, was embedded within existing

administrative arrangements. The RSE represents a high point in the design of evidence-based policy which will be difficult to repeat because the building blocks are so rarely all present at the same time and place (Winters, 2016, p.5).

The Blenheim Manager of the MMC also commented that “[Communities should] celebrate what they have achieved and not always look at the negatives” proposing the “achievement of pastoral support for the RSE community” (described in section 5.2.1) as a positive. Other achievements in Marlborough included the recognition of the people under the Pacific Quota, greater acceptance of migrants in the host community, and acceptance of a variety of interfaith groups in the wider church community. Initiatives such as the establishment of the multi-agency Wellbeing Action Group (see section 4.1.1) have contributed greatly to this progress. The group’s objectives were adopted from the New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy which identifies five measurable settlement and integration outcomes (see Figure 14).

Figure 14 Immigration Strategy



<https://www.immigration.govt.nz/about-us/what-we-do/our-strategies-and-projects/settlement-strategy>

In terms of community resilience, outcomes four (inclusion) and five (health and wellbeing) are of particular relevance when considering the vulnerability, or risk, associated with transient population groups. Having an integrated and inclusive community also contributes to preparedness in respect of hazard events and is a key concern from a civil defence and emergency management perspective.

6.3 Civil defence in the community

In the event of an emergency, MCDEM is responsible for initiating and coordinating national emergency response from the CDEM sector and, as such CDEM provides the structure under which multiple agencies operate. There was, however, some concern around the effectiveness of this structure at the local level, particularly when it applies to agencies and organisations ‘staffed’ by volunteers. One Blenheim interviewee suggested that civil defence “*connects at higher level mostly*” while the St Arnaud CDEM Controller commented that “*the procedures suggested by national CDEM office do not fit anyone who is not local government, whereas in a place like St Arnaud we don't have any local government and I am [just] a volunteer*”.

At the community level, should an emergency occur, CDEM’s role is to provide the structures that residents and visitors can draw on for support although, as noted previously, this was not necessarily well understood. CDEM have to verify any information they make public and this is often perceived as slowing down response efforts, as was reported to be the case in Blenheim with respect to the Kaikoura earthquake. There is also perceived to be an expectation that CDEM will take a more leading (and solitary) role in post-event response than is the case. The Kaikoura CDEM Emergency Management Officer, for example, expressed some concerns around the level of community expectation in respect of being contacted by CDEM after an emergency, recalling Kaikoura community complaints that after the earthquake they had *only* seen their neighbours – “*but that is CDEM*”. The Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Officer agreed with this, noting that the CDEM ‘community’ is actually *all* of Marlborough (including visitors, temporary, semi-permanent permanent residents) and includes “*rural and urban and people and people with high degree of preparedness and high social capital and people who have very little of both*”.

It was noted that there can often be issues getting messaging to people living in more remote rural areas. In 2016 Brian FM teamed up with the Marlborough District Council, Marlborough CDEM and Marlborough Lines to provide emergency message broadcasting. The station learned and upgraded after a power outage brought 45 minutes of radio silence in the wake of the Kaikoura earthquake (Kitt, 2017). According to the Marlborough CDEM, Brian FM is a ‘godsend’ as it reaches a lot of sparsely populated locations in Marlborough (such as Ward, Seddon and the Awatere Valley), many of which are not reached via the frequencies used by commercial radio stations (Herselman, 2015). CDEM also use maritime radio and police communications to get messaging out and, as the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager noted, “*A lot of this is thinking of ways and means to capture maximum number of people*” adding that “*getting messages out is challenged by all the different groups and the fact that you won't always reach all of the people*”. The St Arnaud CDEM Welfare Officer suggested that, in the event of an emergency, the population in each of the surrounding valleys would check in with each other and then with St Arnaud CDEM, adding that “*technically our patch ends just down the road at the Wairau Pass, but the reality is that is not going to matter because we will go as far as we need to go*”.

Population migration, changes in community structure and residence patterns impact on the CDEM systems. At the community level, for example, CDEM does work to raise awareness around what structures are in place in the event of an emergency occurring, something that was noted as being “*especially important in a place like St Arnaud where there are new people in the community who don't realise what structures are present*”. Another concern was noted in relation to spatially dispersed communities, as this interviewee explained, “*if CDEM team members are located outside*

settlements – and they often are from farms – then it is practical to have a settlement-based person in place as well". The Kaikoura CDEM Emergency Welfare Officer described the impact on population changes on their disaster planning:

With these disaster plans is you get six really keen people – which is great – and they write it and they make a sector post and then – hopefully 50 years go by – like in Kaikoura we didn't have a disaster for 20 years – we had the floods of 1993, but that didn't affect everybody – and so we had these sector posts – one was at Hapuku School and I was transiting away from sector posts. But the neighbours around that school had changed – and this is a thing about the Kaikoura population – very few children were going to that school who lived near it – and so when the residents went there, they had this expectation that it would be open and that somebody would be there.

In addition to coordinating response actions with a range of formal agencies, and drawing on the community for volunteers, CDEM also often reaches out to the community for other assistance. In St Arnaud, for example, (as reported in section 4.4.1) the Alpine Lodge have been asked by CDEM to help out with food if necessary. The Chair of Culverden St John provided another example of this:

With the road up through the Lewis Pass being super busy we have actioned a few things to help with that – extra help from Christchurch and contacted local landowners to say that we may call on them if we require help in the middle of winter or something. The station manager has made contact [in advance of actually needing help] and asked them to [be available to] provide help with a tractor and things like that.

CDEM also coordinate with the tourism sector across all 4Rs of CDEM management connecting, at the local level, with RTOs in a variety of ways. It was reported that 'tourism' already had a close relationship with CDEM in Kaikoura (pre-earthquake) and they had held some joint workshops which, according to the Supervisor of the i-SITE, instilled in the local tourism business operators the need to "*be aware of what could happen [in an emergency event] and how guests react. Our visitors are guests and they don't know what to do and so we have to be responsible*". The Destination Marlborough General Manager added that, as an organisation, they get involved in action 'on the ground' as a result of managing i-SITEs and at the time of the Kaikoura earthquake "*our key role was to get visitors out in order to free up accommodation for any displaced locals*". Destination Marlborough also worked with Red Cross after the Kaikoura earthquake: "*They sat in the i-SITE not only for visitors coming in, but also to support the i-SITE staff themselves*". According to the Destination Marlborough General Manager, the role of Destination Marlborough and the Blenheim i-SITE after the Kaikoura earthquake "*created an awareness from Marlborough CDEM of the importance of Destination Marlborough*". They went on to add that, "*since the Christchurch and Kaikoura [earthquakes] i-SITEs have been recognised as a key information source – for locals as well as visitors*". The importance of i-SITEs for locals after the Christchurch earthquakes was also reported by Wilson (2012).

In respect of tourism businesses, the remit for ensuring business continuity is also assumed by the local RTO. A key concern after the Kaikoura earthquake for Destination Marlborough, for example, was with "*getting the right messages out to trade channels – that 'Marlborough was still*

functioning”. Tourism organisations also connect to other agencies within the CDEM structure through sector-based clusters:

Clusters in a CDEM context may consist of agencies from the same sector or organisational grouping that collectively work to reduce the impact of, and plan to be ready for, respond to, and assist recovery from an emergency. Cluster members work to achieve common CDEM outcomes for communities in a coordinated manner. Clusters may be formed at local, regional, and national levels (MCDEM, 2015, p.1).

Current clusters include: transport providers; telecommunications providers; lifeline utilities; welfare services; public information providers; science and research providers; international assistance providers; the visitor sector; and search and rescue. Lifeline utilities were described in the governance report (Wilson & Simmons, 2018). The visitor sector cluster, Visitor Sector Emergency Advisory Group (VSEAG) is described in Box 1.

Box 1 VSEAG Cluster

The purpose of the VSEAG is to support New Zealand’s crisis management arrangements by contributing and coordinating visitor sector situation information, expertise, advice and resources for the lead agency and other response clusters to support the national emergency response.

Specifically, the VSEAG’s role in an emergency involving international visitors to New Zealand is to:

- provide consistent, timely, fit for purpose and accurate visitor sector information and advice to relevant stakeholders
- mobilise visitor sector networks and resources to ensure they can be effectively used for the emergency response, where/as required
- identify key issues affecting visitors (current and intending) and the visitor sector, determining key priority actions to address these issues and ensure they are dealt with by the lead agency and/or the appropriate response clusters, and
- minimise economic loss to the visitor sector, for example by pre-empting cancellations, rerouting itineraries and offering transfers as required.

<https://www.civildefence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/RevisedGuide/Guide-Section-07-Clusters.pdf>

As Box 1 shows, the VSEAG manages responses in respect of international visitors to New Zealand. It is run through the Department of Internal Affairs and according to the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Manager, “*VSEAG would step in in the event of a major event like AF8 or maritime cruise ship disaster – they would bring international relationships to the table*”. New Zealand CDEM also connects ‘internationally’ as a signatory to the Sendai Framework, an international agreement which provides a blueprint for how nations should approach risks from disasters. The Framework promotes three key ideas, one of which is “[A] broader ‘whole-of-society’ approach to risk – everyone has a role in reducing and managing risk” (MCDEM, 2018, p.13). The draft CDEM Strategy identifies a number of unknown factors (‘wildcards’) which may impact on resilience and notes “the importance of cross-sector engagement, particularly between government, the private sector and civil society”; ‘local organisations and grassroots engagement’ are important components within this (MCDEM, 2018, p.44).

