



Migration in New Zealand's 'Gold Coast': Reflections on Recent Trends

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Introduction

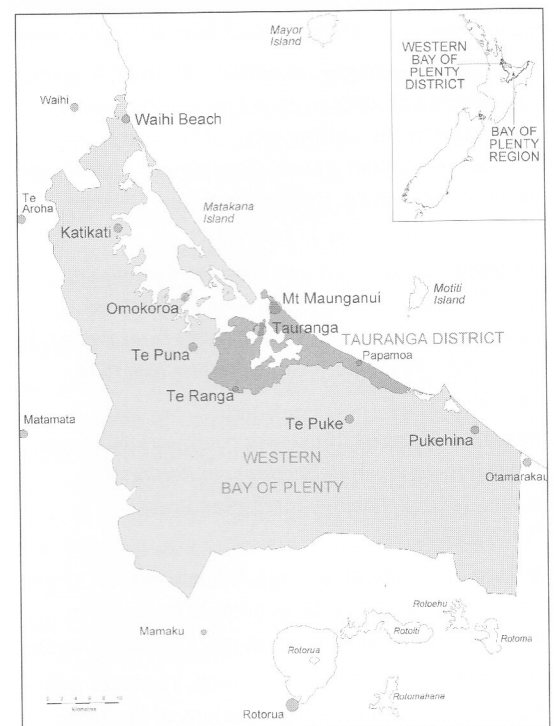
Planners in New Zealand's Western Bay of Plenty have been drawing inspiration from recent and projected developments in Queensland's Gold Coast while preparing a long-term strategy for a region that is experiencing sustained rapid population growth (McLeay 2002, 2003; Smartgrowth 2004). The Bay of Plenty Region, which includes the two administrative districts, amongst others, that make up the Western Bay of Plenty sub-region, has consistently had the highest rates of net internal migration for any regional council area in New Zealand since the mid-1980s (Pool et al. 2004, pp. 5-6). Its recent population history is very different from that found in most other parts of New Zealand, aside from Auckland, the country's only city with over 1 million residents, and Nelson-Tasman, a 'sunbelt' region in the South Island. The demographic future for the Western Bay of Plenty is also very different, with the population projected to more than double over the next 50 years while most regions (aside from Auckland and Nelson-Tasman) shift from very slow growth or incipient population decline, to sustained negative growth (Statistics New Zealand 2004).

A Context

The coastline along the Bay of Plenty from the Coromandel Peninsula to East Cape is New Zealand's most prominent 'sunbelt' area that has any real affinity with Australia's Gold Coast. In common with the latter region, it is an area that has been experiencing significant in-migration in recent

years driven by 'a growing cohort of retirees and other relatively footloose population groups' who are pursuing 'lifestyle options in attractive environments' (Lee and McDermott 1998, p. 97). The 'drift to the sun' of such populations reflects the growing significance of lifestyle and amenity as significant drivers of population growth and distribution. This movement has important implications for all settlements along the Bay of Plenty's coastline, and especially for development

Figure 1



in the Western Bay of Plenty - the location of the region's largest urban area, Tauranga City, which had a population of just under 100,000 at the time of the 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings (Figure 1).

Community concerns about continued rapid population growth in the Western Bay of Plenty, and a lack of leadership and co-ordination arrangements to manage that growth, prompted a major sub-regional strategic planning project that aimed to facilitate cooperation, collaboration and co-ordination of growth management (Tremaine 2001).

Migration and Population Growth, 1996-2001

The Western Bay of Plenty has one of the fastest rates of population growth in New Zealand. During the five years between the last two national censuses (1996 and 2001), the population of Tauranga City (90,906 in 2001) increased by 17 per cent, the largest intercensal increase in population for any City or District in New Zealand. Over the same period, the New Zealand population increased by just over 3 per cent, while the greater Auckland urban area's population increased by 8 per cent (Table 1). The Western Bay of Plenty District's population (38,234 in 2001) grew by 9 per cent between 1996 and 2001 - half the rate of growth of Tauranga City, but still three times the national average, and more than the increase for the Auckland urban area. The Western Bay of Plenty's total resident population in March 2001 was 129,140, the sum of the populations for the City and District, and it had increased by 14.5 per cent since 1996 - over four times the national average.

Table 1: Population change, Western Bay of Plenty, Auckland and New Zealand 1996-2001

Area	Population		Change	
	1996	2001	Number	Per cent
Tauranga City	77,778	90,906	13,128	16.9
Western Bay of Plenty District	34,968	38,234	3,266	9.3
Western Bay of Plenty Sub-Region	112,746	129,140	16,394	14.5
Bay of Plenty Region	224,364	239,415	15,051	6.7
Auckland	991,836	1,074,507	82,671	8.3
New Zealand	3,618,300	3,737,277	118,977	3.3

Source: Statistics New Zealand 2002, pp. 23-24.

