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**BEYOND THE CITY:  
GENTRIFICATION AND EXCLUSION ON THE COASTAL  
MARGINS**

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**BEYOND THE CITY:****Gentrification and exclusion on the coastal margins**

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**ABSTRACT**

This paper presents a case for a geography of gentrification with a focus on coastal settlements in Aotearoa New Zealand. With a large proportion of the population living near the coast, the last 15 years has seen many coastal settlements experience unprecedented development and, outside of coastal urban areas, this rapid development has brought with it rising property prices and a changing demographic profile in terms of the mix of long-term permanent residents and an influx of temporary and absentee landowners.

In this paper, we argue for a new form of gentrification occurring in isolated coastal settlements, located beyond city commuter belts, and occurring within well-established coastal communities that have historical attachment to places. We present an exploratory approach and framework for measuring rates of gentrification across these settlements.

Findings from the research showed distinct patterns of gentrification, including complex spatial variation across settlements. Increases in household income, professionalisation, the number of tertiary-educated, renting and the number of empty dwellings, often corresponded with a decline in the resident Māori population (Māori are the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand) and lower levels of deprivation as measured by the New Zealand Deprivation Index.

Our mapping of coastal settlements reinforces a new and unique form of gentrification. It is one that occurs outside of major cities and towns and is markedly different to processes of coastal (sub)urbanisation found elsewhere in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is also distinct from the building of new wealth and resort enclaves in other postcolonial countries in the Global South. The critical analysis and measurement of gentrification in isolated coastal settlements is an area that would benefit from further research and connects with calls for new geographies of gentrification to widen the spatial lens of gentrification studies.

**KEYWORDS:** gentrification, coastal settlements, Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The elongated shape of Aotearoa New Zealand<sup>1</sup>'s two major islands gives the country a coastline in excess of 10,000 kilometres, a length that is significant in relation to its overall landmass. With a large proportion of the population living near the coast, the last 15 years has seen many coastal settlements experience unprecedented development as a discourse of coastal utopia is marketed to those looking to purchase holiday homes and wanting counter-cultural lifestyle experiences (Collins, 2013; Freeman and Cheyne, 2008; Peart, 2009). Outside of coastal urban areas, this rapid development has brought with it rising property prices and a changing demographic profile in terms of a mix of long-term, permanent residents and an influx of temporary and absentee landowners.

In this paper we argue that the coastal development phenomenon is driving a new form of gentrification. By adopting a post-colonial view of this phenomenon we present a form of gentrification that occurs in isolated coastal settlements located across and beyond city commuter belts, and characterised by forms of (often) radical change occurring within well-established coastal communities. For our study we focus on select coastal settlements within the Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions of Aotearoa New Zealand and present a typology of gentrification that is grounded through a number of case studies. Our specific aims are to:

- discuss emerging forms of gentrification and new approaches to measuring gentrification;
- discuss the differences between gentrification and urbanisation in the context of coastal development in Aotearoa New Zealand;
- to present a typology for measuring gentrification within coastal settlements;
- ground this typology through a number of vignettes or case studies that profile select coastal settlements; and
- discuss areas for future research.

## 2. NEW FORMS OF GENTRIFICATION

There is a recognised lack of consistency in terms of how gentrification and displacement are defined and conceptualised (for example, see Barton, 2016; Lees, 2012; Shaw (2008); Shaw & Hagemans (2015); Slater, 2011; Zuk, et al., 2015). According to Zuk et al. (2015: 34), this is based on:

1. inconsistent definitions and operationalization of the terms gentrification and displacement;
2. differences in the definitions of a comparison group and controls to calculate and compare displacement rates;
3. the time-scale of analysis that may not capture the full processes of neighborhood change; and
4. ambiguous criteria against which to determine the significance and meaning of research results.

Connected to the first point above, there have been calls to reappraise gentrification research and explore other geographies of gentrification (Phillips, 2004; Smith, 2002). Phillips argues that these new forms may not be full commensurable with traditional

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<sup>1</sup> Aotearoa (translated as 'land of the long white cloud') is one of the original names for New Zealand. We follow a common practice of using both names.

definitions of gentrification in urban areas, but that complementary accounts of them can be constructed, and that a key task may well be to tease out the differences which are embedded within, as well as between, particular spatial contexts.

We build on the work of Lees (2012) and Phillips (2004) to present a new form of gentrification taking place. While Lees' focus is on a comparative urbanism, she points to the need for the Global South to engage in a less Eurocentric, post-colonial view of gentrification where colonial legacies and neo-colonial realities are linked to the displacement of vulnerable populations. She also argues for a geography of gentrification where consideration must be given to both the spatial and temporal dimensions of gentrification.

Phillips (2004) presents a case for the gentrification research to move beyond a focus on the inner city and instead look more to geographies of gentrification that have some commensurability with rural as well as urban spatialities. Collins (2013) warns against this widening of the spatial lens in that it may lead to broad definitions of gentrification that undermine the usefulness and distinctiveness of the concept. However, it has also been argued that the broadening of the concept may not render it meaningless but rather that it properly refers to the conflating of contingent and necessary relations (Clark, 2005).

Our focus on the gentrification of select coastal settlements follows the work of Lees (2012) in taking the focus away from a Euro-American perspective of gentrification to look at understanding gentrification within coastal Aotearoa New Zealand as a form of neo-colonialism. And we build on Phillips' (2004) work by widening the spatial lens to provide a new geography of gentrification that extends beyond the city and the processes of urbanisation by looking at the development of coastal settlements as a unique form of gentrification.

