ATTITUDES TO GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN NEW ZEALAND'S FAR NORTH*

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ABSTRACT

This paper, which is based on an analysis of 517 interviews carried out in the Mangonui Geographical County, explores the attitudes and perceptions of residents to the direction of local and regional development and examines the dimensions which underlie the visible conflicts existing within and between sectors.

Respondents showed clear preferences for sector growth development at the local and regional level. Support for future development was greatest for both State forestry and farming. Support for State forestry centred on its ability to create employment and use land productively, while farming was favoured for its productive land use and because, traditionally, it has been good for the region and New Zealand.

Those interviewed made a clear distinction between private and State forestry, with State forestry being accorded a greater degree of acceptance. The most common reasons given for the lack of support shown to private forestry were: the benefits would accrue to too few people; it is a non-productive land use; and its labour requirements are low.

The much publicised land-use conflict between farming and forestry was not an important dimension in people's responses. Discussions with local body personnel held after the major field work was carried out suggested that more concern is likely to be generated over the competing requirements of tourism and private forestry in areas such as road use.

INTRODUCTION

There is a growing emphasis on the need for New Zealand to make better use of its resources in terms of increased employment opportunities, import substitution and foreign exchange earnings. This emphasis has led to the realisation that

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little is known about how local communities and regions might be affected by development carried out in accordance with the above goal. Forestry is no exception, and the forestry sector has a wide spectrum of land-use and utilisation options. Some research has been carried out on forestry villages and the "single-industry" pulp and paper towns, but no attempts have been made to deal with the impact forestry and forest industries might have on communities. This pattern of development is likely to be more prevalent in the future. Effective regional and local planning depends largely on the extent to which decision-makers are able to consider the economic and social implications of various paths of development.

Concern with the quality of rural life has always been implicit in rural social research. The emphasis on the relationship between this evasive notion, and the characteristics of the economic and infrastructural base, has been the driving force behind much of the research directed toward identifying the dimensions of rural social change (Rogers and Burdge, 1972; Ford, 1978), and assessing the ways of organising change in rural communities (Loomis and Beagle, 1975).

At one time researchers were concerned with the "annihilation" of rural communities caused by the drift of people to urban centres. With the advent of the recent trend away from "urban concentration" (Schwarzweller, 1979), the catch-cry has changed from one of "not enough people" to one of "not enough facilities". The ambivalence this creates for the rural sociologist is well portrayed in the comment of Schwarzweller that, while rural depopulation poses severe economic drain on rural communities, it may not be as disruptive to those communities as the arrival of lots of "new-comers". He also points to the more important fact that community stability may be threatened by disputes over the rate and direction of development and the ways in which the resources of the community are distributed. The resolution of such disagreements remains problematic even when viewed through other than a political lens. This is so primarily because there has been ample demonstration from past research that industrial development has both positive and negative implications for rural communities (Bertrand, 1978). For example, evidence supporting the notion that rural industrialisation generates new jobs and increases family income can be contrasted with studies that show there to be an unequal sharing of the costs and benefits of growth by those residing in developing regions. There are also contradictory views regarding the extent to which rural

industrialisation is able to reverse or prevent rural depopulation (Maurer and Napier, 1981: 100-1).

However, much of this research has centred on the concept of rural industrialisation and on the reaction of rural dwellers to this. Although the information forthcoming from these studies will help improve our understanding of the anxiety which arises from rural social change, there are problems applying such data in the planning process. These problems are a consequence of the tendency for arguments at the politico-planning level to focus not so much on the issue of development versus non-development, but rather on the competing claims for specific growth options within and across different resource sectors. The perceptions rural residents have about the sector options seem to have received relatively little attention in rural research. It is on this aspect of rural growth that we wish to focus here. More specifically, we wish to explore the positive and negative reactions recorded within a particular set of communities to the prospect of growth in various sectors. We will endeavour to examine critically the points of perceived conflicts arising out of proposals for simultaneous growth in those sectors that appear to contravene the norms and values by which social life is organised within this rural region. In doing this, we would point out that this paper represents only a part of a larger on-going study which looks at the impacts of sector growth options on rural communities.