The Mayors of Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District, along with the Chairman of Environment Bay of Plenty (the regional council for the western and eastern Bay of Plenty), summed up some critical dimensions of contemporary growth in their Foreword to *The Western Bay of Plenty Sub-Region 50-Year Strategy and Implementation Plan* (referred to below as *The Strategy*) when they observed (Smartgrowth 2004, p. 1):

Every week:

- 100 people new people arrive from other places
- 52 people leave the sub-region
- 32 new houses are built
- 54 more vehicles go on the road
- 45 new jobs are created

A sub-regional response to the implications of mainly migration-driven rapid population growth is essential given that the two key administrative units, the City and the extensive surrounding District, have long had an interdependent economy and society (NZIER 2002; McKinley Douglas 2002; McLeay 2002; Stokes 1980). Despite this well-recognised interdependence, there has not been much integrated strategic planning in the Western Bay of Plenty until comparatively recently.

Components of growth

Between 1996 and 2001 the total net migration gain from internal as well as international migration in the Western Bay of Plenty is estimated to have been 12,260 once population exchanges between Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District have been taken into account (Bedford 2002, p. 4). During the same five years, the resident population increased by 16,390. Net migration thus accounted for 75 per cent of the total growth during the intercensal period - a very high contribution from population movement. The remaining 25 per cent is accounted for by natural increase. In Tauranga City 80 per cent of the overall population increase was due to net migration (+10,500), while in the Western Bay of Plenty District net migration (+2,070) accounted for 63 per cent of the population growth since 1996.

For the Bay of Plenty region as a whole, Pool et al. (2004, p. 10) estimated that 47 per cent of the population increase between 1996 and 2001 was accounted for by a net gain of around 7,000 from internal and international migration. The estimate of 75 per cent of the Western Bay of Plenty's growth coming from net migration is not inconsistent with

Pool et al.'s (2004) much lower percentage for the region as a whole. The Western Bay of Plenty's population in 2001 comprised 54 per cent of the region's total of 239,415 residents (Pool et al. 2004, p. 10). The share of the Bay of Plenty's estimated natural increase (9,600) that can be accounted for in the Western Bay sub-region is around 43 per cent (4,200) - around 10 per cent below the share of population.

The differences in shares of population (54 per cent) and natural increase (43 per cent) can be largely explained by two factors. Firstly, the Western Bay of Plenty is one of New Zealand's major 'retirement' regions, and has an 'older' population than is found in the region as a whole. The number of deaths per 1,000 in the sub-region's population is likely to be higher than is the case in the region as a whole, while the number of births per 1,000 population will be lower. Secondly, contributing to the lower birth rate in the Western Bay of Plenty is the fact that the sub-region's population includes a lower proportion of people claiming Maori ethnicity (16 per cent) than is found in the Bay of Plenty region (27 per cent). The significance of this is that Maori tend to have higher fertility than non-Maori, and this, coupled with a younger age structure (see below), means they contribute more to the births component of natural increase per 1,000 population than non-Maori.

Net migration gains and losses, 1981-2001

The estimates of total net migration (internal plus international), prepared by Statistics New Zealand for successive intercensal periods between 1981 and 2001 indicate clearly that there have been consistent overall gains to Tauranga City and the Western Bay of Plenty District from population exchanges with other parts of New Zealand and places overseas. Contrary to a prevailing public perception, which has tended to emphasize the significance of the sub-region as a destination for retirees, the major net gains have been consistently in the primary labour force age groups (25-39 and 40-59 years) rather than at older ages (Table 2). This is especially the case in the Western Bay of Plenty District where there was extensive subdivision of rural land for lifestyle blocks and horticultural production during the 1990s.

Table 2: Net Migration Gains and Losses, Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District, 1981-2001

Age Group	Intercensal Period			
	1981-86	1986-91	1991-96	1996-2001
<i>Tauranga City</i>				
0-4	1,407	1,114	1,760	2,194
15-24	-562	-586	23	75
25-39	1,807	1,449	2,792	2,779
40-59	1,205	1,508	2,438	2,911
60-79	1,320	2,003	2,017	2,402
80+	103	182	210	182
Total	5,279	5,666	9,244	10,544
<i>Western Bay of Plenty District</i>				
0-14	537	623	1,303	1,013
15-24	-448	-1,038	-973	-1,281
25-39	951	708	1,353	945
40-59	804	1,026	1,540	1,044
60-79	410	557	628	299
80+	-2	62	59	53
Total	2,249	1,942	3,914	2,071

Source: Unpublished statistics, Client Services Division, Statistics New Zealand, Christchurch.

