

An Introduction to the Final Papers

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This set of papers are about people moving from house to house, the patterns of that movement, its drivers and implications for individuals, families and communities. Residential movement is a dynamic that rarely attracts systematic reflection or a coherent policy response. High rates of residential movement are certainly acknowledged. Indeed, they are often overstated. Time and again in community and industry meetings the years of living at an address is presented as if every New Zealand resident household moves address every 6 years. In fact, the census and a collection of other research shows that while some people move relatively frequently, others move relatively infrequently.

The New Zealand census found in 2006 more than 39 percent of the total usually resident population had changed their usual residence at least once in the previous four years. At 2006 census median number of years at usual residential address for households is 3.7 years. Households that own their dwelling tend to be more settled – median years at usual residence is 6.3 years for households that are owned or in family trust and 2.0 years for households that are not owned.¹ Moreover, among individuals aged 50-59 years almost half (46.5 percent) have resided in their dwelling 10 years or more and this pattern of long residence becomes increasingly pronounced for older age groups.

Irrespective of these niceties, the knowledge that over half of New Zealand's population moved dwelling between 2001 and 2006 can not be avoided. Yet we largely maintain policy, funding and service settings, particularly in education and health, that largely assume that people in New Zealand stay in place. Moreover, we also ignore the determinants of residential movement. For instance, successive governments have given little attention to the very high movement rates of tenants in the private rental market relative to other tenants or compared to owner occupiers, despite an increasingly strong body of research that suggests that this is symptomatic of significant supply side failures characterised not simply by inferior dwelling stock and dwelling performance but also by short-term landlords with little commitment to the provision of rental housing as a service industry.²

This is not to suggest that New Zealand has failed to develop a body of research around movement. Internal or external migratory movements have attracted the attention of demographers and geographers for many years. Tracing the migratory driven growth of Auckland has absorbed considerable resources,³ so too has the flight of older people to Tauranga and Nelson. The rural-urban shift and the counteracting flow of Maori back to rural areas have been demonstrated in a considerable volume of literature.⁴ The reverse migration of people out of Auckland is now beginning to emerge as a focus⁵ and, of course, the impacts of inward migration on regional economies, housing demand, and infrastructure requirements continue to be a focus of attention. This research programme contributed to that literature.

However, research into migratory patterns, determinants and impacts is by no means the same as research into house-to-house movement. While some residential movement is clearly migratory – that is, associated with movement from place to place and region to region most is not. A 2010 survey of 499 20-40 year old householders who had recently moved⁶ into their

¹ Statistics New Zealand, 2008.

² Saville-Smith and Fraser, 2004; Saville-Smith and James, 2010.

³ Whitelaw, 1971; Lee and McDermott, 1998; Bathgate, 2003; Bedford et.al, 1999; Giles and Hampton, 1978; Hampton and Giles, 1976.

⁴ Rowland, 2008; Grace, Ramsden and Dennis, 2001; Pool, 1991; Scott and Kearns, 2000; Statistics New Zealand, 1998; Guerin et. al, 2004.

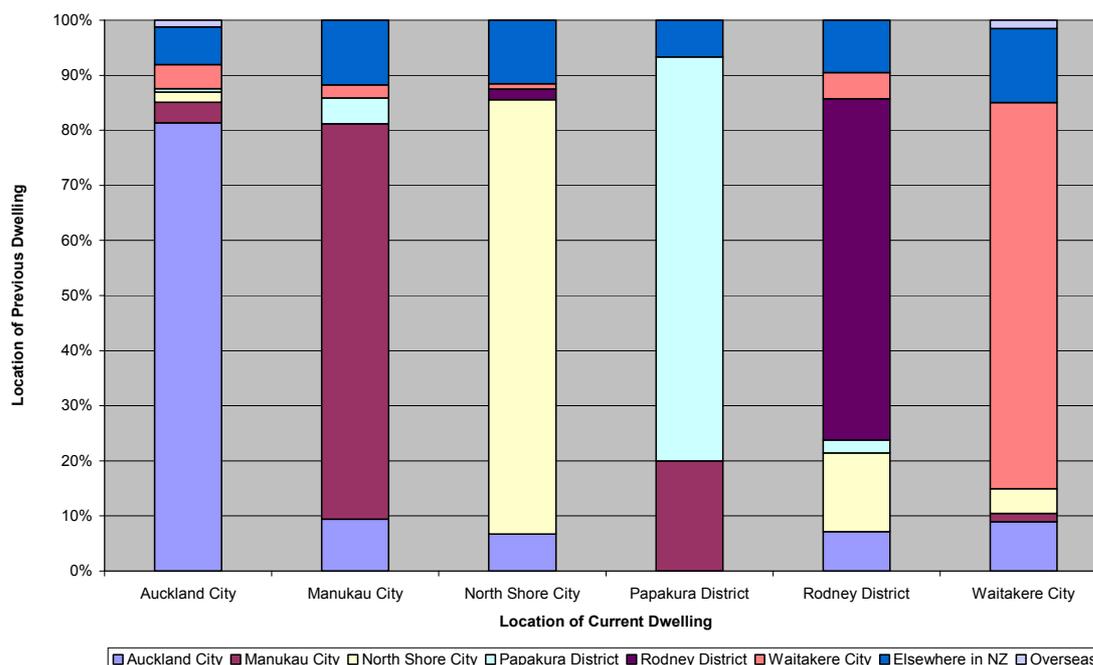
⁵ Friesen, 2003.