METHOD

The data were collected by means of structured interviews with 517 residents of Mangonui Geographical County. The sampling procedure consisted of taking a systematic sample of occupied dwellings within the study region. The individual to be interviewed was a resident, aged 15 years or over, whose birthday fell next. Three call-backs were made after which time a replacement address was substituted. Interviews were carried out by trained personnel. The resulting sample was found to be representative of the population within the limits associated with the final sample size. The study area was chosen because it is experiencing growth in a range of primary and secondary sectors. The interviews were administered by the University of Auckland Applied Research Office during November and December, 1979. The fieldwork was organised in this way so as to reduce the possibility of "bias" being introduced in respect of the responses to questions involving forestry by virtue of the authors' association

with the Forest Research Institute. A combination of forced
choice, Likert scale and open-ended questions were used. In
addition, information from various documentary sources, together
with comments from local body personnel spoken with by the
authors *after* the major fieldwork was completed, is employed
in the data interpretation. A meeting was organised to allow
public discussion of the survey findings. The views expressed,
in the main, supported the study data. However, for the purposes
of this paper, these views are not taken to be a part of the data set.
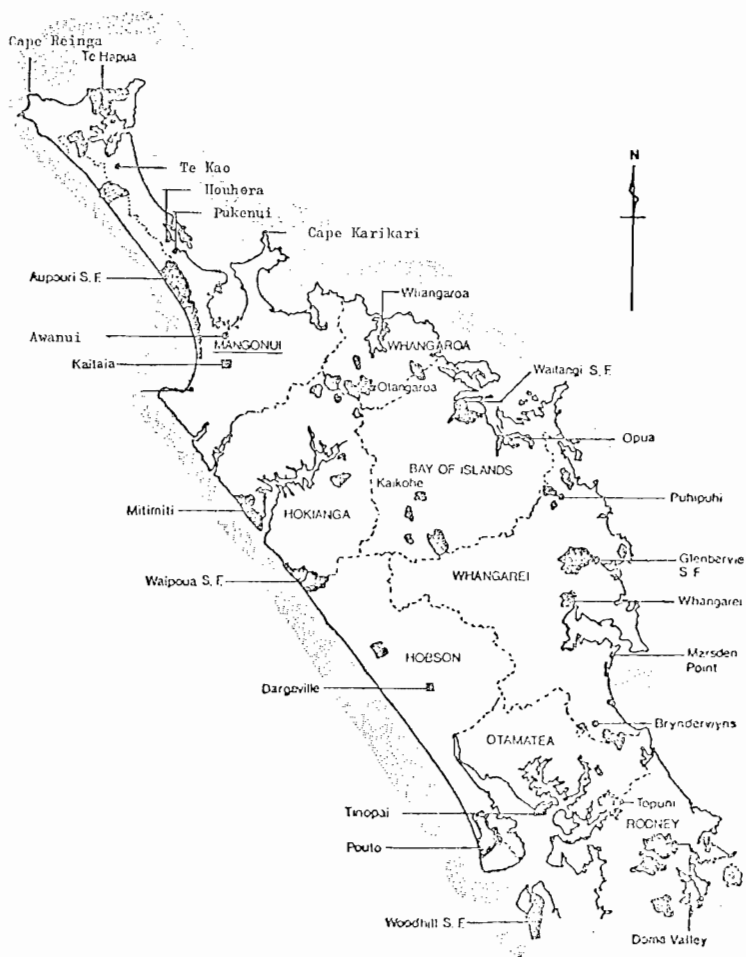
Northland forestry areas.

THE STUDY AREA
(see map)

The Mangonui Geographical County, which covers about 200 000 ha, is the northernmost county in New Zealand. The 1976 Census population of 11 977 included 38.8% designated as Maori (compared with 8.5% at the national level). During the 1971-1976 intercensal period, Kaitaia, the main servicing centre, showed a population growth rate of 21.2% to reach a population of 4 243 at the last Census. The growth rate, which does not appear to be declining, is contrary to the negative 4.3% experienced in the Northland Statistical Area. (In fact, provisional data from the 1981 Census shows the Mangonui Administration County to have had a population increase of 12.6% during the 1976-1981 intercensal period.)