The contribution that net migration has made to population growth in the sub-region increased sharply during the 1990s. The demand for residential property with coastal views or frontages intensified throughout New Zealand, fueled in part by substantial immigration into Auckland and strong economic growth, especially in the early 1990s (Le Heron and Pawson et al. 1996; Lee and McDermott 1998). As Lee and McDermott (1998, p. 95) point out, in New Zealand as in many other highly urbanized developed countries (Champion and Hugo 2003) there has been 'a fundamental shift in what drives urban development. Briefly, consumption factors - where retirees and other lifestyle-driven households wish to spend their incomes - increase in influence, while production factors - where goods and services are produced - diminish'.

This shift is clearly evident in the demand for residential property in the Western Bay of Plenty in the 1990s, and is reflected in the 63 per cent increase in net migration gains in Tauranga City and the doubling of net gains in the Western Bay of Plenty District between the 1986-91 and 1991-96 intercensal periods (Table 2). It should also be noted that demand for horticultural land in the Western Bay of Plenty, especially for growing kiwifruit, avocado, and grapes, also increased sharply during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Indeed, the net migration gains in the early part of

the 1990s exceeded those in the late 1990s in this District (Table 2), reflecting in part a growing concern about the need for greater control over subdivision of productive rural land for 'lifestyle' living (Western Bay of Plenty District Council 1998; Harrison and Grierson 2002).

Movers and stayers, 1996-2001

At the time the Smartgrowth project was initiated there was a perception in the Western Bay of Plenty that the sub-region was essentially a destination for immigrants rather than being also an important source of migrants leaving for other parts of New Zealand. The consistent net migration gains over the previous two decades had created the impression of a one-way traffic of people into a favoured sunbelt retirement area (McLeay 2002; Roos 2001). The reality was, of course, quite different and for every two people who arrive in the sub-region, on average, one leaves for another part of New Zealand.

An analysis of the 2001 census data on internal migration into and out of the Western Bay of Plenty since 1996 revealed that 58 per cent of the population resident in the sub-region had not moved to live in an area outside their local authority over the past five years (Bedford 2002, p. 5). Just over 6,100 had moved between Tauranga City and the Western Bay of Plenty District, with almost as many going in each direction. The net gain to Tauranga City from this migration within the sub-region was small, only 350 people. Migration into the sub-region had been much more significant, with 20 per cent (25,988) of the residents in 2001 giving somewhere outside the Western Bay of Plenty as their place of usual residence in 1996. This was the migration into the 'sunbelt' that was referred to so frequently by local residents. What was much less appreciated was the out-flow of 13,728 people to other parts of New Zealand over the same period. This emigration was equivalent to just under 11 per cent of the resident population in 2001 - just over half (53 per cent) the volume of the immigration.

The age composition of the migrants who moved into the Western Bay of Plenty from other parts of New Zealand was reasonably similar to that for migrants who left the sub-region to live somewhere else between 1996 and 2001 (Table 3). The big differences were in the populations aged between 15 and 24 years, and those between 40 and 79 years. In the case of the former, almost 30 per cent of the emigrants were in their late teens/early

twenties, while just under 14 per cent of the migrants into the Western Bay of Plenty were in this age group. The sub-region's tertiary education infrastructure is essentially restricted to a small but successful Polytechnic and a very small branch of the University of Waikato, which has its main campus in Hamilton. Most people seeking a tertiary education leave the Western Bay of Plenty for major cities elsewhere in New Zealand.

Table 3: Age Composition and Sources/Destinations of Internal Migrants Into and Out of the Western Bay of Plenty (WBP) between 1996 and 2001 (percentages)

Internal migrants		
Characteristic	Into WBP	Out of WBP
<i>Age Group</i>		
5-14	18.3	17.2
15-24	13.6	29.4
25-39	26.7	27.9
40-59	24.4	20.9
60-79	14.8	10.4
80+	2.2	2.6
<i>Source/Destination</i>		
Other Bay of Plenty	10.0	9.7
Hamilton	7.8	10.5
Other Waikato	18.9	18.7
Auckland	25.1	25.6
Other North Island	31.7	24.0
South Island	6.4	11.5
Number	25,988	13,728

Source: Unpublished census, tabulations, Client Services Division, Statistics New Zealand, Christchurch.

As far as the population aged between 40-79 years is concerned, there were larger shares of immigrants in the 40-59 and 60-79 age groups than emigrants, reflecting the often-cited migration to the sunbelt. However, it is not just a 'retirement' migration; there is also a higher proportion of 'middle-aged' people moving into the Western Bay of Plenty than moving out (Table 3). Amongst the 'old' population (aged 80 years and over), the proportions entering and leaving the region were quite similar, with smaller numbers (but a slightly higher proportion) leaving for other parts of New Zealand than arriving to live in the Western Bay.