## 2. MEASURING GENTRIFICATION

A diverse range of approaches to measuring gentrification have been employed. Most notably there is a dichotomy in the spatial scale of inquiry in relation to the measurement of gentrification. For example, Hammel and Wyly (1996: 248) maintain that "there is a substantial dichotomy between neighbourhood-based studies that provide little comparability between different settings, and extensive census-based analyses that lack any verification of results as scholars fail to integrate fieldwork with rigorous analysis of census data and may not be able to distinguish gentrification from other types of neighbourhood change". Hammel and Wyly (1996) recognise that it is rare for gentrification measurement models to use these two approaches to measurement and analysis together within a study. Despite the potential benefits of utilising these two approaches together, the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of each approach do not lend themselves to collaboration.

Studies that utilise census data to identify neighbourhood change via proxy measures of gentrification use measures such as rental inflation, tract-level income gains, or increases in professionalization or tertiary (college) educated populations. Freeman et al. (2005: 4) for example, note that the "early stages of gentrification are characterised by influxes of college-educated but relatively low paid professionals".

A central theme of inquiry within gentrification research and measurement is the displacement of incumbent residents as indicated by a declining of the working class population. For example, Atkinson (2000) uses longitudinal individual-level data to

examine the migration of gentrifiers into, and the displacees out of, gentrifying neighbourhoods. Vigdor et al. (2002) in analysing the American Housing Survey data to measure displacement from gentrifying zones, classified gentrified zones based on the relative increase in the college-educated share of the population. Freeman and Braconi (2004) classified gentrified areas based on their knowledge of local neighbourhood change and through supporting data documenting demographic and socioeconomic shifts consistent with gentrification. McKinnish et al. (2010) compared demographic shifts in low-income census tracts that experienced large increases in average family income to comparable tracts that did not experience such an increase. Despite gentrification-induced displacement being notoriously difficult to quantify, Davidson (2008), Lees (2008), Newman and Wyly (2006) and Slater (2011), maintain that exclusion of low-income households (caused by gentrification) is inequitable and deeply disruptive. Butler and Hamnett (2009) and Hammel and Wyly (1996) note that despite the depth of literature on the various social and economic changes that result from gentrification, there still remains disagreement on the nature and range of variables and thresholds that provide the most reliable indicators.

In using more detailed, disaggregated data to understand displacement in inner London, Atkinson (2000) combined cross-sectional and longitudinal census data, using increases in the number of professionals and managers as proxy measures of gentrification and decreases in the number of ‘vulnerable’ residents, such as residents that were of colour, working class, unskilled, renters and unemployed as measures of displacement. From his analysis, Atkinson established strong links between a rise in gentrification and displacement of vulnerable groups. Atkinson was one of the first to focus on specific vulnerable populations in his operationalized definition of displacement. Yet he cautioned that the study at the large ward and district scale with “noisy” data does little to provide a deeper understanding about the impacts of displacement, for which he suggests more qualitative research. Similarly, Slater (2011: 580) recognises that “the absence of qualitative accounts of displacement is striking and shocking when juxtaposed with quantitative measures, or with all those accounts of the trials and tribulations of the new middle class”.

Another key limitation Atkinson (2000) identifies in current approaches to measuring gentrification and displacement is confusion around suitable comparison groups or controls and whether displacement from poor gentrifying neighborhoods should be compared to non-gentrifying poor neighborhoods (e.g. Freeman, 2005 and Vigdor et al., 2002), or to city-wide averages or more stable neighborhoods in general (e.g. Newman and Wyly, 2006). As Zuk et al. (2015: 35) identify, these comparisons become critical as “they not only provide context against which to evaluate results, but also reveal belief systems about our normative understandings of how neighborhoods should function”.

### 3. COASTAL GENTRIFICATION AND AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Coastal gentrification has its own unique form given the discourse of coastal utopia that features in the construction and development of coasts in the West. For example, Marjavaara (2007a) presents an analysis of the unique nature of coastal gentrification with a focus on three island communities in the Stockholm archipelago. Marjavarr (2007: 27) argues that “local price inflation of dwellings, generated by external demand for second homes in the area is created as buyers and owners of second homes in attractive areas are often recruited from upper-class segments of society who have a higher socio economic status than the permanent residents”. In exploring coastal gentrification in Aotearoa New

Zealand, Freeman and Cheyne (2008) discuss how the development of coastal communities have increased the socio-economic disparity between the newcomers and the original community which has in turn seen the decline of the permanent population. Freeman and Cheyne introduce the reader to some of the economic and social drivers of coastal development in Aotearoa New Zealand and go on to link coastal development to the process of gentrification. Specifically, they state that “if we take the generally accepted definition of gentrification as ‘the production of space for, and consumption by, a more affluent and very different incoming population’, then the process of gentrification is alive and creating a new geographic landscape in New Zealand” (Freeman and Cheyne, 2008: 58). They go on to argue that gentrification and the sea change process partially explains the extent of this development but also note that there is a lack of attention towards indigenous communities in the wider planning literature in New Zealand.

Counter to this argument, Collins (2013) argues that new developments within coastal communities do not constitute gentrification but rather, are forms of sub-urbanisation because the original community only experiences secondary displacement through the construction of new building developments, attracting investors and pushing up the property prices, which local communities can then no longer afford. Collins (2013) suggests that residential development in coastal Aotearoa New Zealand may be better understood simply as characteristics of a buoyant real estate market and goes on to suggest that the central elements of gentrification are absent in the coastal countryside, such as restoration and reuse of the built environment. He notes that “a highly visible component of coastal development in New Zealand has been the demolition of modest baches<sup>2</sup> from previous eras, and their replacement with large modern homes, which does not follow the key tenet of gentrification of ‘doing up’ the traditional. As coastal land values soared, retaining of the traditional houses was seen as ‘untenable’ as the value of their ‘low key ambience’ was traded and upgraded for the cultural expectations of comfort, privacy and increased living space requirements” (Collins, 2013: 113-114). Although Freeman and Cheyne (2008) describe the investment and in-migration of the coast as gentrification, Collins (2013) asserts that this conflates gentrification with increasing prices and decreasing affordability. Furthermore, Collins (2013) posits that the detached housing, new building construction and Greenfield subdivision development in coastal areas is not accounted for within a framework of gentrification. This is because displacement requires the direct displacement of the incumbent working-class population. And whilst new building developments reduce housing affordability, Collins (2013) notes that socio-economic change may occur due to shifts in occupational structure or from the movement of relatively affluent households into new building stock.