The district was once the location of much activity in both the kauri gum and indigenous forestry industries. These were eventually displaced earlier this century by dairy farming and fishing. Tourism and exotic forestry are relatively recent additions. For instance, it was only in the early 1960s that Aupouri State Forest (which now covers some 30 000 ha*) was developed along the west coast of the county as a way of halting sand dune movement on to farmland. Forestry was seen as a means by which land considered unsuitable for farming could be put into productive use. Employment provision was viewed as an important spin-off. In the last few years over 3 000 ha of planting has also been carried out by private companies, mainly on leasehold Maori land. Unlike the State forest which is being managed for the production of sawn timber, the private plantings are being grown almost exclusively for pulpwood.

Though some wood is already being extracted from the State forest, harvesting is not likely to begin in earnest until the 1990s when wood production will increase dramatically. There is likely, however, to be a small quantity of production thinnings available in the mid-1980s and Northern Pulp Ltd already has plans to utilise this resource, which includes the building of a mechanical pulpmill. Owing to the area's compatibility with tourism, and the unsuitability of Northland's generally short, slow-moving rivers, finding an appropriate location for this mill is proving difficult. Whatever decisions are made, the future potential of Northland for exotic afforestation is immense,

*Just under half of this area has been planted thus far.

with only around 20% of the "afforestable land" having been planted — afforestable land being defined as that land which could be "planted in exotic trees without impinging unduly on farming or other land uses and without the clearing of native forests" (N.Z. Forest Service, 1980: 12).

In recent years there has been visible growth in tourism. The area now contains a well-established motel and campground industry. These have developed to take advantage of the summer season's northward migration of people to the idyllic beaches of the county's east coast. Thousands of visitors also make the pilgrimage by tour bus to Cape Reinga, the north-western tip of New Zealand.

Agricultural activity spans dairying, sheep farming, "drystock" and some cropping. Excluding the fertile flats lying to the north of Kaitaia, many of the farms are located on difficult soils requiring considerable annual outlay in fertiliser costs. This productivity impediment shows up in that the average farm milk production lies at about 72% of the national average. Processing, for some 200 milk suppliers, centres on the Kaitaia Co-operative Dairy Company factory based in Awanui, 6 km to the north of Kaitaia.

The fishing industry is based on a number of private boat owners who concentrate their efforts on the east coast harbours and bays north of Cape Karikari. Individual owners are beginning to feel the effects of the increasing numbers of operators by way of reduced catches. The catches go to small local outlets or larger exporting companies outside the county.

It is in the context of this multi-faceted economy that we must make sense of the perceptions of local residents with regard to the promises and pitfalls of sector growth options.

RESULTS

This section is divided into the following themes: Community stability and satisfaction, Perception of change, Perception of development, Development preference, Opposition to development, and Information and decision-making. (The average error bound on the responses lies at just over $\pm$ 4% at the 95% confidence level.)

1. *Community Stability and Satisfaction*

The area surveyed exhibited a degree of residential stability that the 1971 and 1976 Census data on internal migration suggest is slightly above average for New Zealand (Department of Statistics, 1976). Just over half of the respondents had lived in

their present home for more than 10 years with some 70.7% having done so for more than five years. Approximately three-quarters of those questioned expressed their intention to remain in the area. Further questioning revealed that this intention was by choice, rather than through lack of options.

However, when questioned on what they perceive to be the future residential location of others, the majority of the respondents (58.7%) believed that people are tending to move away from the country areas of the Far North.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents were favourably disposed to their area, with 90.1% at least describing the area as "pleasant". However, though 81.5% felt that the area was at least as enjoyable now as it was in the past (35.8% believing the area to be "more enjoyable"), a notable 18.5% now found the area "less enjoyable".

2. *Perception of Change*

A large majority (74.4%) of the respondents surveyed perceive that their community has undergone change of some form. Of those who perceived a change, 69.2% believe the change has been for the better, while 30.8% considered that it had not. Supporting this latter result, 24.3% of the respondents disagreed with the view that the area is a better place to live in now than 10 years ago. A slight majority (52.6%) agreed with the view, while 23.1% were unsure.