⁶ Recent movers were defined as a household that had moved to an Auckland dwelling between 1 November 2008 and 31 October 2010.

current dwelling in Auckland⁷, found that only 11.2 percent of those householders could be considered migratory, having moved into Auckland from overseas (0.6 percent of recent movers) or from elsewhere in the country (10.6 percent of recent movers).

In that study, most residential movements involved moving to a dwelling close to the location of their previous dwelling. Around three-quarters (75.5 percent) of the recent movers in the Auckland study moved within the territorial authority of origin (Figure 1). Indeed, they tended to want to stay within their housing market area (HMA)⁸ of origin⁹.

Figure 1: Previous Dwelling Location by Location of Current Dwelling for Younger Household Recent Movers (Recent Mover Survey)



Residential movement may involve place migration, but this is by no means the predominant pattern of house to house movement. Moreover, residential movement may involve either individual or household movement. It is that diversity in the pattern of movement, the myriad of residential movement drivers and outcomes of residential movement that the research programme *Building Attachment in Communities Affected by Residential Movement* was designed to explore.

The research reported here has both been prompted by and reflects the deep ambivalence we in New Zealand have about residential movement. For, despite the New Zealand of today having been built on centuries of migration, there is a profound ambivalence towards

⁷ Auckland was defined for the study as the Auckland conurbation broadly covering the seven territorial authority areas current at the time the research was conducted - Rodney District, North Shore City, Waitakere City, Auckland City, Manukau City, Papakura District, and Franklin District. Note the survey did not include any households from the Franklin District as the population yielded insufficient numbers for survey purposes.

⁸ Housing Market Areas (HMAs) are geographical areas defined by household demand and preferences for housing. The HMA analysis in the 20-40 year old study is based on 2006 Census data. See Annex A for a map of HMAs in Auckland.

⁹ Saville-Smith and James, 2010:72-73.

residential movement and movers. This is reflected in the language associated with residential movement which is a mix of the pejorative and the positive.

Positive representations of residential movement are captured by the terminology of residential mobility, associated with notions of progress, adaptability and social improvement. Those notions are captured in a range of popular metaphors such as ‘climbing the property ladder’ and disciplinary based discourses in economics, sociology and psychology.

There are long standing bodies of commentary in those disciplines associated with upward social mobility, flexible labour, human capital generation and opportunities for households to optimise income and wellbeing.¹⁰ Indeed, the same commentators have gone so far as to explain community decline as arising from the “healthy salmon” phenomenon. That is, skilled, competent and active people leaving neighbourhoods and communities while remaining behind are the unskilled, the infirm and the unambitious. Residential movement is also portrayed as negative, associated with pejorative terms such as transients and transience. This is particularly evident in the education sector in New Zealand, but other sectors also tend to portray residential movement as a socio-pathological behaviour with poor health, social and educational outcomes.¹¹

Essentially, there is a polarisation between: Those who see residential mobility and transience as being a critical factor in the decline of local communities, leading to poor individual and family outcomes, and inhibiting the potential for economic innovation and expansion in certain localities; and, those who see residential mobility as the pathway to familial improvement, the decline of local communities due to out-migration as an inevitable readjustment to changing economic circumstance, and residential mobility as a generator of economic efficiency and well-being. These positions are amenable to empirical test but rarely have they been so.

Patterns and Dynamics of Residential Movement: Overseas and Domestic Evidence

This is not to suggest that there has been no research on these issues here or overseas. There is a body of research which, albeit in a fragmentary way provides an enticing glimpse into the diversity of residential movement patterns, drivers and impacts.

International and domestic research have both indicated that age and life stage are strongly tied to residential mobility. Young adults, in particular, tend to be very mobile¹² and “try out” new places, living arrangements and dwellings before returning to more familiar residential locations. They have a tendency to follow an “out-and-return” trajectory of residential movement.¹³

Certainly in New Zealand, official statistics suggest that young people in their late teens and twenties are the most mobile in New Zealand. Movement rates are also high for children

¹⁰ Bedford, 1994; Boheim and Taylor, 1999; Coulton, Pandey and Chow, 1990; Dorling, Shaw and Brimblecombe, 2001; Eliasson, Lindgren and Westerlund, 1999; Glaster and Mincey, 1993; Hema, 2000; Gregg, Machin and Manning, 2001; Macintyre, MacIver and Sooman, 1993; Milne, 1999; Pearson, 1987; The Treasury, 2001.