6.4 Social networks and community groups

The wide variety of social networks active across New Zealand can be classified into business networks, service clubs and community groups (see Wilson & Simmons, 2018). These often connect communities to the more formal governance structures (as described in the previous sections), while at the community level they offer social networks and connections within, and between communities. While the majority of interviewees were closely involved in these networks (and were selected to participate in the research on this basis) many reported both inequality across the community and unequal participation in decision making, even outside emergency event situations. Often, it is the same people involved in volunteer and community groups, as one of the Kaikoura interviewees explained: “*you can go to a meeting and you could probably hold the school board meeting, as well as a garden club meeting, as well as something else all at the same time – maybe swap one or two [people] out*”. The same interviewee went on to reflect on how having a small pool of people engaged in these groups impacted on others within the wider community, and the challenges this presented for newcomers wishing to become more involved:

There is a group of agencies that see each other at multiple meetings, so everything is as clear as day to us and it is just not that way for other people. I think it is daunting too – to break into something if you are new to the community. It takes a lot of guts to walk into somewhere and say you want to be a part of this, knowing you have ten people who have been doing it for ten years looking back at you – so it can be hard to break into.

While the above issues relate primarily to new residents (see section 5.1.2) and new migrants (see section 5.1.3) for many of the transient population groups working in New Zealand considerable community support comes from business networks and/or employers’ groups. These groups have a strong advocacy role, representing both employers and employees, and their formation is an indicator of the importance of transient population groups to the local economy. An example of one of these groups is the Amuri Dairy Employers’ Group, which brought employers together as a result of the increase in demand for labour associated with conversion to dairying in the Hurunui District. The goal of this group was to ensure that employment conditions were of sufficient standard, and to help those employers who satisfied those conditions to advertise as “*preferred employers*”, although they still struggled to attract New Zealanders to the district. The Kaikoura MP, Stuart Smith, noted that the Kaikoura District (which was experiencing a similar shift to dairying) could benefit from such a group suggesting that the sign-up to the Amuri Dairy Employers Group by more than two-thirds of the farmers was “an indication of its success within the rural community” (Smith, 2014).

In addition to dairy, many other sectors also support a range of business groups and these connect local business leaders and employers both upwards (to central government and local government) and downwards (to employees and community members). The economic and business development group Enterprise North Canterbury, for example, has a wider remit, but similar goals to the Amuri Dairy Employers’ Group. Amongst their action points, identified in a 2014 report on Culverden, were: establishing a ‘go to’ person at New Zealand immigration; improving efforts to integrate migrants into the local community; and, the provision of easily accessible and affordable ESOL lessons (Enterprise North Canterbury, 2014, p.2-3). Enterprise North Canterbury are a council-controlled organisation. There has recently been a proposal by Wine Marlborough to

lobby government for research into employer challenges and more finely tuned visa rules across all sectors to help the entire Marlborough economy (Angeloni, 2018).

In comparison with the agricultural and many rural business sectors, the tourism sector is less cohesive and often tourism business and networking groups do not capture all those engaged in tourism services. According to the Supervisor of the Kaikoura i-SITE, for example, “*the majority of accommodation and restaurants belonged to [and had the support of] Destination Kaikoura [post-earthquake], but it was not the same for many retail [and even souvenir] shops who ‘don’t realise how dependent they are on tourists’*”. The earthquake also brought a varied response in respect of employment in Kaikoura, highlighting a lack of support for businesses in the town, as the KDC Economic Recovery Manager explained:

It depended on the organisations and also the individuals – some people chose to leave, Dolphin Encounter and Whale Watch held onto their staff and they used them – particularly in the community – doing other aspects of help in the area, and then slowly let go of their staff as they ran out of meaningful work for them to do. So, they actually did look after their staff very well – it was hard for them because they had only just employed some of them. Different people did different things – some businesses just let go of their staff straight away whether they were local or transient, others held onto them, but a lot of them [the staff] just chose to leave [like the WWOOFers who were not as committed anyway]. We did have some workers who were struggling because they didn’t have anyone supporting them – different people around the community did take them in, but there was no structured process.

In more rural areas (such as Waiau) there are often less formal (in terms of being attached to specific business or governance structures), but more targeted (in respect of having a focus on the ‘rural’ population) organisations involved in the provision of migrant services. The Rural Support Trust is one of these – and was mentioned frequently in respect of post-earthquake community support – although one Waiau interviewee noted that Rural Support services were “*only for the farming community and it made me more aware of the divisions in the community*”. Another Waiau interviewee described the broader suit of social services that were active post-earthquake, noting that the systems in place from previous events were invaluable:

The positive about the earthquake in Waiau is working with a lot of different social service providers, something that was really long overdue and also liaising with the Rural Support Trust who did amazing work with the drought – a lot of the systems they set up were there [already] and they overflowed beautifully into the next [event].

Considerable migrant support in the Hurunui District has been initiated by the Amuri Rural Women group. In addition to developing their own ‘local’ Welcome Packs for migrants, there has been interest in these from other areas of New Zealand and they have worked with Immigration New Zealand to produce some more general information booklets for migrants. Although primarily focused on general community-based information, the Amuri Rural Women did originally include some labour information in their Welcome Packs (similar to that distributed to WHMs by the Blenheim i-SITE) but “*got a little bit of backlash from that so now we just put in the contact*

email/website". Other interviewees described the way these more informal organisations step into a social service provider role when the extant formal structures are not applicable to a particular population group. For example, access to health care can be an issue for migrant dairy workers on short-term visas and, while "*they do get insurance – often sold to them by other Filipinos, it doesn't necessarily cover them for anything more than ACC¹⁷ does*". Another interviewee explained this issue in more detail:

The visas differ, but usually the first visa won't be any more than 23 months – here again Rural Women kicks in because unless you have a two-year visa or have been here with a continuous visa for more than two years you don't get health care, but they are paying tax, ACC and it is like the visas stop at that 23 months [qualification] point. We bought our guys a 'friends of St John' ambulance subscription and we didn't realise that even with that they still would have to pay for their ambulance.

Although the Rural Women organisation operates across New Zealand the demographics of individual groups can vary considerably. One of the Waiau interviewees (who was involved with the group) commented, for example, that Amuri Rural Women "*attracts a lot of younger people than do groups in other areas*". They also noted that "*it is rural women, not farming women*". Likewise, while Rural Women was started to "*combat isolation for farmers' wives*" it was reported that in St Arnaud "*only three of their 14 members are from farms*". Rural Women also connect to, and collaborate with, other rural groups as this interviewee explained:

We have a healthy membership actually – our Amuri one – is considered one of the best growing branches and we have a healthy age range so what we are trying to do now is collaborate with the dairy women's network – and there is the farming mum's Facebook page – it has thousands of members and they discuss many topics and it's become a real support group – we are trying to say it's not about old ladies anymore and what Rural Women do nationally is really important – it is some big stuff.

Without formal status many of these community groups face a range of resourcing challenges, including funding and attracting volunteers. They also face challenges around recognition as the Manager of the MMC explains:

In terms of our own entity I think we have worked hard to build a credible entity recognised as such, that really does run pretty deeply through the community and in terms of support – collaborative not financial. But we are funded through grants, community grants, council's community grant too, and it is an on-going challenge to fund this entity – the need is ever increasing – the pot of money to support resources is decreasing so it is a challenge and it is disheartening because you do see a really increased need, but somehow the resources to fund it don't match the need.

¹⁷ Accident Compensation Corporation

Being able to fund services remains a challenge for many social networking and community groups. While the Kaikoura earthquake made new funding streams available to many organisations, these were not always sustainable in respect of longer-term (and ongoing) challenges facing these communities. As the Manager of the MMC noted, for example, “*we were able to tap into that [earthquake funding], but it is not sustainable, and it is project-based. Any funding that is project-based increases the challenge of delivering the service*”. Overall, the Kaikoura earthquake appeared to have strengthened some extant governance and social networks while also highlighting significant gaps in services catering to the needs of some community groups.

6.5 Governance challenges

This examination of governance and community explored the structural contexts within which community resilience can be understood. The importance of having structures, within which individuals and communities are able to respond and recover from hazard events, was a key factor identified in respect of ‘resilient communities’ (Chapter 3). The focus here was on number of key governance and community connections and interactions – identified in the ‘four communities’ (Chapter 4) and ‘transient population continuum’ (Chapter 5) data. These include both local government and central government services (such as immigration and CDEM), local business and community networks, and broader regional and national social support services. The integration (and management) of transient population groups in the community in respect of key governance and networking organisations (as identified in interviews) was of particular interest.

There were significant differences reported in respect of the relationship each of the four case study communities had with their local council. These differences were attributable to a range of factors including *inter alia* community structure, geographic isolation and demographic changes. There are also challenges for councils who are charged with managing multiple (and diverse) communities following a set of (standardised) national guidelines. The interpretation and application of central government directives and rulings at the local level also presents a number of issues for communities experiencing significant change – whether in the aftermath of a hazard event, or as a result of population (and economic) changes. The ‘one-size fits all’ immigration approach to visa regulations is problematic for many rural communities. From a CDEM perspective, an ongoing challenge lies with engendering an ‘all community’ approach to hazard response and management.

A complexity of organisations and groups are involved in the provision of welfare and social services in these communities: the prominence (or even existence) of these groups reflects the population, economy, and past experience (i.e., its history of need) in each place. To a large extent, the examples described here reflect the ‘successes’ – the cases in which effective collaboration between groups and/or individuals was achieved. Effective collaboration is predicated on the skills and resources available to particular groups and, by association, the individuals involved. This reinforces the importance of community leaders and having the right people ‘step-up’, as noted in the Chapter 3 (‘resilient communities’).