Following Freeman and Cheyne (2008), we focus our analysis on coastal communities and settlements within Aotearoa New Zealand and expand on the understanding that the transformation of coastal New Zealand is directly connected to a process of gentrification. More than a form of urbanisation, the development process driving the marketing of desirable and exclusive coastal sections, coupled with local and central government planning that favours certainty and well-defined, contained coastal zones, have compounded effects for communities with traditional links to the coast. After Ryks (2014), we argue that the high value and demand placed on specific, accessible ‘cadastral’ parcels of private coastal property dictates that much of Aotearoa New Zealand’s coast is divided according to constructs of wealth and desirability. As a way of further understanding these constructs we explore the use of a typology of gentrification based on the analysis of

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<sup>2</sup> In Aotearoa New Zealand a bach is a small, very modest permanent home or holiday home.

census data and a number of recognised measures of gentrification, and attempt to ‘ground truth’ this analysis with some understanding of the spatial context within which gentrification is situated. In our analysis, and following Marjavaara (2007a), Marjavaara (2007b), Marjavaara & Muller (2007), Muller, & Hogendoorn (2013), Keen and Hall (2004) and Walters (2014), one of the key distinctions between urbanisation and gentrification in coastal settlements is the number of second or holiday homes. We measure this in the Aotearoa New Zealand context through the number of empty dwellings in those settlements.

## 4. METHODS

Previous studies have relied predominantly on qualitative approaches to understanding the economic and cultural impacts of the gentrification process occurring within coastal settlements in Aotearoa New Zealand. For this paper we present an exploratory approach and framework for measuring rates of gentrification by using national census data and GIS to map coastal settlements undergoing different stages of gentrification. The use of aggregate data to understand gentrification and displacement has been considered problematic due to a lack of closeness to the nature of these processes (Zuk et al., 2015), but through the novel development of a typology of gentrification we consider income, occupation, education, renting demand and second home ownership as measures for showing rates of gentrification in coastal settlements.

### 4.1 Developing a typology for measuring gentrification in coastal Aotearoa New Zealand

Models and frameworks for measuring gentrification have varied significantly according to the different ways gentrification has been defined and conceptualised. We concur with Zuk et al. (2015) in recognising that gentrification is multi-faceted and may usefully include multiple measures through a typology of gentrification. Our typology is based on a range of recognised proxy measures of gentrification that are based on the wider literature (as discussed in Section 2 of this paper) and matched with data from the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings over different census periods (typically between 2006 and 2013, but using 2001 data where further trend information was required). Table 1 outlines the variables used in the study and what each variable shows. Total population and ranges of empty dwelling counts were used as the primary basis for each level, and then the main variables used were increases in professionalisation, educational achievement, household income, the number of empty dwellings (as a proxy measure for the number of second/holiday homes), and renting.

**Table 1.** Variables used for measurement typology

Measure	Source	What does it show?
Total population counts	• Census	• Size and overall population profile of coastal settlements.
Total empty dwelling counts (dwellings found to be empty on Census)	• Census	• Higher counts of empty dwellings are an indicator of second homes / holiday homes found in coastal settlements.

night and assessed by the Census Field Officer to be not usually occupied)		
Increased rate of professionalisation	• Census	• Increase in managers and those in professional employment is used as an indicator of gentrification.
Increased rate of educational achievement	• Census	• Early signs of gentrification are typified by increases in tertiary educated residents.
Increased household income	• Census	• Increase in higher income earners over time is an indicator of later stage gentrification.
Increased rate of empty dwellings over time	• Census	• Increase in empty dwellings in coastal areas suggests wealthier absentee landowners buying second or holiday homes.
Increased renting	• Census	• Increase in higher numbers of people renting in coastal settlements with high empty dwelling counts suggests houses being less affordable as absentee landowners and new, wealthier migrants buy into communities.

#### *4.1.1 Units of analysis*

For the purpose of this study, we used the Statistics New Zealand Census Area Unit (CAU) population data from the 2001, 2006 and 2013 censuses. CAUs are the second smallest unit of dissemination of census data and are aggregations of meshblocks often defining urban neighbourhoods and suburbs. CAUs were considered the best unit for analysis for this study as meshblock data (the smallest unit of dissemination) would have produced counts too small for analysis and could have potentially compromised privacy. For each variable, differences in either total counts (e.g. total number of empty dwellings) or percentage changes between census periods (e.g. percentage increases in income levels) were considered. It should be noted that the data for the non-respondents (census respondents not responding a valid answer to the question(s) on the census form) are excluded from the analysis of census data used.

#### *4.1.2 Selection of regions and coastal settlements*

The focus of this study was on the Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions in Aotearoa New Zealand as we considered these two regions would capture a diverse range of coastal settlements and development. 323 CAUs are contained within these two regions (out of a total of 2020 CAUs for Aotearoa New Zealand nationally). These CAUs are located across rural, urban and coastal areas. As the focus for this study was on coastal settlements, ESRI's ArcMap 10 GIS software was used to further reduce the number of CAUs to those that were adjacent to the coast. Specifically, a spatial query was used to select all CAUs that were within two kilometres of the coast. This left a total number of 92 CAUs that would be matched to the gentrification typology described in section 4.1.