¹¹ Kariuki, Nash and College, 1999; Lee, 2000; Nelson, 1993, Mantzicopoulos and Knutson, 2000; Strand, 2000; Schouls, Congdon and Curtis, 1996.

¹² Earhart and Weber 1996; Dwyer et al 2003.

¹³ Stovel and Bolan 2004.

under five years, reflecting the age of their parents, who are also in younger, relatively mobile age groups.¹⁴

Overseas data suggests that those in the child-rearing life stage, particularly with school-aged children in the household tend to move less,¹⁵ whereas households most likely to move are those that do not include children, single person households and couple only households.¹⁶ Overseas research also suggests that older people are typically more settled residentially. The neighbourhood and their dwellings become increasingly important for older people and provide a platform for sustaining their social networks.¹⁷

In New Zealand, in contrast to the European experience, residential movement among older people has been a comparatively common experience. This is associated with New Zealand's long history of moving older people out of their homes into institutional settings. For instance, the mid-1970s, Sweden had 4.7 percent of its older population in rest homes while the proportion of older people in rest homes in the United States was 4.3 percent. By way of contrast, 6.2 percent of New Zealand's older population was in rest home care. By the late 1980s that had increased to 8 percent.¹⁸

This tendency of older people to move from private dwellings today is manifest in the mushrooming of retirement villages over the last twenty years. In 1998 there were about 10,000 dwellings in retirement villages. Twelve years later it is estimated that there are more than 17,250 dwellings in retirement villages.¹⁹ In Auckland the number of dwellings in retirement villages had a threefold increase between 1991 and 2005.²⁰ In 2009 it is estimated that around 5 percent of those aged 65 years or more were living in retirement villages. To meet forecast demand, the Retirement Village Association suggested in 2009 that retirement village operators will need to increase the number of units in retirement villages 800-1200 units annually until 2006.²¹

While overseas research confirms that if older people move residence it is usually associated with retirement, a spouse leaving employment,²² decline in health and the death of a spouse;²³ it is notable that many overseas jurisdictions have sought to keep older people in place. Many overseas jurisdictions have instituted a raft of initiatives to improve cross-sectoral co-ordination between the housing and health sectors as well as improve the performance, security, affordability and amenity of older people's dwellings. A number have actually attempted to future proof their new housing stock by instituting design and performance requirements that will ensure better performance and adaptability across all life stages.²⁴

Patterns of residential movement are not limited to associations with life stages. In multi-ethnic societies, different ethnic groups also tend to have different patterns of residential movement. This has been evident in New Zealand for many decades. Maori are especially likely to move, with over 60 percent of people of Maori ethnicity moving at least once within the country between the 2001 and 2006 censuses. Maori residential movement shows

¹⁴ Statistics New Zealand 2006

¹⁵ McAuley and Nutty 1985; Sampson 1988.

¹⁶ Cole et al 2006; Allen 2003; Donovan et al 2002.

¹⁷ Cuba and Hummon 1993; McAuley and Nutty 1985.

¹⁸ Saville-Smith, 1993:76

¹⁹ Retirement Villages Association 2009; Collyns 2010.

²⁰ Greenbrook 2005.

²¹ Retirement Villages Association 2009.

²² Ermisch and Jenkins 1997.

²³ Chalmers and Joseph 1998; Walters 2002.

²⁴ See CRESA and Public Policy & Research, 2009:91-113.

significant exchanges of people between areas, especially between main urban areas, minor urban areas and rural areas.²⁵ In part, the high rate of Maori residential movement is explained by the youthful age structure of the population, as those in younger age groups tend to move more. Overseas research into ethnicity and residential movement has been preoccupied with issues around racial segregation, acculturation, the dynamics of ethnic concentrations in the city form, and the patterns of exclusion and deprivation in cities.²⁶

Researchers who have gone beyond simply describing patterns of residential movement and associated characteristics of movers, have suggested that the drivers of residential movement are connected to:

- an individual's residential movement history;
- transitions from one life stage to another; and
- particular individual or familiar circumstances.

With regard to individual residential movement histories, there is evidence to suggest that those most likely to move, from one house to another, are those who have already done so in the past. Thus individuals who have:

- Already experienced a larger number of moves during their lifetime are significantly more likely to expect to move again.
- Moved over longer distances in the past are more likely to have a longer distance move in the future.
- A migration background (were born abroad or have at least one parent born abroad) are more likely to have an international moving intention.
- Been educated in another country show stronger propensities to migrate.²⁷

The progression through life stages – childhood, adolescence, key aspects of adult life such as employment acquisition and change, marriage, divorce, widowhood and retirement – are all accepted as being associated with residential movement. However, researchers also note that while life stages appear to be easily identified and predictably calibrate people's life courses and transitions, in reality, this is largely illusionary.