The sources and destinations of the migrants also shared some important similarities, with almost identical proportions citing other parts of the Bay of Plenty, Hamilton and the Waikato, and Auckland as their previous (in-migrants) or new (out-migrants) places of residence (Table 3). The major differences were in the shares of in- and out-migrants citing places in other parts of the North Island as well as

in the South Island as their sources and destinations. Other places in the North Island accounted for just under a third of the sources of people moving into the sub-region compared with 24 per cent of the destinations for those leaving the Western Bay of Plenty. In contrast, 11.5 per cent of the out-migrants went to the South Island while 6.4 per cent of the in-migrants had moved into the sub-region from this island (Table 3).

Table 4: Age composition of Maori and non-Maori populations in the Western Bay of Plenty, 2001

Age Group	Maori percentage	Non-Maori percentage
<i>'Stayers'</i> ^a		
5-14	27.5	13.7
15-24	18.5	9.1
25-39	21.4	15.4
40-59	23.3	30.9
60-79	8.7	24.8
80+	0.8	6.0
Number	12,123	68,919
<i>In-migrants</i>		
5-14	30.3	16.0
15-24	20.9	12.1
25-39	31.1	25.9
40-59	14.8	26.3
60-79	2.7	17.2
80+	0.3	2.6
Number	4,296	21,692
<i>Out-migrants</i>		
5-14	27.2	14.4
15-24	29.4	29.4
25-39	27.7	27.9
40-59	15.2	22.5
60-79	2.5	12.6
80+	0.2	3.3
Number	2,817	10,911

^a 'Stayers' include all people who were living in the subregion in both 1996 and 2001 (including those who moved between Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District - the intra-regional migrants).

Source: Special tabulations, Statistics New Zealand.

There were some major differences in the age structures for Maori and non-Maori migrants entering and leaving the Western Bay of Plenty, as well as for those who had been living in the sub-region in both 1996 and 2001. These are summarized in Table 4. The much younger age composition of the Maori population, referred to above, is clearly evident in the three groups: stayers, in-migrants and out-migrants. Just over two thirds (67 per cent) of the Maori who had been resident in the sub-region during both census years

were aged under 40, compared with 38 per cent of non-Maori. By contrast, 31 per cent of non-Maori stayers were aged 60 and over, compared with 10 per cent of Maori stayers. In the case of the in-migrant and out-migrant populations the percentages of Maori aged under 40 were much larger (82 and 84 per cent respectively), with only 3 per cent of movers being aged 60 and over (Table 4). For non-Maori, there were much larger shares of older movers and smaller shares of younger movers than for Maori.

Incomes and labour force characteristics, 2001

The Western Bay of Plenty has been characterised as having a 'low wage' economy (McKinlay Douglas Ltd 2002). The expression '10 dollar Tauranga' is frequently used in a disparaging tone to refer to a poorer hourly return for labour in this city than in many other parts of New Zealand (Lidgard 2003). Median total personal income figures for males and females in Tauranga City and Western Bay of Plenty District in 2001 seem to support the stereotype, especially when compared with Hamilton City and its neighbouring Districts of Waikato, Waipa, and Matamata-Piako, and the four cities that comprise the greater Auckland urban area (Table 5). However, these median incomes are for ALL people aged 15 years and over, and as the Western Bay of Plenty has a higher proportion of people in the 65 and over age group than any of the other areas listed in Table 5, it is likely that differences in the median income reflect in part, age composition effects.

Table 5: Median Total Personal Incomes, Western Bay of Plenty (WBP) and Selected Territorial Authorities, 2001

Territorial Authority	Median income (NZ\$)		
	Male	Female	Total
<i>Western Bay of Plenty</i>			
Tauranga City	23,100	13,900	16,800
WBP District	22,100	14,200	17,300
<i>Waikato</i>			
Hamilton City	24,300	14,400	17,900
Waikato District	24,400	14,300	18,300
Waipa District	26,600	15,300	19,800
Matamata-Piako District	26,800	14,900	20,100
<i>Auckland</i>			
Auckland City	27,400	18,200	22,300
Manukau City	25,000	14,700	19,000
North Shore City	30,800	17,300	23,300
Waitakere City	26,700	16,100	20,800
New Zealand	24,900	14,500	18,500

Source: Statistics New Zealand 2002.