#### *4.1.3 Using a gentrification typology and GIS to map gentrification in the Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions of Aotearoa New Zealand*

GIS was used to geographically display the typology of gentrification across Waikato and Bay of Plenty coastal CAUs. Specifically, separate spatial queries were performed to select the attributes described in the right-hand column in Table 2. From this, four different map layers were combined to produce a four-zoned map of coastal gentrification based around the typology described earlier. CAUs were mapped for the Waikato and Bay of Plenty Regions that were considered to be displaying either: no defining characteristics of gentrification, some defining characteristics of gentrification, many defining characteristics of gentrification, or characteristics of a fully gentrified or planned, exclusive community. The intention with this approach was not to come up with a list of CAUs that neatly fitted into set categories, rather the aim was to use the typology and the GIS queries as an exploratory approach to see if the measures used, and the results recorded, reflected the realities within those coastal settlements.

**Table 2.** Queries used to map CAUs to gentrification typology

Gentrification query	Gentrification level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Total population is greater than 300 but does not meet any of the gentrification criteria below</li> </ul>	Displaying no defining characteristics of gentrification
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Total population is greater than 300</li> <li>Number of empty dwellings account for less than 15 per cent of total dwellings</li> <li>Increase in professionalisation (number of managers and professionals)</li> <li>Increase in the number of individuals with a higher tertiary education qualification (Bachelor's or higher)</li> <li>Increase in high income households (defined as households earning more than \$70,000)</li> </ul> <p>but does not fulfil the following measures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increase in empty dwellings</li> <li>Increase in renters</li> </ul>	Displaying some defining characteristics of gentrification
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Total population is greater than 300</li> <li>Number of empty dwellings accounts for over 15 per cent of total dwellings</li> <li>Increase in professionalisation (number of managers and professionals)</li> <li>Increase in the number of individuals with a tertiary education qualification</li> <li>Increase in high income households (defined as households earning more than \$70,000)</li> <li>Increase in empty dwellings</li> <li>Increase in renters</li> </ul>	Displaying many defining characteristics of gentrification

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total population is greater than 300</li> <li>• Number of empty dwellings accounts for over 25 per cent of total dwellings</li> <li>• New Zealand Deprivation index<sup>3</sup> level is four or less</li> <li>• Median Household Income is more than 45,000 p.a.</li> </ul>	Displaying characteristics of an already gentrified or planned community
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#### 4.2 Vignettes of select coastal communities within the region undergoing various stages of gentrification

Based on the results from the spatial analyses, three coastal settlements were selected and presented as separate vignettes. Existing literature about the history and development of these settlements, including previous research undertaken by Ryks (2014) was used as a basis for developing a narrative for each settlement. The purpose of these vignettes within our paper was to situate some of our findings within the wider context of coastal development and provide some ‘ground truthing’ of our measures in order to help distinguish gentrification from other types of neighbourhood change that could otherwise be occurring (after Hammel & Wly, 1996). The data and measures introduced previously within our typology were then highlighted and represented in a three separate radar graphs for each settlement.

### 5. RESULTS

#### 5.1 CAUs matching gentrification typology

Distinct differences and complex spatial variations were identified across regions and individual CAUs using the typology and GIS methods described above. Of the 92 coastal CAUs in the Waikato and Bay of Plenty region, 52 (57%) were recorded as displaying no defining characteristics of gentrification, 25 (27%) were recorded as displaying some defining characteristics of gentrification, eight CAUs (9%) were shown to be displaying many defining characteristics of gentrification, and two CAUs (2%) were recorded as displaying characteristics of a planned or gentrified community. Five CAUs (5%) featured less than 300 residents and were not considered for further analysis. Figure 1 maps each individual CAU according to the gentrification typology introduced earlier.

Only two CAUs (Pauanui and Ohope) displayed characteristics of a community or settlement that was already gentrified or planned, exclusive community. Pauanui is a planned community and this is evident in this level of our typology as it has not had the same increases in measures over time, rather, it has always featured as an exclusive wealth enclave since its design and inception. This was measured through its low socio-economic deprivation level and its extraordinary high levels of emptying dwellings (and therefore absentee landowners). 81 per cent of homes in Pauanui are empty, so its total population of 750 (as at the 2013 Census) reside in the remaining 19 per cent. While not part of our formal measurement framework, it is also interesting to note that Pauanui has a very low Māori population and one which is decreasing. In 2013, only 2 per cent of its total population was of Māori descent, down from 4 per cent in 2006 (overall Māori make up 15 per cent of Aotearoa New Zealand’s population). Pauanui also has a decreasing deprivation

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<sup>3</sup> The New Zealand Deprivation Index combines census data relating to income, home ownership, employment, qualifications, family structure, housing, access to transport and communications. The index provides a deprivation score for each CAU from 1 (least deprived) to 10 most deprived. Source: <http://www.health.govt.nz/publication/nzdep2013-index-deprivation>. Accessed 26 May 2016.