Overall, the interview data highlighted the idiosyncratic nature of community and community experience, and this extends to the interaction between community and governance.

Notwithstanding these differences, the challenge of remoteness (and isolation), the variations in,

and complexity of, governance and community support mechanisms, and a multitude of organisational and personal relationships – between economic sectors, population groups and individuals – emerged as common factors which potentially impact on community resilience. These are examined further in the discussion section below.

7 Resilience in transient rural communities

Our research interest is in building resilience in transient rural communities. The research focused on four communities impacted in various ways by the Kaikoura earthquake. In the previous chapters we have presented interview data in a way that highlights differences – between these communities, and between the transient population groups contained within them. Here we reassemble our data to describe the broad themes (or factors) associated with community resilience which emerged in this investigation.

We begin with a broad overview of the vulnerabilities, strengths and resilience of our ‘rural communities’ (all of which contain transient population groups), recognising that these extend beyond those specifically focused on nature’s challenges and transient population groups. Then we examine our findings specifically in relation to ‘resilience to nature’s challenges’, looking at a number of ‘resilience insights’ that emerged from the Kaikoura earthquake experience before shifting focus to transient population groups. The final section brings our research findings together to identify key factors which contribute to building resilience in transient rural communities.

7.1 Rural communities

The four case study communities were selected to represent variations in both earthquake impact and effect, and in community type. Within each broad ‘community type’ descriptor (e.g., service town, tourist town, rural centre, national park village) the four communities differed across a range of (often interrelated) variables including size, council district, spatial isolation, economic characteristics and population demographics (including transient population groups). Despite these predetermined community differences, a number of vulnerabilities and strengths, common to all four communities, were identified.

Communities are dynamic entities and adapting to, and accommodating, change (in population demographics, economic activities, and in governance structures) are challenges faced by many rural communities. The presence of increasing number of transient population groups represents both cause and effect of these challenges. Here we examine the nature of ‘rural community’, according to three themes within which community strength, vulnerability and resilience (related to transient population groups) can be understood:

- ‘Community identity’ – proposed as a strength – describes the influence (and importance) of economic activity and population changes in respect of community identity;
- ‘The ‘boundaries’ of community’ highlights a number of vulnerabilities associated with community size and governance structures; and,
- ‘The significance of a connected community’ – in respect of resilience – outlines the variety (and mechanics) of connection which occur across a range of scales.

7.1.1 Community identity

In Chapter 4 we described the key community characteristics, perceived changes within that community and the challenges faced by four case study communities. Interestingly, the four communities were described by interviewees according to their primary economic function

(although this is not an economic study). While this (economic) community identity was generally proposed by interviewees as a strength, these communities were also vulnerable as a result of their increasing reliance on transient population groups. Although drawn by employment opportunities, transient population groups contribute significantly to local economies and bring new social and cultural life to the host communities. Their presence helps maintain school rolls, they support local business and, to a lesser extent, community events, although in some instances in respect of these transient populations the extant services and community structures have been shown to be no longer fit for purpose.

The increasing presence of, and reliance on, transient population groups has presented all four communities with population, governance and social challenges. As noted above, there have also been challenges in respect of community identity. This was perhaps most obvious in Waiau – with interviewees continually referring to their settlement as ‘traditional’ and espousing the values and community characteristics associated with this (e.g., being proud of their rugby, netball and golf clubs, debating the town-rural divide). At the same time, they were acutely aware of the changes occurring in their neighbouring settlements as a result of the expansion of dairy farming and acknowledged that they were missing out on the associated economic and population growth which was changing (and greatly benefitting) those communities.

The identity of St Arnaud – as a national park village – was also challenged by a number of demographic and governance changes. St Arnaud appeared to be increasingly divorced from its namesake, as a result of governance changes which had reduced the influence of DOC (in favour of the distant TDC). Increased housing costs and lack of services have also contributed to some DOC staff no longer living in St Arnaud. The few new residents attracted to St Arnaud were perceived to have less attachment to its natural surrounds, and the national park was most often talked about as a resource for people visiting St Arnaud, rather than for those living there. St Arnaud was the smallest and most economically fragile of the case study communities as a result of the large proportion of retirees and part-time residents (i.e., holiday home owners) in its population. The potential for tourism development – while talked about in St Arnaud – was not being driven as a result of this population demographic. Further, St Arnaud’s small visitor economy is heavily reliant on WHMs but struggles to attract a young workforce to what is essentially a retirement community.

As the largest of the case study communities, Blenheim had the most diversified economy and was clearly identified as a service town, although many of these ‘services’ catered to the relatively new and rapidly expanding viticulture economy. While the benefits of economic growth are widely recognised, it appeared that the Blenheim community has yet to come to terms with what that means in respect of the town’s population. Rapid population growth is a challenge in respect of both infrastructure (particularly housing) and social cohesion. Blenheim’s increasingly ‘multicultural’ population is represented by both the service workforce and a diversity of new migrants. While there are concerns around the vulnerability and integration of transient population groups, many of the community initiatives have focused on the resident population’s willingness to accept newcomers (who may be of different ethnicity and have very different interests). As a result of the length of time the RSE scheme has been operating, the size of the population, and the careful management of accommodation and pastoral care services, the RSE workers appear to be more accepted in the wider Blenheim community than the more ethnically diverse and spatially dispersed new migrants.

In Kaikoura, the tourism economy – talked about as the ‘saviour of the community’ (from economic stagnation in the 1980s) – is central to the town’s identity and it was this, rather than the rural farming community and agricultural economy, which was the focal point in interviews. Underlying this is the natural environment which attracts both tourists and residents to Kaikoura. Kaikoura was widely known for its environmental credentials (e.g., Green Globe, EarthCheck) and the earthquake and its disruptive aftermath was perceived to have taken the focus off this environmental ethos. While the earthquake impacted significantly on the number of visitors to Kaikoura – as a result of the SH1 closures – it also appeared to have highlighted challenges associated with the tourism sector more broadly including its seasonality, the lack of attractiveness of employment in the sector for local residents and the reliance on transient workers. Some of these challenges were perceived to have given the community strength and resilience pre-earthquake, although the future of Kaikoura was also questioned, as this Kaikoura interviewee explained:

You think about a lot of the business people, like we are a seasonal place and we have limited services to begin with, so we do have to help each other – that number 8 wire thing we have a bit more of – and we have this [the natural landscape] and this is a big bond and it is the beauty cure – how much more stress would we have had if we weren’t here, or that we didn’t know that we were in a place where we have risen a couple of times already – in the 1980s you couldn’t even get a mortgage here which seems ridiculous now – this isn’t the first time that Kaikoura has been knocked down and gotten back up better than it was before and I think that we will get back up better – I don’t know who will be here – will we be a tourist town, or a town with tourists? – ‘will we keep our community feeling and the things that are important to us, or will new things be important to us?’

In all four case studies, interviewees’ awareness of community identity was not only strong, but that identity was itself perceived to give their community strength. Discussions around community identity often encompassed the challenges faced (and overcome) in the past (as noted in the excerpt above) and these were perceived to have contributed to resilience (see also section 4.5). However, changes in community – whether from natural hazard events, economic development, or changing population demographics – have the potential to create a ‘new normal’ which challenges both the status quo and historical notions of place.

7.1.2 The ‘boundaries’ of community

Knowing one’s place – being aware of its people, its connectedness and its degree of autonomy – was proposed as one of the 4Ps of resilience (see section 3.6) and the boundaries of community represent a key facet of place. While each community was able to be described according to its formal (geographically bounded) population count it was obvious that perceptions of community extended beyond this simplistic measure in all four case studies. The ‘boundaries’ of community include its social and governance connections and it is these, along with its population size and geographic location, which impact on a community’s physical and social isolation, and ultimately, vulnerability.

The four case study communities were selected to represent communities of different sizes, with populations (at the 2013 Census) ranging from 103 (St Arnaud) to 24,957 (Blenheim). Irrespective of their population size, however, all four communities were facing population challenges although, as described in Chapter 4, the nature of these challenges varied considerably. Blenheim, for example, was struggling to cope with a rapidly growing population which put pressure on housing, infrastructure and community services while the two smallest communities in the study had considerable concerns about population decline. Concerns about the future of each community was evidenced by the number of people in Waiau who talked about the Waiau 2050 vision and the number of St Arnaud interviewees who reported the settlements ‘unexpected’ population growth in recent years. Population decline was not as obvious a concern in Kaikoura, although there were concerns around not being able to locally service employment in the tourism sector, and the reliance on transient workforce. Both Kaikoura and Waiau reported issues associated with the loss of young people – especially those of working age – while in St Arnaud there was acceptance that the community would lose entire families at an earlier stage in the lifecycle as a result of having no post-primary school options available.

The size of a community appears to be important in respect of identity and there were some suggestions that smaller communities are generally more cohesive (but perhaps less accommodating of change) and perceived to have a stronger identity than larger ones. The presence of a variety of sports and social clubs was commonly suggested as a key indicator of community strength, particularly in the smaller communities of Waiau and Kaikoura, whereas in the much larger Blenheim community the presence of a large number and wide range of clubs and social groups was assumed (and not commented on as a community strength). There were, however, some comments about the extant clubs not suiting new residents who bring with them new histories, leisure, sporting and community interests. A small community is also perceived to be easier to manage – for those involved in governance and CDEM. The three smaller communities in the case study were also purported to be better at looking after people (i.e., they are more caring), but possibly harder to break into as a newcomer. However, a Blenheim interviewee noted that they “*also get some benefits with being that little bit bigger*” in terms of social and community services.