Higher proportions of both Maori and non-Maori males and females in the Western Bay of Plenty, who stated they had an occupation in 2001, had personal incomes below NZ\$15,000 than was the case of these groups in the New Zealand population (Bedford 2002, p. 27). The highest proportions with incomes under NZ\$15,000 were Maori out-migrants, especially women. Over 45 per cent of the Maori women who left the Western Bay of Plenty for other parts of New Zealand between 1996 and 2001 had incomes under NZ\$15,000, compared with Maori female in-migrants (38 per cent) and stayers (40 per cent). Non-Maori out-migrants also had higher proportions in the under NZ\$15,000 category (38 per cent) compared with in-migrants and stayers (33-35 per cent) (Bedford 2002, p. 26).

For both Maori and non-Maori in the sub-region, lower than average personal incomes were also associated with a higher incidence of self-employment, higher levels of unemployment, and slightly lower levels of labour force participation by comparison with the relevant groups in the New Zealand population. In both the City and the District, in-migrants, out-migrants and overseas immigrants tended to have higher levels of unemployment than stayers. This was despite the fact that higher percentages of movers into and out of the region had tertiary degree qualifications than those who were resident in the sub-region in 1996 and 2001.

An illustration of labour force characteristics for male mover and stayer groups in Tauranga City is given in Table 6; comparable data for females and for the Western Bay of Plenty District can be found in Bedford (2002). In interpreting these characteristics it should be noted that the higher participation of Maori aged 15 years and over in the labour force than non-Maori is due to the different age structures of the two male populations. As noted earlier, the non-Maori population is significantly older than the Maori one; only 12 per cent of Maori are aged 50 or more compared with 36 per cent of the non-Maori population in the sub-region. The higher unemployment rates for Maori in- and out-migrants are also reflected in higher rates for movers in the non-Maori population, with unemployment being close to the national averages for both the stayer populations (Table 6). The incidence of self-employment is much higher

amongst mover and stayer non-Maori in Tauranga City, than amongst Maori other than those who have returned from overseas. Higher proportions of movers (both Maori and non-Maori) into and out of Tauranga City have Bachelors degrees or above as their highest education qualifications than are found amongst the stayer populations (Table 6).

Table 6: Characteristics of the Male Labour Force Mover and Stayer Groups, Tauranga City 2001

Group	LFPR ^a	Unemployed ^b	Self-employed ^c	Degree ^d
<i>Maori</i>				
Stayers	74.0	15.5	9.7	2.3
In-migrants	77.0	21.5	8.5	5.0
Out-migrants	73.9	19.5	9.5	4.9
Overseas immigrants	87.1	11.1	16.7	3.1
New Zealand residents	74.1	15.1	8.0	3.6
<i>Non-Maori</i>				
Stayers	65.6	4.8	18.2	6.6
In-migrants	71.9	8.8	16.7	8.9
Out-migrants	75.3	7.8	15.0	10.0
Overseas immigrants	76.0	10.7	17.8	17.4
New Zealand residents	73.9	4.8	16.4	12.1

^a Labour force participation rate per 100 population 15 years and over.

^b Unemployment rate per 100 population in the labour force.

^c Self-employed per 100 population 15 years and over.

^d Bachelors degree and above per 100 population 15 years and over.

Source: Unpublished census tabulations, Client Services Division, Statistics New Zealand, Christchurch.

The income and labour force characteristics that can be identified using data from the 2001 census demonstrate that the record net migration gain between 1996 and 2001 for Tauranga City cannot be explained by the attraction of higher than average wages in a 'booming' local economy. Other drivers are responsible for the movement of more than 20,000 people into the sub-region between 1996 and 2001, but these are difficult to identify on the basis of census data alone. In order to gain a better understanding of factors attracting in-migrants, as well as those encouraging residents to leave the Western Bay of Plenty for other parts of New Zealand, surveys of recent movers were carried out in 2002 and 2003.

Reasons for moving into and out of the Western Bay of Plenty, 2001 and 2002

In November 2001 postal questionnaires were sent to all those people who could be identified on the basis of a change in postal address to have moved into or out of the Western Bay of Plenty sub-region between October 2000 and September 2001. The methodology for identifying these movers, and the research instrument used to collect data on their migration and employment experiences can be found in Lidgard and McLeay (2002). This survey was repeated in March 2003 for people who had changed their address by either moving into or out of the sub-region between October 2001 and September 2002. Similar surveys are being run in 2004, 2005 and 2006 to document patterns of population movement within an intercensal period (2001-2006) with a view to providing a basis for better calibration of the migration assumptions that are used in population projections for the Western Bay of Plenty.