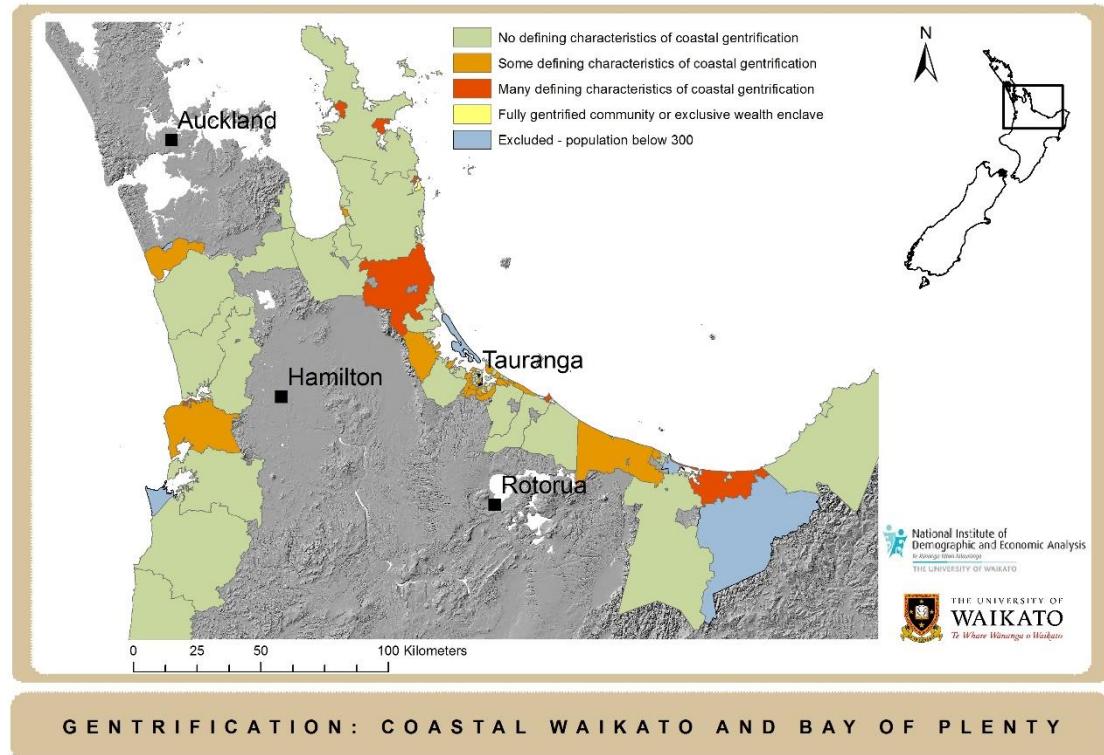
score (NZDep 2 in 2013, down from NZDep 4 in 2006). The realities of Pauanui as an exclusive community are discussed further in the next section of this paper.

Ohope (pop. 2844 at the 2013 Census), the other settlement that featured in this level of our typology, is an example of a settlement that is heavily gentrified. As an outlier to the larger town of Whakatane, it has a very high median income (\$69,000 at the 2013 Census), low and decreasing levels of socio-economic deprivation (NZDep 3 in 2013, down from NZDep 4 in 2006) and a growing number of empty dwellings (8.4% in 2001, 13.8% in 2006, 27% in 2013). See Appendix 1 for more trend data for Ohope.

Among the settlements showing many defining characteristics of gentrification, the settlements of Raglan (pop. 2736), Whitianga (pop. 4368), Tairua (pop. 1227) and Coromandel (pop. 1503) are of particular interest as they meet all the criteria introduced earlier but are not directly attached to the growth and urbanisation of larger urban centres. All are located 40 kilometres or more from the major urban centres of Auckland, Hamilton and Tauranga and each of these settlements have a significant pre and post-colonial history and former reliance on primary industry, but have developed into holiday destinations that increasingly rely on domestic and international tourism. Raglan and Whitianga are two settlements within this category that are discussed in more detail in the next section of this paper. All CAUs in this category had increases in numbers of professionals recorded as living there, increases in numbers of residents that have higher levels of tertiary education, higher income levels, increased renting activity and increasing numbers of second/holiday homes. Other CAUs recorded as showing high levels of gentrification, appeared to be connected to areas of peri-urban growth or in rural lifestyle areas (see Appendix 1 for trend level data).

CAUs that had some defining characteristics of gentrification were spread across urban (specifically Tauranga) and rural coastal areas. These areas featured general increases in rates of professionalisation and educational achievement, but did not have accompanying rates of increased renting activity, or higher rates of empty dwellings. CAUs that featured as having no defining characteristics of gentrification were typically larger in geographical size and with settlements that were more isolated and less heavily populated. For both these two categories of our typology it harder to separate processes of urbanization, and rural growth or development from gentrification as there is no consistent trend data across key measures, such as the number of empty dwellings recorded. Few are considered or recognised as coastal holiday destinations.

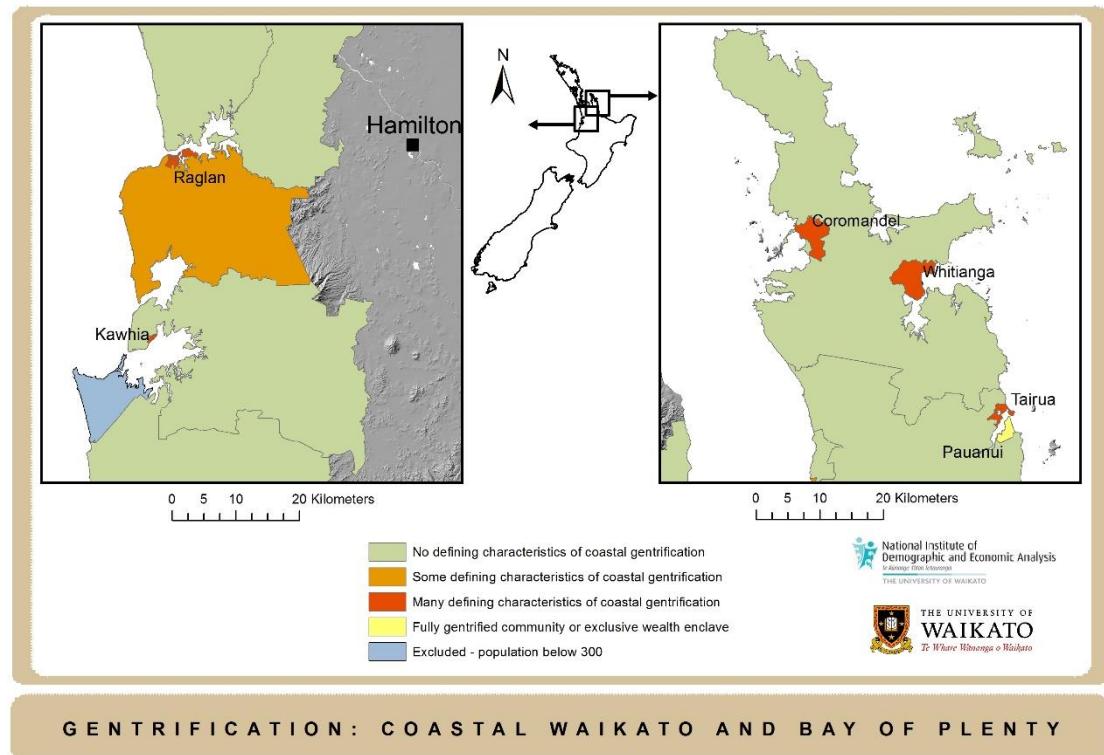
**Figure 1.** CAUs and settlements mapped to the gentrification typology