The case study communities can also be described according to their spatial and location characteristics, including their geographic distance from economic, social and emergency services. The Kaikoura earthquake highlighted a number of vulnerabilities associated with these characteristics such as, for example, the vulnerability of access routes to and from Kaikoura, and the knock-on effect on Blenheim, St Arnaud and Waiau resulting from the closure of SH1. One of the Blenheim interviewees suggested that “*anywhere you have isolation – whether it is physical or social – those are the communities that aren’t so resilient*”.

In a social sense, ‘community’ stretches farther than that which exists within census settlement boundaries (the ‘community of place’ in literature, see also section 5.1) with rural hinterlands tied to settlements. For example, despite not being contained with the geographical area which defines each community, and an ongoing rural-urban divide, the residents of the farms surrounding Waiau were recognised as part of the community. Likewise, the population exchange (of workers, and associated with Blenheim’s service industry role) between Blenheim and its rural hinterland blurred the boundaries of community in Blenheim. However, much of this was focused on the horticulture and viticulture economy rather than traditional farming activity.

In respect of maintaining a viable community size, it was notable how often the St Arnaud interviewees provided an overestimation of its population numbers – usually via the inclusion of the absentee holiday home owners. In a similar way as in Waiau, the farming community from the outlying valleys were also included in the St Arnaud community and many of these farmers actively participated in village life. Also, in parallel with Waiau, these farmers were mostly described as ‘traditional’ (with some social challenges noted around dairy conversions) and this contributed to the community’s perceived resilience – as one St Arnaud interviewee noted “*farms are set up to be self-reliant – the farming community is the biggest resource and benefit to this community*”.

Of the four communities, Kaikoura was the most clearly defined – as a community entity separated from its hinterland. As noted, the majority of Kaikoura interviewees did not include the farming community when they talked about Kaikoura and many suggested that South Bay (which housed a large proportion of the Kaikoura holiday homes) also did not really represent the Kaikoura community. It was also rare for Kaikoura interviewees to reference the surrounding farming community when they described Kaikoura, although the population in the surrounding rural district was always included by interviewees who represented the KDC and whose governance extended to incorporate the wider Kaikoura district.

In governance terms, and in respect of social services, there is a significant divide between rural and urban groups, related in part to their differing lifestyles and service demands; these differences also extend to the service and social organisations associated with each. Underscoring this divide is the often-repeated notion that rural people are more resilient, capable and better resourced than those in settlements. However, these boundaries are blurred by the frequent transfer of people for economic, employment, education and social activity. Many of our own interviewees lived (and worked) outside what would be normally considered the boundaries of the case study community they represented. Rural residents often travel long distances to work, conduct business or access services – the latter being one of the rural challenges identified by interviewees. One of the Waiau interviewees, for example, reported that they do their main shopping as far away as Christchurch or Rangiora, while others noted that they travelled to Christchurch on a frequent basis for health services.

A further dimension with reference to community boundaries it is that it was impossible to consider the resilience of these communities in isolation from the wider governance networks. Each community connects in various ways to governance structures (with distance often a factor) and relies on systems that are devised, managed and imposed from well beyond their own boundaries. At the local (i.e., community) level it can be an issue when some governance borders are arbitrarily applied (in that they don’t relate to people or to actions on the ground) or relate to long-forgotten and now irrelevant historic circumstances.

Policies and procedures operating at district, regional, national and even international scales can impact on rural communities and the people contained within them. Examples of this are easy to find in respect of the various population groups on the transient population continuum: the allocation of funding for community services and the availability of migrant and social support services from local government; the immigration (visa) rules applied by central government; the RSE rules imposed by origin countries.

Labour market forces also impact on rural communities. There is competition for transient workers between industries (e.g., the WHM who might work in tourism, hospitality, agriculture, horticulture) and between regions of New Zealand (e.g., multiple regions compete for their share of the annual quota of RSE workers). There are also connections between these completing work forces. It was noted, for example, that economic (hence community) resilience in Blenheim would be challenged if they lost the WHMs – because of the cap on RSE numbers Blenheim already has a shortage of WHMs. Blenheim is also competing (for WHMs) with other places in New Zealand and suffers as a result of being distant from the main entry point of Auckland. Blenheim's competitiveness, in terms of attracting workers, perceived to be compounded further by the fact that, “*vineyard work has a bad image – hard work, low pay – kiwifruit picking is an easier option*”. The lack of social activities and social vibrancy was also perceived to impact on the attractiveness of Kaikoura and St Arnaud in respect of the WHM population. Regions across New Zealand are also competing for a share of the tourism market with ‘success’ driving the economy at the local level in destinations such as Kaikoura. The communities in this study also competed for earthquake funding.

7.1.3 The significance of a connected community

Resilience frameworks consistently reference the importance of connection within the community and ‘connectedness’, along with awareness, cohesion and autonomy, were identified by interviewees as key facets to ‘understanding place’ and contributing to resilience (see section 3.4). The importance of connection and the collective (rather than individuality) of community was also noted by one of the Waiau interviewees: “*That is what your community is – we are not individuals – we are here to have a community and help each other. That is part of living here and that is what makes it special*”.

Transient population groups challenge community connectivity in multiple ways. As noted previously, community connections are both multi-directional and multi-scale involving multi-level governance entities as well as community groups and the individuals contained within those. Communities connect via bottom-up, top-down, side-to-side (i.e., between communities) and inside-out approaches (i.e., internally driven). Rowson (2014), writing about types of social change, suggests that top-down and bottom-up changes represent a “two dimensional, 'flatland' view of the world and the power that lies within it”. In comparison, side-to-side change represents “change that stems from loose associations of values and interests across domains”. The key features of inside-out change include, “the psychological, spiritual and cultural underpinnings of all the other forms of social change; often contemplative or reflective in spirit, targeted mostly at major hidden assumptions, immunity to change, and adaptive challenges”. According to Rowson (2014):

In addition to the hierarchies of vertical power (top down, bottom-up) there are heterarchies of lateral power; networks of varying size, shape and influence that often lie dormant but can suddenly be hugely influential in response to particular events, and cut across regions and countries.

These connections can also occur simultaneously, and networks may form over time in response to community need, or in the event of a natural hazard event. As the Manager of the Marlborough MMC explained, the migrant community Wellbeing Action Group (see section 6.2) involved “key

agencies coming together to identify issues and then looking at how best those agencies can support people – in both the good times and the challenging times". The CDEM clusters (described in section 6.3) also represent the response networks noted by Rowson (2014), albeit implementing a primarily top-down approach.

Of interest in respect of this research was the multitude of (side-to-side) connections between the various population transient groups described in interviews. As one Blenheim interviewee noted, "*mixing is about being with people you are comfortable with – not about ethnicity or culture necessarily*" although they also suggested that "*community events such as festivals can initiate some interaction between diverse groups*". The Marlborough Multicultural Festival (see Figure 7) was mentioned in this regard by a number of Blenheim interviewees, while several Waiau interviewees talked about the participation of the Filipino community in their local A&P show. It was widely acknowledged, however, that it can take some time for these between group interactions to occur and that this – alongside awareness and visibility of a particular population group – is a function of both group size and their longevity in the community. Table 9 shows some examples – provided by Blenheim and Waiau interviewees – of 'between group' connections and the situations in which these connections occurred. These examples also illustrate a high level of awareness of the RSE population in Blenheim; the Waiau examples identify a number of lifestyle and employment barriers to connection within the community.

Table 9 Community connections in Blenheim and Waiau

Blenheim	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - RSE connect (to the host community) through churches - RSE connect to each other via events like the Silver Secateurs pruning competition - RSE and WHM don't mix all that well in shared accommodation
Waiau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Business people don't have much free time to join in community things - Work is a great integrator in a community – most people working in Waiau mix with others as occupations like shearing and contracting are people-related (when compared with IT) - Hospitality business owners in Waiau don't tend to connect with farming community or farming support businesses much - In country areas there are no malls to bump into people in – maybe see the Filipino families in the local Four Square but that is about it – "<i>their social life is in each other's homes</i>"

Much of the discussion on connectedness was in relation to the formation of community groups and the ways in which individuals connect to these, rather than one-on-one connections between individuals. As one Blenheim interviewee noted, "*people connect across their own areas of interest – like sports, music*". Another added that you "*have to make an effort to connect, but people are very busy leading their own lives*". In larger communities (like Blenheim) the challenge is to foster connections between diverse groups. While the MMC in Blenheim is working hard to encourage broad integration of new migrants with the wider community they recognise that some ethnic groups are too small in numbers to provide social networks large enough to be effective. Language can also be a barrier to connection. It was of note that most of these examples relate to Blenheim and were associated with the more visible, transient population groups found in this community.

In St Arnaud it was reported that the Friendly Fridays social group (see section 4.4.1) brings the bach owners and the permanent residents together. When the Nelson Rotary group came to St Arnaud to present the community with money they had raised, the event was advertised at a number of community events including the “*book club, the Rural Women meeting, a local funeral, sports night, and at church in order to reach the ‘community’*”; this large number of events suggests limited interaction between groups in what was the smallest of the case study communities. In contrast, a number of interviewees described the slightly larger community of Waiau as being ‘close-knit’ (see section 4.3.1). One of the Waiau interviewees, however, commented on the impact of geographical proximity on community connectedness:

When I think about it there are a lot of isolated farmers, a lot of farmers probably out there who don’t see anyone day-in day-out and I thought it could be quite negligent not to mention them – it is not all that connected for everyone. I think you have solidarity, but you just don’t have that geographical ease of being connected.