3. *Perception of Development*

The respondents generally envisaged future development of most services, facilities and industries in the area (Table 1). The

TABLE 1: PERCEPTION OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF VARIOUS
SERVICES, FACILITIES AND INDUSTRIES
($n = 517$)

	Further Development	% of Sample No Further Development	Don't Know
Educational services	48.9	42.1	9.0
Medical services	41.2	55.2	3.6
Shopping facilities	65.6	34.0	0.4
Transport and roading	58.6	37.9	3.5
Farming	52.1	40.9	7.0
Tourism	85.5	11.9	2.6
Private forestry	67.5	22.1	10.4
State forestry	90.6	6.3	3.1
Fishing	45.1	51.0	3.9

exceptions were in medical services and in the fishing industry where 55.2 and 51.0% of the respondents, respectively, believed that no further development would occur. The sample saw the greatest developments occurring in State forestry (90.6%), tourism (85.5%) and private forestry (67.5%).

4. Development Preferences

Using only the last five industries from Table 1, namely, farming, tourism, private forestry, State forestry and fishing, the respondents were asked to nominate the industry they would prefer to see go ahead in their community, and the Far North generally (Table 2).

TABLE 2: PREFERENCE FOR INDUSTRY FOR OWN COMMUNITY
AND FOR FAR NORTH GENERALLY
($n = 517$)

| | % of Sample | |
Industry	Community	Far North
Farming	38.5	31.3
Tourism	16.9	17.3
Private forestry	2.8	3.7
State forestry	32.6	39.6
Fishing	9.2	8.1
	100.0	100.0

Farming and State forestry were rated highly for both the community and the Far North generally, where 38.5% of the sample chose farming and 32.6% chose State forestry for the community. These rankings were reversed for the Far North where State forestry received 39.6% of the support and farming 31.3%. Tourism was preferred for the community by 16.9% of the respondents and by 17.3% for the Far North generally.

Fishing ranked fourth with 9.2% for the community and 8.1% for the Far North as a whole. The equivalent figures for private forestry were 2.8 and 3.7%.

The reasons given by the respondents for favouring one development over another were varied but the most popular reason given related to the industry's ability to create employment. Some 25.1% of the total responses received expressed this opinion. "Productive land-use" and "future potential" also ranked highly. Taking only the top three ranked industries, farming, State forestry and tourism, Tables 3 to 5 reveal the qualities that were considered favourable by the respondents.

TABLE 3: WHY RESPONDENTS FAVOUR FARMING FOR OWN
COMMUNITY
($n = 199$)

Response	% of Those Favouring Farming
Productive land-use	21.8
Personal reasons or situation	12.8
Backbone of country	12.3
Lifestyle preference	11.8
Potential future development	6.2
Already established	5.7
Other responses	29.4
	100.0

As Table 3 shows, 21.8% of those favouring farming for the
community do so because they believe it to be a "productive
land-use". "Personal reasons or situation" such as the respondent
being married to a farmer or being one himself, accounts for
12.8% of the responses, with "backbone of country" being opted
for by 12.3%. Other reasons to rate highly were "lifestyle
preference" with 11.8%, "potential future development" with
6.2%, and "already established" with 5.7%.

TABLE 4: WHY RESPONDENTS FAVOUR STATE FORESTRY FOR
OWN COMMUNITY
($n = 169$)

Response	% of Those Favouring State Forestry
Employment creation generally	46.0
Productive land-use	13.3
Employment for young	7.6
Generates income	4.3
Potential future development	4.3
Other responses	24.5
	100.0

The ability to create employment was by far the most common
reason for favouring State forestry. As Table 4 exhibits,
"employment creation generally" and "employment for young"
together accounted for 53.6% of the responses given. "Productive
land-use", the second-ranked reason, accounted for 13.3%, while
"generates income" and "potential future development" each
received 4.3% of the total reasons given by those favouring
State forestry.

TABLE 5: WHY RESPONDENTS FAVOUR TOURISM FOR OWN
COMMUNITY
(n = 87)

Response	% of Those Favouring Tourism
Generates income	20.5
Brings money into the area	18.1
Attracts people to area	13.3
Viability of community	6.0
Employment creation	4.8
Other responses	37.3
	100.0

Tourism (Table 5) is favoured for its ability to "generate income" (20.5%) and to "bring money into the area" (18.1%), while "attracts people to area" (13.3%), "viability of the community" (6.0%), and "employment creation" (4.8%) were also rated highly by those preferring tourism.