## 5.2 Case studies

The typology and analyses presented in this paper are exploratory. Further, as stated in Section 2, there is often a dichotomy between neighbourhood-based studies that provide little comparability between different settings, and extensive census-based analyses that lack any verification of results. While it is beyond the scope of this study to verify our results through extensive qualitative research, through the following vignettes we ground our census-based analyses by providing three separate vignettes of the settlements of Raglan, Whitianga and Pauanui (see Figure 2 for location) to fully understand the context within which gentrification may be taking place.

**Figure 2.** Location of select coastal settlements



### 5.2.1 Vignette 1: Raglan

Raglan (Māori name Whaingaroa, meaning ‘the long pursuit’)<sup>4</sup> is located on the west coast of Aotearoa New Zealand’s North Island and 45 kilometres from the nearest major city, Hamilton. Raglan was first settled by Māori who arrived on the migratory canoe, Tainui. Europeans settled in 1835 who then began the large scale conversion of land for agricultural purposes in the mid-1850s. A large part of land owned by Māori in Raglan was confiscated by the Crown during the Second World War for use as an airfield. After it was no longer required, the land was sold to private landowners with some of the land becoming a golf course. Local Māori had to fight for some 30 years before it was returned (Photo 1).

Raglan is now supported by a commercial fishing industry, farming, and a growing tourism industry, in part driven by its status as an internationally recognized surfing destination. From its early Māori and European origins, its reliance on primary industry and its relative isolation from a major urban centre, Raglan has over the last 15 years been caught in the wave of coastal development described earlier. Its socio-economic status is also changing (NZDep 9 in 2006 to NZDep 8 in 2013). While Raglan has always had a mix of permanent and temporary residents, its status as a sleepy coastal town is rapidly changing. Traditional baches and homes (Photo 2) are being replaced by multi-million dollar coastal properties (Photo 3). Raglan now features new subdivisions and a planned development of some 500 homes (on Raglan’s Rangitahi peninsula) that will transform the settlement. Figure 3 shows the specific measures for Raglan and its basis as featuring on our typology as experiencing high levels of gentrification.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/waikato-places/page-6>. Accessed 26 May 2016.

**Photo 1:** Protest over land confiscation in Raglan (1970s)



Source: <http://Māorihikoi.weebly.com/raglan-occupation.html>. Accessed: 25 May 2016.

**Photo 2:** A traditional Raglan bach now converted into a holiday home



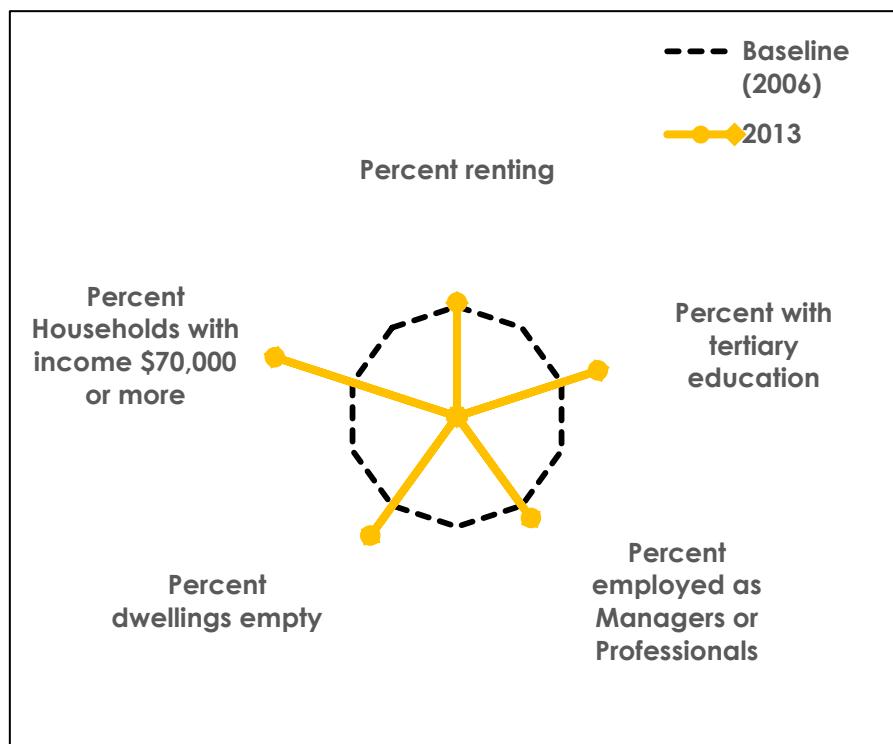
Source: <http://homes.mitula.co.nz/homes/cottage-raglan>. Accessed 25 May 2016.

**Photo 3:** Exclusive multi-million dollar coastal property in Raglan



Source: Photo by Author.

**Figure 3.** Raglan's measures of gentrification



#### 5.2.2 Vignette 2: Whitianga

Whitianga (Photo 4), located on the Coromandel Peninsula, has a long Māori and European history. Considered to be one of the first landing places of the legendary Kupe (c950AD), the township's unabbreviated name is Te Whitianga-a-Kupe (meaning Kupe's crossing) and is one of a few townships to commemorate Kupe's name (Bithell, 1980).