Characteristics of the movers

In both surveys the ratio of in-migrants to out-migrants was similar to that found for the intercensal period, 1996-2001: two in-migrants for every migrant who left. Over the two years a total of 722 in-migrants responded to the questionnaire, while 354 out-migrants sent in responses that could be coded and analysed. The response rates to the two surveys were similar: information on just under 50 per cent of the people who were sent letters was received, and data for 38 per cent of the original sample was suitable for processing. Lidgard and McLeay (2002b, pp.12-13) review the response rates, noting that the outcome was pleasing given Shaughnessy and Zechmeister's (1990: 90) conclusion that 'a typical return rate for a [postal] survey is around 30 per cent'.

The survey populations and the census migrant populations discussed in the previous section cannot be compared directly because the survey data only relate to the respondent, not the full household as is the case with the census migrant populations. Small proportions of the respondents in both the in-migrant (7 per cent) or out-migrant (10 per cent) samples were aged under 25 years compared with around 30 per cent of the in- and out-migrants identified in the census. The age and

gender compositions of the respondent populations, aggregated for the two surveys, are shown in Table 7. Almost two thirds (65 per cent) of the in-migrant respondents in the sub-region were aged 40 or more, compared with 55 per cent of the out-migrants, which is consistent with the role of the sub-region as a popular destination (and source) for those into lifestyle living and retirement.

Table 7: Aggregated Age and Gender Composition of Respondents to the Western Bay of Plenty Immigration Surveys in 2001 and 2002, by Number and Percentage

Number Age group/ gender	Tauranga City		WBP District		Sub-Region	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
15-24	47	35	6	1	53	36
25-39	152	98	43	26	195	124
40-59	183	71	80	22	263	93
60+	156	71	48	30	204	101
Not stated	7	0	0	0	7	0
Males	266	132	102	39	368	171
Females	275	143	74	40	349	183
Not stated	4	0	1	0	5	0
Total	545	275	177	79	722	354
Percentage Age group/ gender	Tauranga City		WBP District		Sub-Region	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
15-20	8.6	12.7	3.4	1.3	7.3	10.2
25-39	27.9	35.6	24.3	32.9	27.0	35.0
40-59	33.6	25.8	45.2	27.8	36.4	26.3
60+	28.6	25.8	27.1	38.0	28.3	28.5
Males	48.9	48.0	57.6	49.4	51.0	48.4
Females	50.6	52.0	41.8	50.6	48.3	51.7

Source: Unpublished Western Bay of Plenty migration survey, 2001 and 2002.

Overall, there were not marked differences between the in-migrant and out-migrant respondents in terms their basic demographic, labour force and employment characteristics, aside from the somewhat younger age distribution for those who had left the sub-region. In this sense, the in-migrants and out-migrants were essentially substituting for each other, with the obvious caveat that the numbers coming into the Western Bay of Plenty were twice as large as those leaving for other parts of New Zealand. A summary of some socio-economic characteristics of the migrants who responded to the 2002 survey is given in Table 8. Similarities, rather than differences dominate in the distributions of percentages for in- and out-migrants, whether it is educational qualifications, employment status, sources and levels of income and household composition. There are very similar

proportions of in- and out-migrants aged 60 and 70 years and over, retired, and dependent on Government Superannuation as their main source of income (Table 8). Older people are as much a part of migration out of the sub-region as they are of the in-migration, as are families with children, and people living on their own.

Table 8: Selected Characteristics of the Migrants who Responded to the 2002 Survey, Western Bay of Plenty (percentages)

Characteristic	In-migrants	Out-migrants
<i>Age-sex structure</i>		
Under 40 years	34.2	44.7
40 years and over	65.8	55.3
60 years and over	29.6	27.8
70 years and over	13.4	13.1
Sex ratio ^a	101.9	99.2
<i>Qualifications</i>		
Vocational	29.4	27.5
Degree and above	17.7	17.6
<i>Employment status</i>		
Employed	60.1	64.8
Home-maker	6.6	4.3
Student	0.9	2.7
Retired	24.9	21.2
Unemployed	4.7	5.9
<i>Main source of income</i>		
Wages/salary	38.1	45.9
Self-employed	15.1	12.9
Government super	27.9	25.9
Other	12.8	10.8
<i>Income (NZ\$)</i>		
0-\$15,000	18.1	18.8
\$15,001-30,000	24.1	24.3
\$30,001-50,000	22.7	23.7
\$50,001 and over	24.3	22.7
No response	10.8	10.5
<i>Household composition^b</i>		
Husband/wife	51.5	41.2
Child(ren)	31.3	31.0
Parents	5.1	4.3
Partner/de facto	14.0	21.2
Alone	15.1	16.9
Flatmates	5.3	8.6
Others	11.1	6.7

^a Sex ratio is males per 100 females in the population.

^b Household composition here refers to households containing the listed people in relation to the respondent.

Source: Unpublished data, Western Bay of Plenty migration survey, 2002.