7.1.3.1 The mechanics of connection

The mechanics of connection refer to both the places and ways by which connection and networking occur within the community. Understanding these not only adds to community self-awareness and understanding place, but may also offer easily actionable steps towards resilience building. CDEM strive to find ways to effectively and comprehensively communicate preparedness messaging to their communities prior to the occurrence of a natural hazard event. Should an event occur, however, some messaging channels may be disrupted; even without a natural hazard event these messaging efforts can potentially miss some sub-groups in the community.

It is also important to have accessible public spaces and places within the community which can serve as public meeting points, and from which – in the event of an emergency – response efforts can be coordinated. Schools, for example, were widely used as community relief centres after the 2011 Christchurch earthquake, but according to one CDEM interviewee, “*schools are not used by CDEM as often as previously – partly because we want people to self-care, but we don’t want to take up spaces that prevents routine returning to normal*”. These messaging streams and public resources – and community awareness of them – are important facilitators of community connectedness even outside natural hazard events.

Community connection places can be formal (e.g., at organised community events such as the Waiau A&P show) or informal (e.g., occurring in public spaces such as along the Taylor River walkway in Blenheim), and they may be publicly, privately or commercially organised. The type of facilities or premises used will often be dependent on community size: larger communities have multiple options catering to the range of population groups present, whereas smaller communities might be reliant on a single multi-use facility (which at some time will ‘capture’ most community members). Many of the Waiau and St Arnaud interviewees, for example, talked about the importance of the local community hall in respect of social interactions. Several St Arnaud interviewees commented that “*the school uses the community hall a lot*” and that “*the community hall is the hub of our community – that’s our meeting house*” with one interviewee going on to explain that:

Everything big happens there – it has a huge commercial kitchen, a hall, a full-size basketball court and speaker systems, houses the community archives – they have weddings and funerals there and many social groups meet there – the history group is another group.

While similar community usage was reported in Waiau, the Waiau Community Hall became especially important as a result of the earthquake damage to many other public facilities, as the Chair of the Waiau Citizens Association explained:

The Waiau Community Hall has been a godsend in our community – it is used a lot now – weddings, funerals, meetings – it is amazing. We lost every other facility [in the earthquake] and we [the Citizens Association] have actually been able to get funding and we have put a new kitchen in – the library has been updated. Before the earthquake we had put heat pumps in it and now we have an application in to put new curtains in – just to make it a more cosy, friendlier place. It is a council building, but it has fallen back on us [to look after it].

As the example above illustrates, however, there are sometimes issues with ‘ownership’ and management of these community resources. The weekly Kaikoura soup kitchen (see section 5.2.2) – housed in the Scout Hall – was reported to be an important connection point for some older people in the Kaikoura community and was used by a variety of community groups. The public outcry over the hall’s proposed demolition after the earthquake illustrates the disconnect that can occur between governance agencies and residents. As one of the Kaikoura interviewees noted,

The people who go to the community meal are from a whole different sector of society [than those in council] and I know that council looks on that building [the Scout Hall] as an eyesore, but the people who go there love it.

There are also a variety of more incidental places where people in the community connect as they go about their daily lives. Kaikoura residents, for example, are required to take their own household waste to Innovative Waste Kaikoura (as there is no roadside collection) and this was reported as a common meeting point. The limited refuse collection and delivery services available in Waiau also initiated community connection, as one of the Waiau interviewees explained, “*even the fact that the recycling and the dump are only open at certain times and that you have to go into the shop to pick up your newspaper on a Saturday morning – so you see people*”. One of the Blenheim interviewees noted that the move towards larger supermarkets and subsequent “*loss of local corner shops*” was significant in respect of people meeting each other within their local neighbourhoods.

While many of the above examples related to public facilities and to permanent residents, commercial premises such as cafés, shops and pubs were reported to be important community hubs for both residents and transient population groups. Again, this was particularly the case in smaller communities which contained a limited number of these services. In Waiau, for example, the local café (“*it is great – it is for locals and transients*”) and the local pub were identified as important community hubs. The Waiau pub owners commented that “*apparently years ago when things were really bad with the weather people would go to the pub – the central hub*” adding that “*despite operating in temporary premises post-earthquake*” they still had “*a lot of local support*”.

Larger communities support multiple hospitality and retail businesses and, as a consequence, do not have a clearly defined central hub.

The Blenheim interviewees employed in governance agency roles (including CDEM) talked about the multiple spaces and places of connection they used to reach the community with their messaging. These included, *inter alia*, noticeboards located at supermarkets, sports clubs, churches, the library, the movie theatre and Post Boxes (which are used by many small town and rural residents). The MDC Community Development Advisor noted that they need to be aware of places a lot of people might crossover such as, for example, “supermarkets and parks, the Warehouse and other shops”. One interviewee added that it also “*helps to know community rhythms – e.g., on pension day at the supermarket [it is busy]*”. Kaikoura CDEM also used the supermarket to disseminate their messaging while in Blenheim CDEM reported using medical providers to get their messaging to people who may be socially isolated as a result of health issues.

The increasing uptake of digital delivery methods and materials was mentioned by interviewees from all four communities. As one of the Waiau interviewees pointed out, however: “*The digital stuff is a tool for sourcing opportunities to connect – it is not the connection itself, but it makes it easier to connect*”. Another Waiau interviewee noted broader changes associated with the growth of the digital technology:

For good or bad we are probably developing into a population who can get [and expect to get] information immediately from the internet. Now we can't live without a cell phone – we expect information instantly because of our dependence on these things.

The Kaikoura earthquake highlighted the importance of effective communications and interviewees from the three smaller communities reported telecommunication issues, both at the time of the earthquake, and in respect of daily life more generally. These were often related to the community's geographical isolation. Similar issues were reported in rural Marlborough and, as noted, an innovative solution was found through partnership with Brian FM (see section 6.3). While the MDC Community Development Advisor also commented that “*schools have good systems to get text messages out to a lot of people*” many segments of the community have no connection to education services and are not captured on any school's digital contact list.

Others noted the importance of having multiple messaging streams as, for example, “*social media is no good for older people*”. As a result of its retirement population, St Arnaud appeared to have the lowest digital uptake of the four communities. The majority of local information in St Arnaud is disseminated via the local (hard copy) newsletter although the newsletter also goes out by email to those people who own baches, but who live elsewhere. The Friendly Fridays group has a “*database of people and that is sometimes used to send out important information – but not all information*”. St Arnaud also does not have a community Facebook page.

Facebook was reported to be an especially important resource in the other three case study communities, both in respect of the earthquake event and more generally. Immediately post-earthquake in Waiau, for example, “*Facebook was the biggest thing we had on our side – for getting parcels and things people needed delivered, and to connect with CDEM and Red Cross*”. The same speaker went on to say that “*the community Facebook page is where everybody finds out*

about everything". It was also reported that – since the earthquake – "the Waiau Facebook page has gone from around 200 members to almost 500"; interestingly this is a much greater number of people than contained in the settlement or its immediate rural surrounds. In Kaikoura, the "Facebook noticeboard page is good, but it definitely misses a section of the community – particularly our older ones".

Over time, community information needs, and the methods of delivery can change. For example, post-earthquake Kaikoura was well serviced with information and updates about the rebuild including a hardcopy newsletter (from the Community Hub) delivered to mail boxes, and a monthly update published by NCTIR and the council. Kaikoura also has a local newspaper (*the Kaikoura Star*) but this was about to be sold by the Fairfax organisation. One Kaikoura interviewee commented that there had been "*a few ownership changes over the years, many of which impacted on the newspaper's 'flavour'*".

In Waiau, the local Rural Women group distribute their Welcome Packs in a variety of ways and, as this interviewee explains, a number of challenges to delivery emerged when they needed to differentiate between recipients:

The vet club hold a welcome event and so we give them 20, we hold a welcome event – like a community get together where everyone goes [about 70 people] so we give some out there. We have had the Rural Delivery man deliver them to new people as they register for mail, but when we separated them out [into overseas migrants and new Kiwis] that became more difficult because he didn't really know who the people were.

Understanding the multitude of places and messaging required to connect to the community as a whole highlights the variety of different groups present in the community. In governance terms, CDEM – who are tasked with oversight of all people and who promote self-management within the community – are perhaps the most active and informed in respect of the transient population groups. In the case of residents, however, they also suggest that people make an effort to get to know others in their community. As the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Officer noted: "*If you know your neighbourhood is people you only ever see in their cars, think about what you can do to get a connection with them*". 'Knowing your neighbours', 'community self-awareness' and having 'an inclusive, connected community' were suggested as resilience factors which can help build capacity and strength within a community (see section 3.4). While community identity, the boundaries of community and connectedness are common themes by which rural communities can be understood, in reality 'knowing your place' (see section 3.6) – in respect of its potential resilience to nature's challenges – still requires considerable contextualisation.

7.2 Resilience to nature's challenges

When asked specifically about community resilience, interviewees described a 'complex concept' within which a number of key 'resilience' factors were identified (see Chapter 3). Resilience was widely purported to be an 'individual attribute' which was perceived to be held by some people more than others. In the response and recovery periods after a natural hazard event having leadership capacity in the community was paramount; in quieter times community leadership

encompasses those with formal governance roles, community members involved in volunteer services and the myriad individuals involved in the provision of social and community events and social networks. As a result of these community engagement roles, these individuals have significant oversight of their communities and it was on this basis that they were selected as interviewees.