Residential movement can not be seen as an orderly housing career or employment career aligned to a predictable life course. Indeed, there is some evidence that while individuals may arrange their intentions to move on the basis of some ideal model of a life course, intentions to move (or stay) are frequently overturned. Consequently while the propensity to move is driven by actual movements in the past, movement intention and actual movement are quite different. Individuals and households intending to move may find themselves constrained by their familial and household situation, housing market factors, changes in income or employment and attachment to their residence. Those same factors can also result in sudden and unplanned moves where none was anticipated.²⁸

Research that combines information on moving intentions with actual behaviour is scarce.²⁹ One study, using longitudinal data from a Netherlands housing demand survey concluded that while there is a clear relationship between intention to move and the incidence

²⁵ Statistics New Zealand 2006.

²⁶ Charlton and Bettencourt, 2001; Coulton, 1994; Coulton, Pandey and Chow, 1990; Dorling, Shaw and Brimblecombe, 2001; Furstenberg, 1993; Glaster and Mincey, 1993; Parke and Buriel, 1998; Putnam, 1993; Shouls, Congdon and Curtis, 1996.

²⁷ Belot and Ermisch 2006; Bonin et al 2008; Richardson and Corbishley, 1999.

²⁸ Kan 1999; Earhart and Weber 1996; de Groot et al 2007.

²⁹ de Groot et al 2007; Clark and Davies Withers 2007.

of moving, there is discrepancy between an intention to move and actual mobility. Only one third of those expressing an intention to move had actually moved within two years after their interview. At the same time, about seven percent of those not intending to move actually did move in the same period. The most important factors precipitating movement appeared to be an expected change in household or housing situation, the ability to access resources, and the existence of opportunity to realise intent.

The longitudinal British Household Panel Survey also showed differences between intention to move and actual moves. Only 10 percent of respondents actually moved each year, although 44 percent expressed a preference for moving at each wave.³⁰ Another longitudinal study, the United States Panel Study of Income Dynamics, showed that about one quarter of all moves are unintended. Those unintended moves are apparent in both local and long-distance moves. That study suggested that triggers for unanticipated movement are varied and include the volatile and dynamic nature of the labour market, family change (including partnering, divorce or death), and housing market effects. With respect to the latter, many of the unintended moves involved a shift from owning to renting. That study concludes that “interruptions to the life course and complex family responses to changing opportunities and constraints clearly complicates ... overly simplistic interpretation of sequential mobility”.³¹

The final category of drivers that prompt residential movement are what might be described as multi-factorial and contingent. Research shows that residential movement is characterised by the interplay of various motivations. Movement is not simply about moving for advancement or in response to market opportunities in employment or housing investment, but equally (or more so) about quality of life, identity, creating a ‘home’, establishing and maintaining social networks, access to services, perceptions about the neighbourhood and the attributes of place.³²

Surveys of movers within the European Union show that key motivations and reasons for movement include the economic, such as expected increase in income, but are also more complex. The three main motivations for past movement were found to be, in order, job-related, family-related and education-related. The main factors influencing future moves were firstly, housing and the local environment, and secondly, social networks. The third most important factor encouraging a future move was work and income.³³ Other research, mainly conducted in the United States, also shows a variety of considerations influencing movement, with major reasons for moving identified as school quality, neighbourhood safety, property values, and the preference for a larger and newer home.³⁴

Broadly, the factors that get played out in decisions to stay or go appear to be related to:

- housing circumstances;
- place attachment and social ties;
- perceptions of safety;
- satisfaction with services and facilities; and
- labour market factors.

³⁰ Boheim and Taylor 1999.

³¹ Clark and Davies Withers 2007:614.

³² Cole et al 2006; Earhart and Weber 1996.

³³ Bonin et al 2008.

³⁴ Morrow-Jones and Kim 2009.