Reasons for movement, 2002

While there are broad similarities in socio-economic characteristics of the in- and out-migrants, the reasons given for their movement into or out of the Western Bay of Plenty demonstrate clearly the importance of lifestyle and family-related factors in explaining the attraction of the sub-region for in-migrants, while the discouraging effects of poor job prospects, low wages and limited income opportunities encourage many to leave. In Table 9 the reasons cited as being 'important' or 'most important' by the in-migrants in the 2002 survey are summarised for broad age groups.

Not surprisingly there are some significant variations, by age, in reasons for selecting the Western bay of Plenty as a destination, but the highest percentages for all age groups tended to be recorded for lifestyle-related factors (coastal environment, better climate, desire for a change) and for the attraction of greater proximity to family (Table 9). The attractiveness of the Western Bay as an area to raise and educate children was mentioned by over a quarter of those aged 35-49 years - this is not just a place that appeals to those who wish to retire.

Table 9: Reasons Cited as 'important' or 'very important' for Selecting the Western Bay of Plenty as a Destination, 2002 Survey (percentages)

Reason	Age group			
	20-34	35-49	50-64	65+
<i>Economic</i>				
Relocation of business	7	8	9	1
Company transfers	14	16	4	2
More job opportunities	24	27	16	1
Higher wages	7	17	11	0
Begin new business	11	19	20	0
Escape high living costs	20	9	12	5
<i>Lifestyle</i>				
Desire for change	68	60	56	27
Larger centre	20	16	17	8
Coastal environment	63	60	54	32
Income opportunities	31	30	17	3
Better climate	63	58	67	37
Better housing	34	22	20	12
<i>Family</i>				
Be closer to family	53	32	39	40
Be closer to friends	25	14	18	12
Children to grow up in WBP	31	22	4	7
Partner/parents' decision	24	31	18	8
Children's education	26	29	5	1
Number of respondents	122	154	138	111

Source: Unpublished data, Western Bay of Plenty migration survey, 2002.

The significance of job opportunities as a reason for moving was emphasised by around a quarter of those aged between 20 and 49 years, while a fifth of those aged 50-64 mentioned that the desire to establish a new business was an important factor in their decision to move into the Western Bay of Plenty. Less than a fifth of the respondents mentioned that higher wages had attracted them to the sub-region, however; indeed, movement at the request of the employer (company transfer) was more important, especially for those aged 20-34 years (Table 9).

The labour market experiences of migrants who moved to the Western Bay of Plenty between October 2001 and September 2002, and who were looking for work in the sub-region, are summarised in Table 10 and compared with the experiences of those who left the Western Bay over the same period. In general, the in-migrants reported slightly less satisfactory experiences than the out-migrants in terms of the difficulty in and the time taken to find work. Only half of those moving into the sub-region stated they had no difficulty finding work, compared with 65 per cent of those who left the Western Bay of Plenty. Almost half of the in-migrants took more than a month to find work, compared with just under a third of the out-migrants. However, the great majority (over 75 per cent) of migrants into and out of the sub-region, who had been seeking work, were satisfied with their current employment (Table 10).

Table 10: Labour Market Experiences of Those who Worked at the Destination, 2000 Survey (percentages)

Experience	In-migrants	Out-migrants
<i>Difficulty in finding work</i>		
No difficulty	50.9	65.4
Difficulty	17.9	13.5
Neither	31.3	21.2
<i>Time taken to find a job</i>		
Less than 1 week	25.4	36.4
Less than 1 month	29.0	31.8
More than 1 month	45.5	31.8
<i>Satisfaction with current employment</i>		
Satisfied	76.8	82.3
Not satisfied	10.3	9.1
Neither	12.9	8.5
Number	307	164

Source: Unpublished data, Western Bay of Plenty migration survey, 2002.

The reasons given by migrants for leaving the Western Bay of Plenty are summarised in Table 11. There is not the concentration of responses in the 'lifestyle' category that was found with the in-migrants; indeed the most frequently cited reasons for leaving are those associated with low wages, poor employment prospects, and limited income-generating opportunities (especially for the 35-49 year olds). The most consistent reason given across the four age groups was simply the desire to live in a new area, over a fifth of all respondents gave this as an 'important' or 'very important' reason for leaving the sub-region (Table 11). The most commonly cited reason amongst the older population (65 and over) was retirement - just under 40 per cent stated this was an important reason for moving to another part of New Zealand. Retirement migration out of the Western Bay of Plenty was something that surprised some stakeholders in the Smartgrowth strategic planning exercise.