At the community scale it was suggested that resilience could be fostered through the ‘understanding place’ factors (described above). These factors represent a mix of internal observation (i.e., looking within the community) and external connection (i.e., to structures and systems which lay beyond the ‘boundaries’ of community). A community is made up of its individual members, however, and these individuals combine to represent a unique synthesis of vulnerabilities, strengths and resilience. Broadly speaking, rural communities were suggested to be more resilient than urban ones, as a result of containing greater individual resilience (see section 3.4). Only two of the transient population groups were specifically identified in these discussions: the Filipino migrants who, as a result of past adversity – leading to the decision to migrate – were perceived to have developed resilience, and the RSE population, for whom working in New Zealand was perceived to foster a ‘sense of self-worth’ (and by extension resilience).

The resilience question was asked at the conclusion of interviews (and presented first in this report to provide a ‘resilience context’ for the research); it was interesting that, having spent time the majority of interview time talking about their community and its people (with a focus on its transient population groups), these transient population groups were not considered as a factor either influenced by, or having an influence on, community resilience. In contrast, the recently experienced natural hazard event (i.e., the Kaikoura earthquake) provided fertile ground for considerations of resilience although, as noted, it was difficult to move beyond the immediate earthquake response and recovery periods to focus on longer-term resilience.

7.2.1 The earthquake experience and resilience

The Kaikoura earthquake impacted on the physical, built, economic and social environments of many communities in the upper South Island. As a result of their location and distance from the epicentre and fault lines which ruptured, the earthquake experience of the four case study communities differed considerably; in part, they were selected for the study because of this. It was also expected that discussion of resilience, in the context of their community’s perceived response and recovery from the earthquake, would provide a useful platform from which community resilience could be examined.

The earthquake, along with other challenges faced by these communities, were attributed as contributing to resilience building (see ‘resilience through adversity’, section 3.5) as well as raising awareness of community resilience. In respect of resilience, the earthquake was perceived to have impacted both positively and negatively on these communities. The positives included the availability of funding (via earthquake relief and recovery packages) that was not otherwise available to the community, and the fact that the earthquake highlighted a number of problem areas the community had not previously been aware of. These problem areas were also proposed as negatives, particularly in those instances when the issues were exacerbated by the earthquake and its resultant disruption. A number of impacts were also identified as being ‘enlightening’, in

that they were perceived to have increased self- and community-awareness and – ultimately – helped to build greater resilience.

The Kaikoura earthquake experience was perceived to have made people more aware of the systems and structures (i.e., governance) already in place in their community. Most of the concerns around mismanaged and misdirected governance efforts in the earthquake response period (such as reported in Waiau) related to those agencies' lack of nuanced understanding of the communities they were helping. The MDC Community Development Officer talked about the importance of understanding the community and its needs when providing local government services after an event like the Kaikoura earthquake, noting that:

The community can get overwhelmed, so the fundamental thing is for coordinated services – services that match the actual needs of the community. It is not coming in and imposing – it is about asking what they need and how we get that to them.

The same speaker went on to talk about challenges for governance agencies themselves with respect to connecting to resources, accessing the resources needed, and competing for those resources (both externally, and within the community):

When you are operating in the kind of systems when an event has happened – what can happen is that you get resources externally, but not always the ones you need – so you have to constantly negotiate and navigate for them, or you get a fund set up and they start allocating money out to organisations that aren't connected into the recovery team.

The earthquake also highlighted the need for collaborative approaches involving input from both community and governance agencies, as this Kaikoura interviewee explains:

A lot of people just want the government or somebody to fix things for them, but we have always had that element in communities – the government or the authorities will make things OK. But Kiwi ingenuity [means that] we fix things ourselves and get on with it. Thinking you can fix it all ourselves is a little pig-headed as well – it was the same in Kaikoura – they couldn't cope with the work needed before the earthquake – there was all this 'keep it local' thing – if you do that you will have the resentment of all the local people for ever, for taking so long and doing such a poor job because you can't handle the pressure of it.

The earthquake also drew attention to a number of vulnerabilities in extant organisational and business systems and in respect of some individuals and groups in the community. The Manager of the MMC – whose premises were inaccessible for several weeks after the earthquake – reported realising the “*need to have a business continuity plan – but really it is a resilience plan*”; having a plan was one of the 4Ps of resilience (see section 3.6). For the MMC organisation the earthquake also highlighted the importance of having connections at different scales which are able to support a resilient – and socially connected – community. This involves, for example, a collaborative approach (with other agencies), as well as building up networks within their own centre with people who can stand as leaders or contact points with each of the ethnic groups. New migrants were identified as being amongst the most vulnerable in the community as a result of social isolation, as the Marlborough CDEM Group Welfare Officer explained:

Vulnerability is very situation specific – in respect of both individuals and communities, but the most vulnerable are the most socially isolated – either because of where they live or who they are [e.g., recent migrant, impoverished, disabled, medical illness etc].

However, the same speaker cautioned about making assumptions of vulnerability in the community noting that, for example, “*not all over 65s are vulnerable – you have to be careful not to ‘slice and dice’*”. In addition to age, vulnerability can be related to factors such as health, mobility, location, isolation and life experience. It is also important to recognise that “*some people chose to isolate themselves and are hard to reach at the best of times*”. Admitting vulnerability can also be an issue, however, as “*none of us want to be told that we are vulnerable*”. For many interviewees, the vulnerability of individuals in the community was suggested as the flipside to resilience as an individual attribute (see section 3.2).

Overall, recognising vulnerability – and acknowledging and accepting external assistance – were noted as key elements of community self-awareness and resilience building (see section 3.3). One the Waiau interviewees reported that “*the earthquake has created an opportunity to make relationships with some more vulnerable people*” while according to one of the Blenheim interviewees “*some were already in the system and the earthquake just added to their issues*”. Others found support for pre-existing issues as a result of more funding and resources (people) being available.

As noted, most of the discussion around the impact of the earthquake experience related to the immediate response and recovery periods. The need for differing types of assistance and services at other times was also recognised. Readiness, for example, was described as having both physical (e.g., having appropriate resources) and mental attributes (e.g., “*being aware that life is uncertain and that something could happen to you*”). Others talked about the longer-term legacy of the earthquake experience in terms of resilience. The MDC Community Development Advisor noted “*all the big work happens in recovery – that is where your resilience is – and getting the community to move out of what has happened into whatever their new normal looks like*”. One of the Waiau interviewees reported some positives for Waiau which emerged over the longer-term recovery period:

A lot of people might not approve of this in some respects, but the earthquake has actually created lots of opportunities for people to get together and to get to know each other, and more services have moved into the area.

Importantly, the earthquake was attributed with making people more aware of who was in their community. In respect of the transient population groups this awareness was often accompanied by the realisation of the importance to the community of these transients in respect of employment and economic prosperity, population viability and service provision and social vibrancy. At the same time, however, this increased awareness was reported to have “*raised questions around the lack of support for many of these transient groups*”. As one of the St Arnaud interviewees reflected,

It is really interesting the things you need to take account of with the transient populations – like who they are and what information do they need – [like] if you are from Europe you generally don't know what an earthquake is.

7.2.2 A focus on transient population groups

This research focused on resilience associated with transient rural communities. This resilience can be examined in two ways – the resilience of the transient populations themselves and the broader resilience of those communities who host them. Although our focus in interviews was on the transient population groups, we took a whole community perspective, which also included understanding the relationship between those who are transient and the resident host population. These host communities are reliant on transients as an increasingly vital workforce and they enhance community life as new (albeit sometimes temporary) residents who contribute to school roll numbers, support local businesses and add new social dimensions to community life. Non-working – and often more transient – transients contribute to the host communities via rates (e.g., holiday home owners) or through financial support of the local economy through the purchase of goods and services (e.g., tourists).

The range of transient population groups commonly found in rural communities was identified prior to beginning fieldwork and, as noted, ensuring that specific transient population groups were of significance in at least one community was one of the considerations in case study selection. That said, however, awareness of these groups was by no means homogenous with some groups much more visible in the community than others. In the population transience continuum (see Appendix 1), we proposed that length of stay or visit and visibility and knowledge of population increased in unison (i.e., the longer the stay the greater visibility); this relationship was supported by our research data. To some extent, however, transient group visibility was a function of dependence (i.e., the importance of that transient population group to the local economy or community); this dependence also determined the extent (and formality) of the governance, employment and social structures and support networks associated with particular transient groups.

The least visible (and most difficult to classify) transient groups are those who are minimally engaged with governance, industry, business and community systems. These include the WHM and other seasonal workers who do not represent a cohesive population group (i.e., one that can be clearly identified by characteristics such as employment or industry type, accommodation location or type, or as a result of their length of stay). The habitual visit patterns of some seasonal workers also challenges classification. The importance of habitual visitation emerged as an important integration and connection factor for the holiday home population and led to this group being considered as 'semi-permanent residents' rather than 'temporary residents', as proposed in the original classification.

This relationship between length of stay and visibility did not extend to the most transient of the populations in the continuum. This group included short-stay workers, the transiting public, and tourists. The presence of tourists, in particular, and their capture via engagement in the commercial tourism system (i.e., through accommodation and activities) gave these transient populations a moderate-low rating for 'visibility and knowledge of population'.

While the four classes of ‘transience’ in the population transience continuum were represented by a variety of population groups in each of the four communities the prominence (and importance) of each within that community varied. For example, holiday home owners, present in both St Arnaud and Kaikoura, had greater prominence in St Arnaud, in part as a result of representing a larger proportion of the population. Likewise, Kaikoura interviewees conferred their WHM population with greater importance than reported for the same group in St Arnaud. Kaikoura’s identity as a tourist destination is dependent not just on the flow of tourists, but on the many casual workers who support the sector. It was reported that the businesses that were able to continue to support their more transient workforce fared better post-earthquake, as this “*helped the long-term viability of being able to bounce back*”.