Housing tenure is the most conclusive predictor of mobility. Home owners tend to be the least likely to move, followed by social housing tenants. Private renters are the most mobile. The research suggests that those most likely to act on their movement intentions are in the rental sector.³⁵ In general, New Zealanders who own their own homes are more likely to stay put than those in rental accommodation. In part this is due to New Zealand's limited tenancy arrangements.³⁶

Housing factors precipitating moves include unaffordable housing, household crowding, poor dwelling condition, rental tenure insecurity, and problems with the landlord.³⁷ Research using Scottish panel data concluded that dissatisfaction with home and neighbourhood is likely to result in movement. In particular, dissatisfaction with house size, more than any other dwelling factor, was found to be a significant predictor of both movement intentions and actual moves.³⁸

In New Zealand, research on reasons for movement has also shown housing to be a major driver of movement; for example: moving from a rental property into own purchased dwelling, expiry of a rental lease or notice being given by a landlord; previous dwelling being too small; and for older people, the dwelling being too large.³⁹

The strong associations with physical place, the meanings attached to that place and choice of residence based on those geographical and social ties is the subject of much analysis of reasons for movement. Massey comments on 'place-bounded paths' that show how daily life is lived between home, school, work, church and club. Experiences of the places of home that stretch back into childhood can be very influential on the choice of location.⁴⁰

A body of research has examined the 'network effects' on residential movement. Studies have found that concentrations of family and friendship networks within the same neighbourhood appear to discourage mobility.⁴¹ There are not only social benefits associated with those networks, but they are also instrumental in the flow of information, e.g about job opportunities.⁴²

Social reasons for moving are also important for New Zealanders. In the 1996 Census, wanting to live with or be closer to family was the main social reason why people moved from another region to their current residence.⁴³ Analysis of population movement in the Western Bay of Plenty in the early 2000s showed that a desire to be closer to family rated highly as a reason for moving to the area.⁴⁴

Maori experience much higher levels of residential movement than New Zealand's population overall. However, while Maori internal migration has been dominated in the past by the shift of people from rural to urban areas, by the 1980s, increasing numbers of Maori had begun to move away from urban centres – what has been called "counter-urbanization".⁴⁵

³⁵ Cole et al 2006; Earhart and Weber 1996; Bolan 1997; Parkes et al 2002; Theodori 2001; Woolever 1992; Ball-Rokeach et al 2001; Shumaker and Stokols 1982

³⁶ Statistics New Zealand 2006a.

³⁷ Richardson and Corbishley, 1999.

³⁸ Parkes and Kearns 2002.

³⁹ Statistics New Zealand 2006a.

⁴⁰ Massey 1995, cited in Mazanti 2007.

⁴¹ Donovan et al 2002.

⁴² Belot and Ermisch 2006.

⁴³ Statistics New Zealand 2006a.

⁴⁴ Lidgard and McLeay 2002.

⁴⁵ Barcham 2004.

Particular cultural and historic attributes of a place, the strong pull of ties with ancestral land and whanau, and revitalisation of language and culture have been identified as key reasons for Maori returning to ancestral areas. However, other key factors affecting attachment and residential stability, such as employment, the availability of housing and other services may make staying uncertain.⁴⁶

Strong social and cultural ties to place also determine movement decisions of Pacific New Zealanders. The significance of Pacific national and international social networks in facilitating movement has been commented on in many studies.⁴⁷

Searching for and choosing a safe and child-friendly residential environment for their children is a theme identified in several countries. Such an environment includes safe outdoor play areas, a sense of community, detached homes, pro-social peers and facilities and services for children.⁴⁸

Several studies have found that concern about crime and worries about personal safety appear to influence residential movement. Actual incidence of crime and antisocial behaviour can also contribute to residents' dissatisfaction with a place and be a factor influencing movement. A number of studies in the United States show property crime to be a predictor of residential movement for older people. Analysis of United States metropolitan crime data has found that, at least for most property crimes, an area's mobility rates are a powerful predictor of crime rates (although residential mobility rates were poor predictors of homicide and aggravated assault rates). Other research suggests that mobility declines if the neighbourhood becomes safer from crime or improves its physical conditions.⁴⁹

However, other studies have found that perceived safety is less important to people's satisfaction with their neighbourhood compared to environmental factors such as noise and lack of sunlight, poor access to food stores and recreational areas, and dissatisfaction with house size and condition.⁵⁰ A few studies also indicate that some people in unsafe neighbourhoods, or who perceive their neighbourhood to be in decline, feel powerless to leave a dangerous place.⁵¹

Several studies have found that satisfaction with the community in which one lives reduces the desire to move. Level of satisfaction with public services and economic opportunity are particularly associated with migration intentions.⁵²

There is evidence suggesting that different age groups have different preferences for their residence and in conjunction with that, different reasons for moving or staying in a location.⁵³ Mobility has been found to decline if a neighbourhood improves its schools, while migration upon retirement is often associated with seeking particular amenities or services, such as leisure amenities, housing or health services.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Scott and Kearns 2000.

⁴⁷ Bedford 2007; Hau'ofa 2005.

⁴⁸ Mazanti 2007.

⁴⁹ Sampson (1988); Groves et al. 2003; Richardson and Corbishley 1999; Walters 2002; Bartik et al. 1990; Crutchfield et al. 1982; Sun et al. 2004.