TABLE 6: WHY RESPONDENTS FAVOUR STATE FORESTRY FOR
FAR NORTH GENERALLY
(n = 204)

Response	% of Those Favouring State Forestry
Employment creation generally	46.6
Productive land-use	20.7
Income generation	5.6
Employment for young	4.8
Stable source of income	3.2
Potential future development	2.8
Other responses	16.3
	100.0

TABLE 7: WHY RESPONDENTS FAVOUR FARMING FOR FAR
NORTH GENERALLY
(n = 162)

Response	% of Those Favouring Farming
Productive land-use	19.3
Backbone of country	13.7
Potential future development	6.8
Employment creation generally	6.2
Personal reasons or situation	6.2
Regional growth	5.6
Other responses	42.2
	100.0

TABLE 8: WHY RESPONDENTS FAVOUR TOURISM FOR FAR
NORTH GENERALLY
(n = 89)

Response	% of Those Favouring Tourism
Brings money into the area	21.7
Region has so much to offer	21.7
Attracts people to area	9.6
Employment creation generally	7.2
Viability of region	7.2
Generates income	6.0
Other responses	26.6
	100.0

Similar reasons were given by the respondents for favouring these industries for the Far North generally. These are set out in Tables 6, 7 and 8.

5. *Opposition to Development*

Again considering farming, tourism, private forestry, State forestry and fishing, the respondents were asked to specify which industry they would prefer not to go ahead in their community and in the Far North generally (Table 9). Only a slight majority of the respondents (52.9%) were opposed to industry for the community, while only 43.0% were in opposition for the Far North generally.

The interesting finding here is that, where tourism received moderate support in the respondents' preferences, it now became the most opposed. In fact, more of the sample opposed tourism

TABLE 9: OPPOSITION TO INDUSTRY FOR OWN COMMUNITY
AND FOR FAR NORTH GENERALLY
(n = 517)

Industry	% of Sample	
	Community	Far North
Farming	1.2	0.6
Tourism	26.7	21.1
Private forestry	9.9	8.9
State forestry	4.1	3.7
Fishing	11.0	8.7
Not opposed to any industry	47.1	57.0
	100.0	100.0

for the community (26.7%) than opposed the other four industries combined (26.2%).

Fishing and private forestry were opposed by 11.0 and 9.9% of the respondents, respectively, while farming and State forestry received only nominal opposition.

A similar result was obtained with respect to the respondents' opposition to industrial growth for the Far North generally. The opposition, as mentioned above, was not as strong as that for the community with fewer people being opposed to industry.

Some 21.1% of the respondents opposed tourism, with 8.9% and 8.7% opposing private forestry and fishing respectively. Consistent with the preference ratings, only 3.7% were opposed to State forestry, with a mere 0.6% opposed to farming.

TABLE 10: WHY RESPONDENTS OPPOSE TOURISM FOR OWN
COMMUNITY
$(n = 138)$

Response	% of Those Opposing Tourism
Changes life-style or local character	18.6
Attracts people to area	15.7
Environmental reasons	15.7
Causes prices and rates to rise for locals	13.4
Other responses	36.6
	100.0

The main reasons why tourism was opposed are shown in Table 10. Some 18.6% of those opposing tourism did so because they believed it caused "changes to their life-style or the local character". Other reasons to rank highly were that tourism "attracts people to area" and "environmental reasons", each receiving 15.7% of the total opposition.

TABLE 11: WHY RESPONDENTS OPPOSE PRIVATE FORESTRY
FOR OWN COMMUNITY
$(n = 51)$

Response	% of Those Opposing Private Forestry
Benefits only a few	16.4
Non-productive land-use	14.5
Low labour requirement	10.9
Lack of funds available	10.9
Other responses	47.3
	100.0

Private forestry was disliked (Table 11) because it was seen to "benefit only a few" (16.^%), while "non-productive land-use" and "low labour requirement" received 14.5 and 10.9% of the opposition, respectively.

TABLE 12: WHY RESPONDENTS OPPOSE FISHING INDUSTRY
FOR OWN COMMUNITY
($n = 57$)

Response	% of Those Opposing Fishing Industry
"Fish out" area or leave none for locals	67.8
Resource would be produced elsewhere	21.7
Environmental reasons	6.8
Other responses	3.7
	100.0

Opposition to fishing (Table 12) strongly centred on the belief that large-scale commercialised fishing would either "fish-out" the area, or not leave enough for the locals. An overwhelming 67.8% were opposed to fishing for these reasons. The remainder of the opposition included the belief that the "resource would be produced elsewhere" (21.7%) and therefore not benefit locals, while "environmental reasons" emerged again with 6.8%.