Quantification of transient population groups varies considerably, from those who are counted (e.g., via visa and employment registration, formal accommodation provision) to those about whom there is awareness of their presence (and perhaps a general proportional awareness within the community) but no population count. Those contained within structured systems (e.g., RSE workers in Blenheim, the NCTIR population in Kaikoura) are examples of the former group. For others, it is possible to broadly assess numbers through the collation of disparate data or by the use of proxy data. The calculation of the number of holiday home owners based on unoccupied dwellings at census is one such proxy, although this count does not indicate how many of these holiday home owners are present at any given time. While community awareness includes understanding the make-up of the community, knowing who is present – and having a means to both measure and access data on the population – is especially important in the event of a natural hazard event.

In contrast to these transient populations, more is known about the permanent resident population with demographic data captured via the five-yearly census, school rolls, and so on. However, these data often present as a ‘snapshot’ in time and do not allow for the seasonal population variations experienced in many communities, or for the often-dynamic changes in population associated with the occurrence of natural hazard events. Also, some data are only available at national level (e.g., the number of WHM and temporary work visas issued) rather than at the local level where these workers are to be found. It is, however, accepted that the number of transient workers is growing in rural areas.

The lessons learned from the Kaikoura earthquake, and from longer-term engagement with some of the transient population groups found in the case study communities, was perceived to have strengthened resilience in respect of some more recent resident groups. An example of this was the Welcome Packs prepared to assist Filipino migrants in the Waiau area. The issue of these packs was subsequently extended to new residents more generally and, via Immigration New Zealand, to other areas of New Zealand. One of the Kaikoura interviewees talked about the ways in which the earthquake experience had highlighted their community’s reliance on a transient workforce, the vulnerability of that workforce and a need to provide more support for them:

I think that what we have learned it [the earthquake] that we have to care even more deeply for people who are here for a short time than those here permanently because we need to them to be here and feeling supported, and they are a little different because they don’t have the fall-back position that we have as locals, and so I am really keen to work with council and other tourism business that rely

on this type of workforce to set up some sort of welcome resource – some sort of two monthly catch-up with seasonal workers in town.

While as a tourism business owner, the speaker quoted above had vested interest in supporting these temporary workers, interviewees in all four case studies suggested there broader need to demonstrate to people of the value of transients within their communities. As noted, this value extends beyond economic factors to contribute to a community's social and cultural capital and resilience. There is however potential for resilience within the community to be compromised by temporal factors (e.g., the length of time a particular transient population group has been present in the community, and the length of time and degree of integration associated with different transient groups).

Broadly speaking, time helps with both assimilation (of the transients) and understanding (from the host community) of transient population groups. Community acceptance – and integration – of particular groups can take time, although there are differences between transient groups within which individual members change over time (e.g., tourists, RSE workers, WHM) and those groups which contain a stable set of individuals (e.g., new migrants, holiday home owners). In the case of the latter group members of the host community may get to know transients on a personal level.

A range of factors contribute to the degree to which transient population groups connect with the host community. These include living arrangements, employment schedules, and the extent to which community space and activity are shared by the different groups in the community. While the individual members of some transient population groups live within the wider community (i.e., rather than isolated from the community in communal accommodation) their integration in the community is often compromised by having different employment schedules and leisure interests. As the Kaikoura CDEM Emergency Management Officer explained:

Checking on your neighbours [if and when something happens] will also help any transient community members who may be living amongst the permanent community members – but this depends if they live amongst the rest of community and if they have the same schedules etc.

The integration of transient population groups is also impacted by the degree of cultural difference (including language) between transients and the host community. There was a significant focus by interviewees on the more obviously different people found in their community with the RSE workers, new migrants and Filipino dairy workers talked about even by interviewees who had little to do with those populations. Ironically, these were also the least transient of the groups on the population transience continuum. The group around which awareness was the lowest were the 'temporary residents' (e.g., WHM) who were more widely dispersed and who did not stand out as a distinct group. Further, although WHM were reported by many interviewees to be economically vital to local economies, and to present significant housing challenges, they were never mentioned explicitly in terms of community resilience.

While business and industry sectors might recognise the importance of transients, it does not always filter down to the community from whom social support and community acceptance are important considerations. As one Blenheim interviewee reflected:

I honestly think that the majority of the population here wouldn't have a concept if what would happen if all the RSE workers were told they couldn't come – it would have a dramatic effect on everybody here in terms of the wealth of the town, the supply of materials of all sorts – foodstuffs or building materials or whatever else – there is so much that is dependent on people getting an income from that industry that we have almost got all our eggs in one basket and it's not a particularly good thing, but having said that if you look at a lot of little provincial towns about the size of Blenheim they are not nearly as well off as we are – our district council is in the black all the time and can afford to invest in things – and does and has [done that] over time and is reasonably well off. A lot of smaller district councils struggle.

The above excerpt also highlighted the vulnerability of communities reliant on transient populations. A two-way relationship exists in respect of vulnerability (i.e., vulnerability can apply to both the transients themselves and to the host community in which they are found) in much the same way as both teaching transients about the host community and the host community about transients is important. The MDC Community Development Advisor referenced vulnerability in the community associated with both working and non-working transients and the potential impact of natural hazard event:

The economy is vulnerable because of the reliance on imported workers but also, we have tourism dependent on the wine industry, but if we have a biosecurity event that takes out all our grapevines and we can't replant for 50 years then we are stuffed.

Transient population groups (be they workers or consumers), and New Zealand's rural communities increasing reliance on them, add a significant new dimension to rural New Zealand's vulnerability to – and potential resilience in respect of – natural hazards. The following section considers the key factors which might contribute towards building resilience in transient rural communities.

7.3 Building resilience in transient rural communities

The four case study communities were selected to represent similar types of communities found around New Zealand, although as the research has shown each can be described according to a range of often idiosyncratic characteristics and circumstances. One-size does not fit all – in respect of host communities, transient population groups, governance structures or experiences of natural hazard events (such as the Kaikoura earthquake) or other nature's challenges. Despite this caveat, a number of broad factors important in respect of building resilience can be distilled from the research findings:

1. **Knowing the community:** e.g., identifying the different groups contained in it; knowing the size and location of these populations; understanding key characteristics and vulnerabilities of different groups
2. **The importance of knowing place:** e.g., being aware of strengths, weaknesses, capacity in the community; accepting that there might not be a one-size fits all solution to community challenges

3. **Identify key community connections:** e.g., within and between community groups; to other communities; to governance structures
4. **Recognise the importance of transient population groups to the community:** e.g., employment and economic dependence; economic contribution; social contribution
5. **Understanding temporal rhythms and changes:** e.g., recognising changes over time associated with transience; challenges associated with seasonal peaks and flows; recognising different mobilities within the community
6. **Understand measures that help accommodate change:** e.g., the variety of ways in which newcomers are assisted and can be integrated; issues faced by both transients and the host community
7. **Recognise the dimensions of this knowledge:** e.g., what it is that you might need to know; who holds knowledge about what; identifying missing information
8. **Quantification of the above factors:** e.g., extant data sources; missing data; source and depository of data; methods of keeping data current

The collection of the data described above can, in itself, contribute to community resilience. During the course of this research, for example, we raised interviewees' awareness of the transient population groups present in their communities. This awareness went beyond the specific population groups which, as key informants, they were selected to represent. The interviews also focused interviewees' consideration of these transient population groups in terms of broader community resilience, an area to which they had previously given minimal consideration. Using our population transience continuum as a framework, we were able to describe our four case study communities according to the majority of the factors noted above, although data relating to the quantification of these factors remains incomplete. Sourcing and securing these data would add further weight to understandings of the significance of transient population groups in respect of rural community resilience.

The next stage of the project involves the further refinement of these factors and the development of a toolkit for community resilience. A review of community toolkits has already been undertaken by the research team to provide contextual information relating to toolkit content and to identify the potential users of toolkits. While a toolkit may be of interest to CDEM – and could potentially sit alongside their National Disaster Resilience Strategy (MCDEM, 2018) – in reality its purpose extends beyond CDEM's emergency management (and response) remit. A potential next step in toolkit development may be taking some of these research findings back to local government representatives in our case study communities to seek feedback and input on the content and usefulness of such a toolkit.

We believe that local government would be the primary users of a resilience toolkit, as they were shown in this research to represent the central conduit between the community and governance. Governance operates at multiple levels (e.g., international, national, regional, local), but it is at the local level that governance intersects with communities and the individuals contained within those communities. As we have noted, 'knowing your place' and its 'connections' is paramount in respect of resilience and it is at the local governance level that this knowledge should be held, and from where useful interventions towards resilience building might usefully emerge. Currently, it appears that the most comprehensive data describing communities is collated by CDEM (as part of their focus on preparedness) and often does not filter out to council level in more general sense. The

proposed toolkit would ensure that other governance entities could also be more prepared and more resilient in the face nature's challenges.