⁵⁰ Parkes et al. 2002; Parkes and Kearns 2002.

⁵¹ Sun et al. 2004; Kearns and Parkes 2002; Kearns et al 2002; Ross et al. 2000.

⁵² Bartik et al 1990.

⁵³ Morrow-Jones and Kim 2009.

⁵⁴ Walters 2002; Theodori 2001.

Some research has given particular emphasis to the influence of labour market dynamics on residential movement. Those unemployed and actively seeking work tend to be more likely to move than the employed, although it has been found that the long-term unemployed are less likely to move.⁵⁵

Residential mobility can be an enabler of job search. It can play an important role in increasing the likelihood of finding work, matching people to jobs and increasing earnings.⁵⁶ Employment as a reason for movement is more likely associated with moves over a long distance, rather than local moves. At a local level, individuals may change job but stay at the same address and adjust their travel to work pattern. Also, those with higher level qualifications and skills appear to move more for job-related reasons, as they operate on national, and even international job markets.⁵⁷

Some New Zealand research shows that internal migration flows are related to local labour market conditions. People choose destinations where employment growth is strong, and mobility is related to the labour market in times of growth.⁵⁸ However, evidence also shows that movement for work is not such an important driver of movement as housing and family factors.⁵⁹ Indeed, change of job may not result in change of residence, as workers may prefer to commute rather than shift house, especially if they are home owners.⁶⁰

This Research

This research programme has been prompted by the importance of residential movement in New Zealand, New Zealand's ambivalence towards residential movement - in particular a sense that it may disengage people from their communities – and the deficiencies in our understanding of residential movement, attachment to place and the impacts of house to house movement on individuals, families and communities themselves.

At the centre of the research is a concern with how the benefits of residential movement can be optimised while mitigating its potentially negative impacts for individuals, families and communities. This raises critical and wide-ranging questions around the nature of communities, attachment, and residential movement; including: What sorts of communities, families and households are associated with residential movement? What impacts residential movement have on the wellbeing of individual and families? What sort of residential movement impacts on the social and economic viability of local communities? How can communities meet the challenge of a population caught up in these broader patterns of residential movement?

To address at least some of those questions, this research takes both national and local perspectives, analysing national and community data generated through a number of targeted studies in local communities as well as analysis of national data and sectoral data. The communities are Kawerau, Opotiki, Cannons Creek-Waitangirua, and the South Island rural community of Amuri. Quantitative and qualitative data has been generated, which informs a multi-disciplinary understanding of the determinants and impacts of residential mobility that attempts to connect up the relationship between individuals, families, and local communities.

⁵⁵ Donovan et al 2002; Boheim and Taylor 1999.

⁵⁶ Donovan et al 2002; Boheim and Taylor 2000.

⁵⁷ Donovan et al 2002.

⁵⁸ Maré and Timmins 2003.

⁵⁹ Cole et al 2006; Earhart and Weber 1996.

⁶⁰ Donovan et al 2002., Saville-Smith and James, 2010.

Two life stages have been paid particular attention, with some research focussing specifically on young people and children respectively. The focus on young people has explored two aspects of residential movement. Firstly, the way in which residential movement and place attachment both reflects and informs young people's development of a sense of self, and acts as a pathway to social positioning. The second focus is on the way in which residential movement interacts with labour market entry. The research specifically on children has explored two aspects of residential movement. One is the impact of residential movement on children's educational achievements. The other focuses around children has been on a cohort of children in child and family care and their experience of residential movement.

The research has been concerned with patterns and drivers of movement. Patterns of movement have been captured primarily through three waves of interviews with households and their members in each of the four case communities. That data combined with data derived from a national survey of residential movement and attachment have also allowed the drivers of movement to be explored, in particular the drivers associated with material conditions, such as employment and housing conditions; and those associated with seemingly more ephemeral factors, such as place attachment, familial and social networks, and a sense of security and identity. The research has explored the impacts of residential movement (or lack of it), particularly in relation to health and education. It also comments on the nature of the challenges presented by, and appropriate responses to, residential movement.

Key Findings

This research programme has been undertaken by a multi-disciplinary team including Kay Saville-Smith (CRESA); Dr Bev James (Public Policy & Research); Dr Phil Morrison and Catherine Schroder (Victoria University of Wellington); Dr Philippa Howden-Chapman, Helen Viggers and Rebecca Osbourne (Wellington School of Medicine, University of Otago); Dr Erik Olssen (University of Otago); Dr Libby Plumridge; Dr Margaret Southwick (Whiteria Polytechnic); Jane Gilbert and Ally Bull (NZCER); Charlotte Williams. The research programme also benefited from the advice of Dr Brian Heenan and Dr Mel Pipe in the initial years of research development.