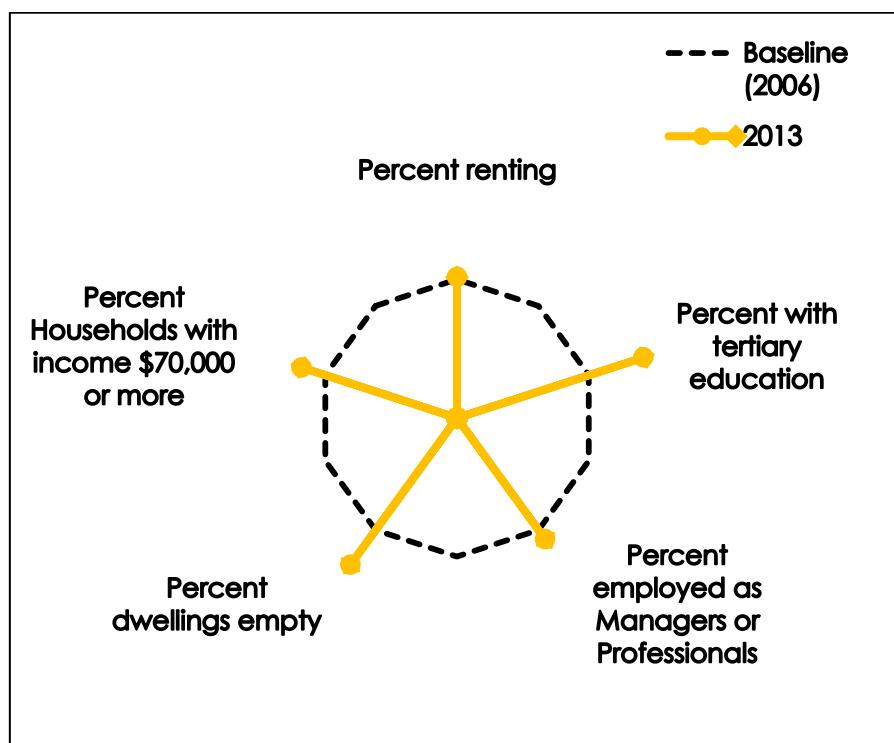
The arrival of the first Europeans at the turn of the nineteenth century saw the development of Whitianga as a port community, with ties to other related industries such as boat building, kauri milling and gold mining. In more recent times, Whitianga has had to depend on fishing, farming and tourism for its prosperity. Whitianga's role as a tourist destination has brought about a new wave of development that has reset the boundaries of the township and has seen its population grow to 4368 permanent residents (2013 Census). New coastal subdivision development projects such as the widely publicised 'Whitianga Waterways' have brought resort style living on a scale that few of Whitianga's traditional working and middle class residents can even contemplate, let alone afford. As Ryks (2014) writes, Whitianga is a community that is transitional in the sense that it has a mix of permanent residents from more traditional backgrounds while also having a number of absentee landowners with holiday homes and investment property. Figure 4 shows the specific measures for Whitianga and its basis as featuring on our typology as experiencing high levels of gentrification.

**Photo 4:** Whitianga



Source: <http://whitianga.harcourts.co.nz/>. Accessed 25 May 2016.

**Figure 4.** Whitianga's measures of gentrification



### 5.2.3 Vignette 3: Pauanui

Pauanui (Photo 5) is a planned resort of some 2000 land parcels. Located 150 kilometres from Auckland (Aotearoa New Zealand's largest city), it has grown in size and status to

become one of the country's most 'exclusive' coastal retreats. Since planned construction began on undeveloped farmland in 1967, Pauanui's summer holiday population frequently reaches between 15,000-20,000 people, although this figure shrinks to just 750 permanent residents over the rest of the year.

Originally made distinctive by its crimson-coloured streets and private airfield, Pauanui is now considered voguish by some for its 250-lot canal housing concept, dubbed 'Pauanui Waterways'. This latest addition to the resort provides the means for owners to "moor a substantial vessel against their own private jetty at the foot of the garden, or launch and retrieve a trailer boat from the garage"<sup>5</sup>. The central concept of Pauanui Waterways is that purchasers can acquire "ownership of private property rights to the water's edge, clean, clear water for swimming, and ready access to nearby islands and fishing grounds". Although in principle, private ownership of Aotearoa New Zealand's coast is at odds with the Resource Management Act's (the main legislation for governing Aotearoa New Zealand's natural resources) tenet of providing public access to the coast, the development of Pauanui's canal housing has been such that local authorities have amended a local District Plan to cater to the demands of developers. This has ultimately resulted in a restriction on public access to coastal frontages.

With the purchase of property (without dwelling) in many cases extending beyond \$1,500,000 (New Zealand Dollars), Pauanui has established a reputation as one Aotearoa New Zealand's most expensive coastal resorts. Although wealth enclaves such as Pauanui may be more commonplace overseas, in Aotearoa New Zealand it is unusual to have a planned development on this scale.