This project sits within the ‘resilient rural backbone’ programme of the Resilience to Nature’s Challenges (RNC) Science Challenge. This research programme asks ‘What are the resilience solutions to a range of nature’s challenge-induced shocks for the rural areas of New Zealand? Our research takes a step back from this to consider the vulnerabilities of rural areas in relation to the (increasing) presence of transient rural populations, and the impact of this on community resilience. The setting aside of transient rural Maori in our research was deliberate as the RNC Science Challenge contains a Vision Mātauranga stream of research which may contribute data to this project. Further, Kaikoura was the only one of the case study communities which contained a significant Maori population and there was no indication of transience in this population. We recognise, however, that in other areas of New Zealand there may be significant transient Maori population groups. This project also contributes data to the ‘economically resilient’, ‘resilient culture’ and ‘resilient governance’ research streams of the RNC Science Challenge, although each of these were only addressed from our research perspective.

A final note relates to the broader remit of the Resilience of Nature’s Challenges Science Challenge which addresses pathways to natural hazard resilience. An array of natural hazards (e.g., earthquakes, volcanoes, landslides, tsunami, weather, coastal and rural fire hazards) represent nature’s challenges. In some instances, multiple hazards combine to threaten community sustainability, while in other cases communities might have faced a succession of separate – and different – hazard events. This research was centred on a single natural hazard event – the Kaikoura earthquake – but the communities investigated had also either previously experienced or were wary of the potential impacts of future hazards. These included, for example, previous flooding events in Kaikoura and prolonged drought in Waiau, ongoing concerns around rural fire in St Arnaud and the potential impact of an earthquake on the Alpine Fault (in both St Arnaud and Blenheim).

8 Conclusion

This research examined rural community resilience in the face of natural hazard events, with a focus on transient population groups. The research focused on the experiences of four communities affected by the Kaikoura earthquake to explore perceptions of resilience, describe community structure and identify and examine a range of transient population groups commonly found within rural communities. Prior to the interview fieldwork, a scoping exercise was undertaken to provide background data, and from which the case studies were selected (see Wilson & Simmons, 2017). In addition to the preparation of the scoping report which informed interview selection, a desktop examination of the governance structures and social networks relevant to the case study communities was also undertaken (see Wilson & Simmons, 2018). This provided additional contextual/background material and informed the interview process.

The four case studies communities (Blenheim, Kaikoura, Waiau and St Arnaud) were selected to represent community types commonly found in rural New Zealand. They varied in respect of a number of factors including size, economic characteristics, earthquake impact and population demographics (including transient population groups). While the 2016 Kaikoura earthquake provided a natural hazard event on which to focus the research, the research interest was in long-term (and broad) community resilience, rather than short-term (and specific) response and recovery actions which occurred post-earthquake. The focus in the research was on social and (to a lesser extent economic) resilience associated with the earthquake, rather than on the resilience of physical and built infrastructure environments, although all these environments are obviously connected. Within this, the visibility, awareness and connectedness of the various population groups found within the ‘social’ environment were of particular interest.

Our exploration of resilience in these communities necessitated talking to people with insight over the community as a whole (e.g., via governance or networking roles) or who were associated in some way with particular transient groups. A ‘population transience continuum’, developed during the preliminary scoping exercise, provided the framework for interviewee selection. These ‘key informants’ were often identified or nominated as ‘leaders’ in their communities and, as research subjects, offered an informed (but potentially biased) overview of their respective communities. We recognise this limitation of the research design.

In each case study community, data were collected describing: key community characteristics and the ways in which individual interviewees were connected with the broader community; specific population groups and networks present in the community; ways in which the community (and the various population groups contained in it) responded to, and have recovered from, the Kaikoura earthquake; and, perceptions and understandings of resilience and of how resilience might be developed. The resilience data provided a number of key resilience themes and was presented first to provide a resilience context. The case study community data provided an overview and context within which the transient population data could be understood. The transient population continuum provided a framework to examine vulnerabilities associated with transient population groups. A final data chapter identified a number of key governance challenges associated with natural hazard events, transient population groups and resilient rural communities. Together, these data provided an overview of vulnerabilities, strengths and resilience found in ‘rural communities’ which contain transient population groups. While many of these extend beyond those specifically

focused on nature's challenges and transient population groups a number of 'resilience insights' were attributed to the Kaikoura earthquake experience.

A number of broad factors, important in respect of building resilience, were distilled from the research findings. These describe facets of community awareness and knowledge that – taken together – provide a comprehensive description of community. 'Knowing your place' and its 'connections' were identified as a key resilience factors and, despite their significant (and growing) importance in these communities, many transient population groups are neither 'known' nor 'connected'. By undertaking this research, we have raised awareness of transient population groups in these communities and it may be beneficial to present these results to other communities around New Zealand. The resilience factors identified through this research represent the first stage in developing recommendations for rural community governance management and implementation for disaster response and resilience building. The next stage of the research is to develop a toolkit for community resilience that is applicable to other rural communities.

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10 Appendix 1 Population transience continuum

	Permanent residents	Semi-permanent residents	Temporary residents	Transient populations
Length of stay or visit	Intention to remain Attachment	Resident for 6 months, less than 1 year	Resident for between 2 weeks and 6 months	Temporary visitors – less than 2 weeks
Population groups	Long-term residents Maori (turangawaewae) Medium-term residents 'Newcomers' <ul style="list-style-type: none">• New Zealanders• Migrants from overseas	RSE workers (allowed 7-9 months) Earthquake rebuild workers (road, infrastructure, housing) Some WHS visa holders	WHS visa holders Earthquake rebuild workers (road, infrastructure, housing) Other temporary workers Holiday home owners	Tourists <ul style="list-style-type: none">• International visitors• Domestic holidaymakers• Holiday home visitors Travelling workers <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Earthquake & other Transiting
Demographic, social, spatial characteristics	Age, family status, occupation Community connectedness <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Schools, clubs, service organisations Location of dwelling Strong community connections	Age Visa conditions Country of origin Prior New Zealand experience Industry of employment Community connectedness Strong in-group connections	Age Visa conditions, length of stay Country of origin Industry of employment Community connectedness Some in-group connections Dispersed in community	Length of visit Purpose of visit Accommodation type Country of origin Dispersed in community
Type & availability of data	Census data describing resident population <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Good at local scale Migration & work permit data <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mostly national scale, local scale data limited	National level RSE scheme data <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Local scale data potentially available Mixed quality earthquake data National level WHS visa holder data	Limited data on some groups Earthquake population data best National level WHS visa data Holiday home owner data limited	Variable quality data National/regional tourist data good Domestic tourism data poor Accommodation data partial DOC data good No worker data No transit data
Overall visibility & knowledge of population	High	Moderate	Low	Moderate-low

11 Appendix 2 Research Information Sheet



Research Information Sheet

We would like to invite you to participate in a project entitled “Building resilience in transient rural communities – a post-earthquake regional study”. The project is part of the Rural Co-Creation Laboratory in the Resilience to Nature’s Challenges National Science Challenge.

<https://resiliencechallenge.nz/Resilience-Home/Science-Programmes/Rural>

What is the aim of this project?

The aim of the project is to:

- Characterise the size, visibility and perceived vulnerability of different populations within affected communities of Blenheim, Kaikoura, Waiau and St Arnaud;
- Examine the networks through which the community connects (internally) and is connected (externally); and
- Document community responses to, and recovery from, the Kaikoura earthquake with a focus on those pertaining to transient population groups.

What types of participants are being sought?

We would like to talk to people who have either formal or informal engagement with semi-permanent and transient population groups in each community. These include:

- New residents (esp. new migrants);
- Semi-permanent residents (e.g., RSE workers, earthquake rebuild workers);
- Temporary residents (e.g., working holiday makers, temporary workers, holiday home owners); and
- Transient persons (e.g., international and domestic tourists, travelling workers)

You have been identified as a person who is either involved, or familiar, with one or more of these population groups and who might contribute to the project aims, noted above. However, participation in this research is voluntary and there is no obligation to take part.

What will I be asked to do?

Your participation will involve a one-on-one interview, taking 30 to 60 minutes to complete. We will arrange an interview date/time and location that is convenient to you. The focus in this interview is on the specific population group(s) and community networks that you have experience of. We also have a few questions about how your community (and its various population groups) responded to, and have recovered from, the Kaikoura earthquake and about your own perceptions of community resilience. There are no right or wrong answers, and you are free to decline to answer any of our questions.

With your permission we would like to record your interview. If you are not comfortable with being recorded, we can take written notes throughout – if neither of these options are acceptable to you, we would not proceed with the interview. We will ask you to sign a consent form (indicating your consent to being recorded or for notes to be taken) prior to the interview beginning. Consent forms and individual interview data will be stored in an electronic form with secure password protection. No one will have access to this information, other than us and the Human Ethics Committee (in the event of an audit).

While your data will remain private, the small size of the communities we are studying means that we cannot guarantee your anonymity in any publications resulting from this research. You will, however, be given the opportunity to review your interview transcript/notes summary and withdraw any information which you do not wish to make public. As far as possible, we will present aggregated data and describe participants by their community roles only, but we recognise that you may still be easily identifiable.

What use will be made of my data?

Initial analysis of interview data will focus on the identification of key features that affect community resilience in the face of hazard events and will be written up in a publicly available research report. In a later stage of the project these interview data will be triangulated and extended via broader community discussion groups, with the goal of deriving lessons and insights that can inform resilience at the national level. We may also approach you to participate in one of the community discussion groups, but you can be assured that participation in these is completely independent of this part of the research project.

Can I withdraw from the project?

As noted, we will only proceed with interviews if participants agree to recording or note-taking. You may also withdraw from the project, including withdrawing any information you have provided, on review of your interview transcript/notes summary. You can do this by contacting either David Simmons or Jude Wilson using the contact information below.

What if I have any questions?

If you have any queries or concerns about your participation in the project, please contact us; we would be happy to discuss any any concerns you have.

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This project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.