Similar reasons were given by the respondents for opposing these industries for the Far North generally. These are shown in Tables 13, 14 and 15.

TABLE 13: WHY RESPONDENTS OPPOSE TOURISM FOR FAR
NORTH GENERALLY
($n = 109$)

Response	% of Those Opposing Tourism
Environmental reasons	17.9
Changes life-style or local character	15.9
Causes prices and rates to rise for locals	11.3
Attracts people to area	9.9
Non-productive land-use	7.3
Other responses	37.7
	100.0

TABLE 14: WHY RESPONDENTS OPPOSE PRIVATE FORESTRY
FOR FAR NORTH GENERALLY
($n = 46$)

Response	% of Those Opposing Private Forestry
Non-productive land-use	21.2
Benefits only a few	15.4
Resource would be produced elsewhere	11.5
Lack of funds available	7.7
Exploits region	5.8
Other responses	38.4
	100.0

TABLE 15: WHY RESPONDENTS OPPOSE FISHING INDUSTRY
FOR FAR NORTH GENERALLY
($n = 45$)

Response	% of Those Opposing Fishing Industry
"Fish out" area or leave none for locals	83.7
Environmental reasons	8.2
Resource would be produced elsewhere	2.0
Exploits region	2.0
Other responses	4.1
	100.0

6. Information and Decision-making

When questioned on the reliability of the information received concerning these developments (Table 16), the respondents generally considered the information to be reliable. Though tourism was the most opposed of all the likely developments, the information received about it was still considered reliable. Information on private forestry was regarded as the least reliable, with only 50% considering it so. However, as is shown in Table 16, private forestry also has attracted the highest level of uncertainty, with 44.6% being uncertain as to the information's reliability.

TABLE 16: RELIABILITY OF INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENTS
($n = 517$)

Industry	Reliable	% of Sample Unreliable	Not Sure
Farming	72.1	9.5	18.4
Tourism	69.0	8.2	22.8
Private forestry	50.0	5.4	44.6
State forestry	75.6	3.3	21.1
Fishing	64.9	6.4	28.7

TABLE 17: ADEQUACY OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON
DEVELOPMENTS
$(n = 517)$

View Expressed	% of Sample
Adequate	52.5
Inadequate	43.8
Don't know	3.7
	100.0

Table 17 assesses the adequacy of the information available
on these developments. Only a slight majority (52.5%) of the
sample believe the information to be adequate, while the
remainder either consider it inadequate (43.8%) or were
undecided (3.7%).

The influence that the respondents feel they have over what
develops in, or around, their community is disclosed in Table 18.
A large majority (78.3%) felt they had absolutely no influence,
while the remainder felt they either had some (20%) or are
unsure what their influence was (1.7%).

TABLE 18: INFLUENCE OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN OR NEAR
OWN COMMUNITY
$(n = 517)$

View Expressed	% of Sample
Have no influence	78.3
Have some influence	20.0
Don't know	1.7
	100.0

However, whether the respondents do have influence is
academic, since the majority (57.2%) of the respondents have
no desire to have any influence over such developments (Table 19).

TABLE 19: DESIRE TO HAVE INFLUENCE OVER DEVELOPMENTS
IN COMMUNITY
$(n = 517)$

View Expressed	% of Sample
Have no desire	57.2
Have some desire	41.1
Don't know	1.7
	100.0

Using an open-ended format, respondents were also questioned on what they foresee as being the major problem facing their community. The responses were content analysed and divided into rural and urban sub-samples. The crude categories are set out in Tables 20 and 21. As is apparent from these tables, employment was perceived as the greatest problem, with a notable 32.8% of the rural sub-sample and 43.9% of the urban sub-sample expressing this view. Other problems of concern to the rural respondents include "transport and transport costs" (19.5%), "environmental damage" (5.9%), and the "economic situation" (5.7%).