Table 11: Reasons Cited as 'important' or 'very important' for Leaving the Western Bay of Plenty, 2002 Survey (percentages)

Reason	Age group			
	20-34	35-49	50-64	65+
<i>Economic</i>				
Relocation of business	9	17	13	0
Company transfer	20	8	7	0
Poor economy in WBP	9	10	7	0
Wages too low in WBP	31	31	10	2
Lost job in WBP	9	7	5	2
Poor job prospects in WBP	31	30	13	2
Poor business opportunities	19	18	23	2
<i>Lifestyle</i>				
Desire to live in new area	28	28	23	21
Limited education opportunities	16	21	3	0
Retirement	3	4	22	38
Limited income opportunities	25	34	20	0
Poor climate	4	7	5	4
Housing too expensive	28	14	18	8
<i>Family</i>				
To get away from family	5	0	2	0
To be closer to children	9	21	2	0
Partner/parents' decision	24	21	12	6
Children's education	8	27	2	0
Number of respondents	75	70	60	48

Source: Unpublished data, Western Bay of Plenty migration survey, 2002.

Migration and lifestyle

In their Vision Statement, the authors of *The Western Bay of Plenty Sub-Region 50-Year Strategy and Implementation Plan* (Smartgrowth 2004, p. 10) state, amongst other things, that:

In 50 years time ...

The Western Bay of Plenty is a place where people can contribute to and enjoy a quality of life that meets their needs and aspirations. It provides lifestyle choices from surf to mountain tops which support and reflect the natural attributed of the area...

The area continues to be a popular place for people to move to, attracted by the mild climate and coastal setting. The area defines itself by its impressive recreation and leisure opportunities...

An emphasis on lifestyle and leisure, supported by appropriate economic opportunity and enterprise, pervades the Smartgrowth strategy. In this the authors are reflecting very much the attributes of the Western Bay of Plenty that were valued most highly by both in-migrants and out-migrants in both the 2001 and 2002 surveys. A summary of these attributes is given by gender in Table 12.

Table 12: Valued attributes of the Western Bay of Plenty as a place to live, 2002 survey (percentages)

Attribute	In-migrants	Out-migrants
<i>Males</i>		
Physical environment	71.7	66.1
Quality of life	38.5	40.9
Recreation/leisure	17.0	11.8
Family proximity	6.8	8.7
Economic opportunity	4.9	4.7
Education	0.8	0.0
<i>Females</i>		
Physical environment	71.2	64.1
Quality of life	46.5	39.8
Recreation/leisure	12.3	8.6
Family proximity	17.3	14.1
Economic opportunity	9.2	6.3
Education	2.3	1.6

Source: Unpublished data, Western Bay of Plenty migration survey, 2002.

The physical environment, especially the coastal location and the warm climate, was mentioned by almost three quarters of the in-migrants, and two thirds of the out-migrants as an attractive factor. The overall quality of life in the sub-region was mentioned by 40 per cent of the movers, both those leaving as well as the new arrivals. Significantly, only 7 per cent of in-migrants, and 6 per cent of out-

migrants mentioned economic opportunity as a high-profile characteristic of the sub-region.

Recreation and leisure opportunities, and proximity to family were mentioned more frequently as valued attributes than job and business opportunities and higher wages.

This emphasis on lifestyle-related factors is not something that has featured large in the New Zealand literature on internal migration. In the absence of data on reasons given for movement, and a tendency to rely on attributes of local labour and housing markets to explain the patterns of population movement revealed in censuses, this is hardly surprising. However, as the large post-war baby boom cohorts move into the older labour force age groups, it is likely that factors other than wage differentials, job vacancies, and prices of accommodation are going to be the main reasons for their internal migration.

Large scale surveys of reasons for population movement are not common internationally, but where they have been undertaken, they reveal that the motives for moving are often more frequently expressed in terms of lifestyle-related events than labour market variations. In a recent survey of 9,500 inter-regional migrants in five Nordic countries, Lundholm et al. (2004) found that while better employment opportunities and higher wages are still major reasons for favouring a more polarised population distribution, economic reasons are not in themselves a sufficient explanation for why people move. They found that social commitments, environmental preferences and life values were much more important motives for recent population movement than getting a job or changing jobs. Indeed, less than one fifth of their respondents in four of the countries surveyed mentioned employment as a reason for the most recent move.

Conclusion

The methodology employed to identify migrants who have recently moved into or out of the Western Bay of Plenty lends itself to a larger comparative survey of factors considered important in the decision to move to and from other parts of New Zealand. However, a more useful approach would be a national sample survey that also includes people who have not moved recently so that the attitudes and attributes of the stayers could also be assessed. As part of its on-going research into the

implications of population movement for families and communities in New Zealand, the Migration Research Group is currently working with demographers and statisticians in Statistics New Zealand on the feasibility of conducting such a national sample survey.

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