**Photo 5.** Coastal property in Pauanui



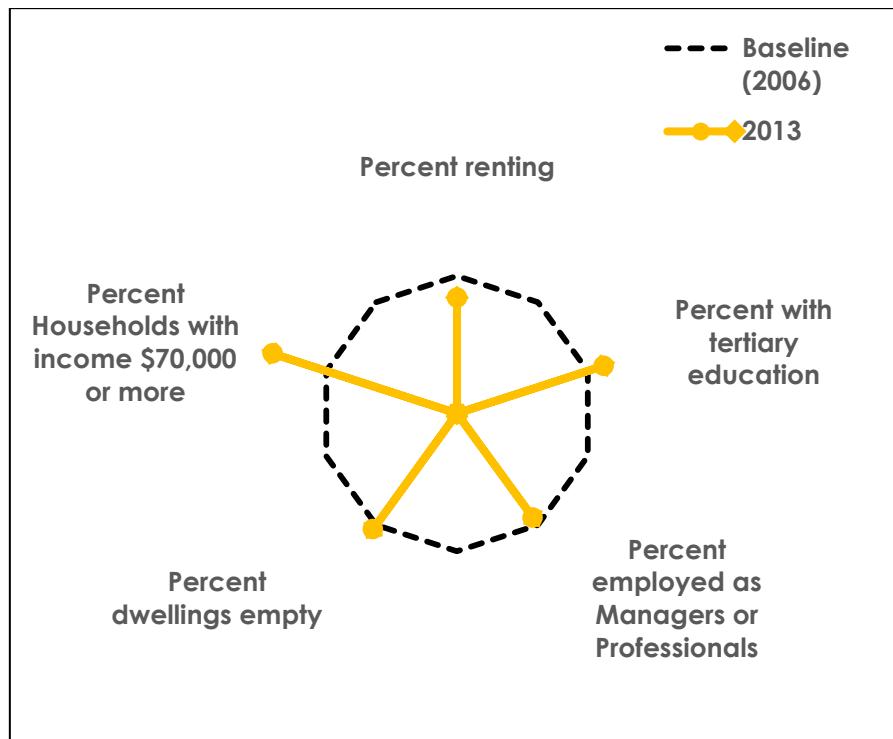
**Source:** <http://www.pauanuiwaterways.co.nz/>. Accessed 25 May 2016.

The construction of the formal spaces of Pauanui and the developing Pauanui Waterways can be traced to the masterminding of a single developer who wanted to create an 'exclusive' coastal community. This masterminding has resulted in a community that is characterised by its well-defined canals, housing styles, recreational facilities and lifestyle accessories. Figure 5 shows the specific measures for Pauanui and its basis as featuring on our typology as displaying characteristics of a planned and exclusive community. As Ryks (2014) has previously discussed, Pauanui can be considered an example of Foucault's

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.pauanuiwaterways.co.nz/pauanui-waterways/>. Accessed 26 May 2016.

utopia in that it is a community that has a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. It seeks to present society itself in a perfect form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case it is a utopia that is fundamentally an unreal space.

**Figure 5.** Pauanui's measures of gentrification



## 6. CONCLUSION

Our mapping of coastal settlements reveals a new and unique form of gentrification. One that occurs outside of Aotearoa New Zealand's main cities and within more isolated coastal settlements, and is characterised by changes in income, profession, education, renting activity and absentee landownership. This form is quite different to processes of coastal (sub)urbanisation found elsewhere in Aotearoa New Zealand and distinct from the building of new wealth and resort enclaves in other postcolonial countries in the Global South. Australia's sea change phenomenon for example, can be viewed as a form of gentrification predicated on large-scale population movement from metropolitan to coastal areas, driven by a desire for lifestyle change. In Aotearoa New Zealand there is a more distinct process of gentrification at work. The examples from coastal settlements presented in this paper are more subtle, typified less by population increase and more by complex socio-economic change within populations.

The critical analysis and measurement of gentrification in isolated coastal settlements presented here is an exploratory approach and connects with Phillips' call for new geographies of gentrification to widen the spatial lens of gentrification studies. While our measures of gentrification are original and tell a unique story about the socio-economic impacts of the coastal development phenomenon in Aotearoa New Zealand, future work is needed to refine our measurement approach and typology to also incorporate multiple

measures of displacement that can track the migration of displaces over time and the nature of their exclusion.

Future work in measuring gentrification and displacement has the potential to inform local and central government planning and decision-making for these settlements, rather than these settlements being left to the vagaries of development and market trends. Planners have yet to recognise or engage with gentrification occurring within coastal settlements, but rather assume development without cognisance of any negative cultural or social impacts. Yet, as our study has shown, these impacts play a major role in the future of coastal communities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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**Appendix 1.** Trend data for CAUs that match levels three and four of gentrification typology (many levels of gentrification and already gentrified)

	Unoccupied Dwellings (%)			Residents that are renters (%)			Residents working as Managers & Professionals (%)			Residents with a Tertiary Education (%)			Combined household Income \$70,000 or more		
	2001	2006	2013	2001	2006	2013	2001	2006	2013	2001	2006	2013	2001	2006	2013
CAU															
Coromandel	11.2	16.7	21.8	32.0	31.1	34.8	25.6	38.1	40.4	7.8	8.4	10.1	7.9	14.2	23.4
Kawhia Community	44.8	18.3	57.9	33.9	32.7	36.4	27.3	34.9	36.8	4.3	6.7	6.8	8.2	11.4	21.6
Maketu Community	14.0	11.4	24.7	32.7	35.9	37.2	18.2	29.9	32.5	2.6	6.4	10.0	8.5	19.4	28.6
Ohinemuri	21.9	25.2	27.7	21.8	26.6	29.4	18.2	45.7	46.5	5.3	8.1	9.2	18.6	24.9	34.7
Ohope	8.4	13.8	27.0	34.7	31.5	33.0	40.9	50.1	53.6	16.0	19.4	26.8	29.7	40.4	49.4
Pauanui Beach	77.3	78.3	81.5	20.2	21.7	18.3	25.7	36.4	34.0	7.1	9.0	10.1	5.7	22.3	31.5
Raglan	11.4	17.0	22.9	34.2	41.4	42.8	28.8	40.7	46.5	9.6	17.3	23.3	9.0	18.9	32.9
Tairua	20.9	54.9	56.2	24.5	29.5	30.1	25.8	35.1	35.5	4.5	9.2	11.5	6.7	17.0	23.0
Waiotahi	5.9	13.9	16.3	28.8	33.0	35.5	21.5	45.3	46.4	6.1	8.6	11.2	21.3	27.2	35.7
Whitianga	36.0	28.1	36.8	33.4	36.6	37.2	25.5	30.3	32.7	4.1	6.9	9.7	7.6	21.3	25.1

No clear trend indicated  
Trend indicated across three census periods