TABLE 20: MAIN PROBLEM FACING OWN COMMUNITY IN
FUTURE
("Rural" sub-sample)
($n = 280$)

Problem Concern	% of Sample
Employment	32.8
Transport and transport costs	19.5
Environmental damage	5.9
Economic situation	5.7
Don't know	4.7
Apathy	4.3
Energy	4.3
Law and order	3.1
Lack of development finance	2.7
Other problems	12.8
No problems	4.2
	100.0

TABLE 21: MAIN PROBLEM FACING OWN COMMUNITY IN
FUTURE
("Urban" sub-sample)
($n = 237$)

Problem Concern	% of Sample
Employment	43.9
Law and order	8.9
Lack of development finance	4.2
Apathy	3.8
Don't know	3.4
Tourism	3.4
Economic situation	3.0
Transport and isolation	2.5
Energy	2.1
Other problems	19.1
No problems	5.7
	100.0

In the urban setting, after employment, respondents saw "law and order" (8.9%), "lack of development finance (4.2%), and apathy (3.8%) as potential future problem areas.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The above data show an opinion split within the region, between those that oppose and those that accept the conventional prescription of industrial development as a means of maintaining viable rural communities (Table 9). However, from our initial analysis, this split appears not to centre on differences in socio-demographic characteristics such as age, sex, occupation, home ownership and marital status. This suggests that the important explanatory variables are situational rather than structural. Other studies into the reaction of rural populations to the prospect of industrial growth have reached similar conclusions (Maurer and Napier, 1981:107).

Rural development and industrialisation can generate a set of problems that are often "unanticipated and unplanned for" (Bertrand, 1978). Issues arising from "leakage" of economic benefits, induced instability of local real estate markets, short-run boom-type demands for facilities and services during the building phases, and unbalanced employment opportunities hold central stage. Studies on rural industrialisation have generally shown that, although there have been increases in income levels, the extent of social inequalities in the community have, if anything, been increased (Rogers et al., 1978).

The data suggest that to some extent concerns such as these do form a part of the mental mappings of rural residents in respect to social change in their own localities. More importantly, respondents have clear preferences for sector growth development at a local and regional level. Some aspects of these preference profiles deserve further comment.

The relative lack of support for private forestry is of interest because of the distinction respondents appear to make between private and State forestry. State activity is accorded greater acceptance. There are numerous explanations for this. At one level, the extent to which the regional population has been able to adapt, over time, to a development which began nearly 20 years prior to this research, could well play a part. The activity of private companies in the county is much more recent. However, another explanation seems more likely in the light of the above analysis. Elsewhere, it is argued that forestry tends to contravene a number of values and norms by which life is organised within

New Zealand rural communities (Smith, 1981). Conflict appears to be generated on four counts. First, forestry as a large-scale land user immediately transgresses the ethic bound up in the single *private* ownership of *small* land holdings. Second, there is a tendency for the local political élite to be sensitive to the new business and the educated "élite" brought into the region by forestry. A conflict of economic interests and planning intent gives rise to a feeling of political insecurity on the part of the former group. Third, forestry is seen to introduce a new style of work that implies greater routine and less flexibility. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, large-scale forestry is seen to promote a loss of autonomy in local decision-making.

It appears that, in this region, State and private forestry score differently on these dimensions. In the first place, the notion of "public land" seems to promote far less anxiety than the use of Maori leasehold land. In addition, the State's operations make available a much greater range of work responsibilities and opportunities because of the forest management regimes followed. Given the concern of those living in this region, with the lack of employment and its social repercussions, the comparative advantage in support directed at State activities should be of no surprise. Further, the State, unlike the private company, is seen to be more accessible by the public. In this respect, the impact of the "positive" image generated by the Officer in Charge of Aupouri State Forest cannot be underestimated.

The concern of people with the development of tourism appears to centre on the issues of natural environmental decline and changes in life-style. A general anxiety which is brought about by the intrusion of newcomers is registered clearly in the responses of the local residents. In fact, concern centring on the implications of population movements generally came through in various guises. In his comments on the "quiet revolution" in the social composition of rural society, Newby (1980:83) refers to the effects of mechanisation in agriculture and the extent to which this factor has released population to the cities, a population which has been replaced by professional middle-class groups of commuters. The degree to which the latter part of this argument is applicable to New Zealand is a subject for further investigation, for although it was clear that Mangonui County residents perceived an outflow of population, it is also apparent from census data that the county is experiencing a marked population growth. We have not yet made any systematic attempt to probe the characteristics of the migration streams flowing into, and

out of, the region. Nevertheless, the views of those spoken to during the study, and a cursory look at the 1971 and 1976 Census data on internal migration (1971 N.Z. Census of Population and Dwellings, Vol. 11; Dept of Statistics, unpublished data from the 1976 Census) do throw some light on this apparent contradiction.