Over the course of the research programme a series of papers and presentations have emerged from this research. This latest set of papers collectively summarise the accreted knowledge generated by the research. The analysis and findings presented in this set of papers show the complexity of residential movement in New Zealand and the complex interaction between movement, place and attachment. The findings are at once consistent with some of the research overseas but also reflect the specific New Zealand experience. This research shows that:

- Residential movement by individuals is strongly associated with life stage and age but the reasons for movement are diverse and vary according to the particular communities of origin.
- While 'place based' crime and 'unemployment', or 'employment' opportunities elsewhere are frequently cited as drivers of residential movement, these do not emerge as critical drivers for most age groups.
- People do attempt to improve their own or their family's position and see residential moves as a way of doing so. Intention to move is not, however, automatically transformed into actual moves.

- Employment and education opportunities for young people are important drivers of residential movement, but most movers report that their actual movement (rather than their movement intentions) are strongly related to family ties, housing needs and housing aspirations, and their place attachment.
- Many actual moves are driven by push factors - particularly related to housing insecurity and health.
- Low income households who move are most likely to be tenants, living in low performance dwellings with sick children. Sick older people in low income households in similarly low performing dwellings are less likely to move.
- High mobility is characteristic in some communities in which resource constraints are high and local deprivation means that household membership is fluid as individuals effectively 'range' over other areas to generate income, share costs, access educational, housing or health services.
- Residential movement imposes significant costs on households without necessarily bestowing benefits where movers are tenants who face unintended moves.
- Residential movement in itself is not the primary pathway to either up or downward social mobility. Most involved in residential movement tend to move to communities with similar levels of deprivation to the community they left.
- Successful youth transition into employment is particularly challenging where young people must geographically separate themselves from their place communities.
- Problems of youth transition are exacerbated and employment outcomes compromised for young people where "home" households or communities find it difficult to support young people "away from home" because of resource constraints.
- The residential movement of individuals to access social and economic resources is often supported by stable household nodes in either or both the community of origin or the receiving community.
- High residential movement does not reduce educational outcomes, but moving students do not fit with teacher and administrative expectations and can easily become problematised by schools, communities and government agencies.
- The tendency to label problematic individuals as transients, irrespective of their movement behaviour, has a long history in New Zealand.
- Individuals and households that are seen as problematic can become labelled as transient or highly mobile residentially when they are not. This displaces attention from assessing the needs, appropriate services and policy responses of these individuals. For instance:
 - People living in camping grounds are frequently defined as transient. The real problem, however, is the opposite. They are living long-term in accommodation designed for short term stay and do not receive the protections or services they need.
 - Intermittent attendance at school has had a tendency to be seen as arising from 'transient' families who move frequently although there are other reasons for that pattern of school attendance including truancy and families enrolling and removing children with different schools even when they remain in the area or even in the same dwelling.
- Some individuals or families act as a stable, place-based node for frequent mover individuals and families including for children.
- Stable nodes which provide a resource base for kin are particularly important for Pacific families, although this phenomenon is widespread over all ethnic groups.

- Place attachment varies according to both age and the deprivation characteristics of the community of immediate origin:
 - Living in a lower socioeconomic area can reduce the attachment to a place and counteract family and friendship attachments.
 - Place attachments take time. Older people have been able to generate the array of place attachments which consist of both sentimental attachment and kin and friendship networks. For younger people, place attachment is more ambivalent and less related to movement.
- Service providers' practices, levels of provision and service policy settings can encourage both desirable and undesirable residential movement, but the:
 - Impact of these on residential movement patterns are rarely assessed; and
 - Service needs in communities rarely take account of residential movement patterns.
- Older people, children (including children in the care of Children, Young People and Families (CYF), young people and people with particular vulnerabilities such as those who are ill, new settlers or detached from family and kin are particularly burdened by movement.
- Frequent movers present particular service challenges because they are often difficult to retain service continuity with and sometimes require specialised services, due to complex social and health needs.
- Service providers report that:
 - They often attempt to provide for the needs of movers in the context of policy and funding frameworks that largely ignore the prevalence or characteristics of frequent movers; and
 - The costs of managing the impacts of frequent movers largely fall on the host communities even where the drivers of residence may be outside the community itself.

Annex A: Housing Market Areas in the Auckland Region

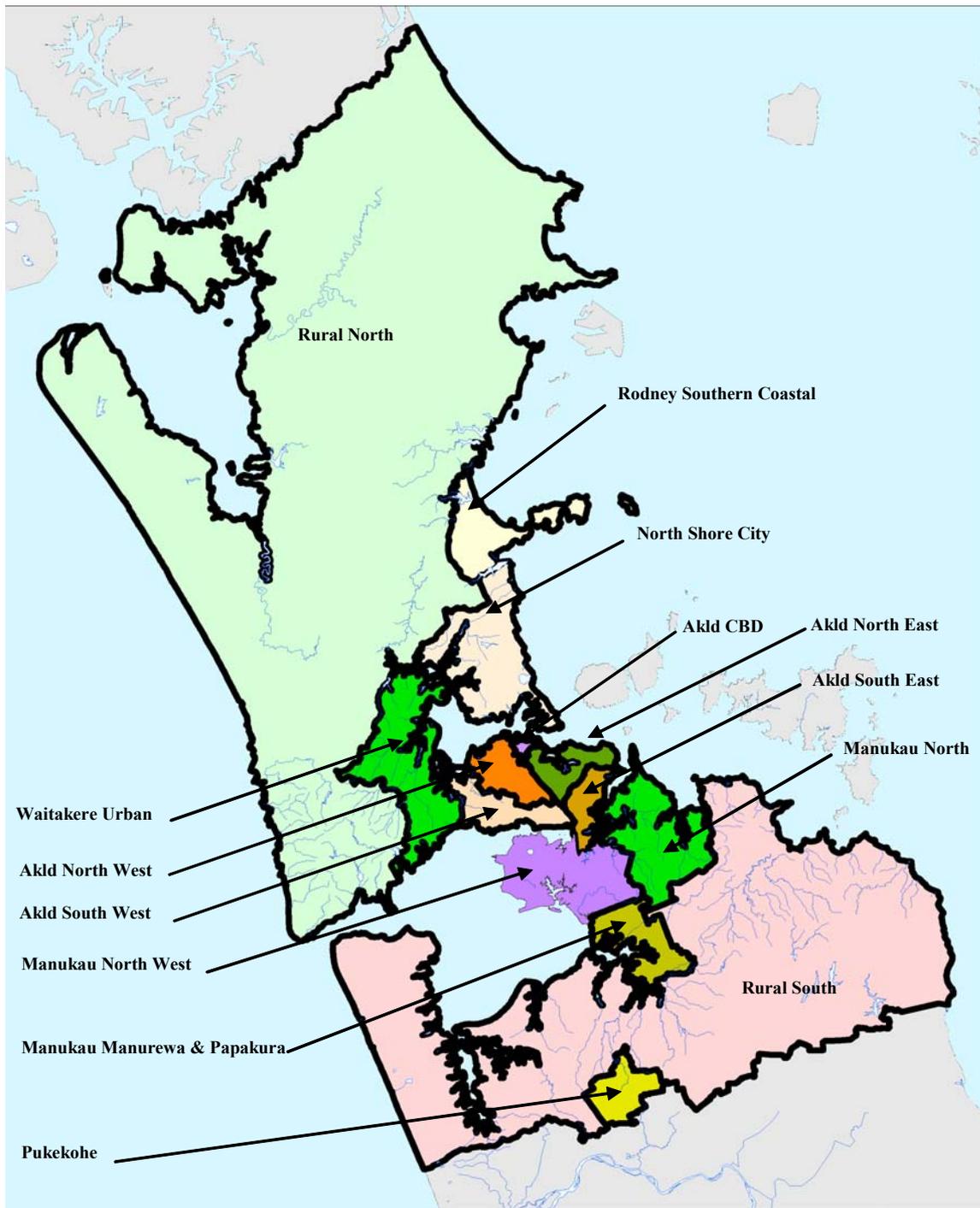


Table A.1: Auckland Younger Recent Movers' Search Locations in Relation to Their Current Dwelling for Previous Dwelling and Current Dwelling (Auckland Recent Mover Survey)

Current HMA	Locations Considered by the Households													
	Auck North East	Auck North West	Auck South East	Auck South West	Auck CBD	Man North	Man North West	Man & Papakura	North Shore	Pukekohe	Rodney Southern Coastal	Rural North	Rural South	Waitakere
All Tenure Groups														
Auckland North East	58%	20%	-	6%	38%	-	-	-	2%	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland North West	18%	49%	12%	16%	38%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%
Auckland South East	6%	1%	53%	4%	-	-	-	-	1%	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland South West	7%	15%	6%	52%	-	-	15%	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%
CBD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manukau North	5%	2%	18%	6%	13%	83%	-	-	1%	-	-	-	-	-
Manukau North West	1%	1%	6%	2%	-	3%	46%	4%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manurewa & Papakura	-	-	-	-	-	11%	23%	89%	-	100%	-	-	50%	1%
North Shore	4%	4%	-	2%	-	-	-	4%	91%	-	-	5%	-	1%
Pukekohe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rodney Southern Coastal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3%	-	95%	9%	-	-
Rural North	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%	-	5%	77%	-	5%
Rural South	1%	1%	-	-	-	3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	50%	-
Waitakere	-	7%	6%	12%	13%	-	15%	-	2%	-	-	9%	-	89%

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