The latter source shows that the Mangonui County, and many other rural areas, had a net migratory outflow of both males and females in the 15- to 24-year-old age cohorts. Comments from local residents suggest that this outflow is continuing owing to the lack of opportunities for further training and employment within the county.

Of greater interest is the description by respondents of the people coming into the area. In the responses of locals about the other side of the migration equation, two groups came in for particular mention. First, there were the ex-locals, who, having "done well in the city", were now coming home to retire. Second, and causing greater social concern, were the unskilled who were now no longer able to get employment in the larger centres. However, current data on the age distribution of the districts' unemployed, and local evaluations of job availability (Dept of Labour, unpublished data) both support a belief that the "home-comers" and "new-comers" are not getting work in the country either. In a sense they are the urban rejects — the flotsam and jetsam of an urban environment made unpalatable by the current economic situation.

Certain parallels exist between these preliminary observations and those made by Lichter et al. (1979) in their description of the declining socio-economic status in some non-metropolitan areas of the United States. The implications of such a trend for effective and equitable planning in regional development are profound in that they point to the need for those active in development to make a more direct commitment to building up appropriate skills in specific localities. Importing skills is simply a variation on the familiar theme of "benefit leakage" and its ensuing problems.

Along some dimensions, substantial differences between the attitudes of rural and non-rural (Kaitaia) respondents were apparent. For example, each sub-sample perceived the main problems facing the Far North differently. Although lack of employment opportunity was identified as the most serious problem by both groups (Tables 20 and 21), borough respondents tended to link unemployment with a greater difficulty in maintaining "law and order", whereas non-borough respondents were

inclined to connect unemployment with the tendency for people to leave the area. Thus, although both sub-samples associated unemployment with the increased potential for instability and conflict, the non-borough respondents were concerned with family instability and disintegration rather than social disorder generally. The essence of this observed difference is likely to be found in the varying patterns of land ownership and land utilisation.

Though it must be accepted that change often introduces elements of conflict into a region, it is reasonable to argue that this conflict can be lessened by encouraging a move towards decentralised planning and decision-making. In this way it might be possible to attain a better marriage between the shape of development and the needs and aspirations of the local community. Of relevance is the finding that nearly 80% of those interviewed felt they had no influence over decisions that were taken in their region (Table 18). The fact that well over half the sample expressed no desire to participate in the local planning process (Table 19) does not augur well for attempts at broadening the decision-making base. Nevertheless, there is a need to cater for this residual group.

Regions vary in terms of their physical, biological, economic, social and cultural characteristics. These differences dictate the shape of local conflicts. For example, rural land use conflicts in New Zealand commonly involve forestry and farming. In our study area, however, it was apparent from post-survey discussions with local body members that the major source of concern lay not with the traditional farming/forestry clash, but with the potential incompatibility between tourism and private forestry developments likely to arise out of conflicting road use. Some observers may wonder why private forestry was singled out for attention in this way with the State operation escaping criticism. This differentiation seems to relate to a feeling that the problems of transportation relate to the eventual choice of site for processing, and that this choice lies largely with the private companies. However, the essential point is that the policy implications of variations such as this are seldom, if ever, recognised, at least in terms of "on the ground activity". Assessments regarding the impacts of sector growth of *any sort* need to be more than *regionally* oriented — they need to be *community based*. If a rural development policy is to be pursued there is a need for it to be seen as tailor-made for specific situations.

Returning finally to the quality of life notion with which we began this paper — current philosophy suggests that the creation of healthy, viable communities is an important and positive consequence of economic growth. We contend, however, that improved sensitivity in planning might lead one to the view that the reverse could well be the case. That is, economic growth and increased productivity may be a *result* rather than a *cause* of stability and contentment in our rural regions. Notwithstanding the chicken and egg flavour of this contention, such a view might prompt us to revise many of our ideas on social and economic planning in the rural context in accordance with an approach that recognises local tensions in the use of resources.

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