



**Downtown Dwellers 2005:  
New Zealand's CBD Residents**

**Statistics New Zealand**

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## Preface

New Zealand is traditionally a country of suburban dwellers. However, over recent years, inner city apartment living has emerged as an increasingly appealing lifestyle option for many New Zealanders.

The aim of this report is to provide an understanding of the inner city apartment dweller. The content has emerged from discussion with city councils, developers, academics and researchers who have an interest in New Zealand's changing housing preferences.

This is the first larger-scale report that uses official statistics to examine the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the people who live in inner city apartments. The report also examines the differences that exist between inner city apartment dwellers and people living in similar dwelling types but in non-inner city areas. Particular aspects of the apartments themselves are also investigated.

With its many employment and entertainment options, young people especially are starting to see the inner city as an interesting alternative to life in the suburbs. Twenty-five percent of inner city apartment dwellers are aged between 20 and 24 years, whereas this age group makes up only six percent of New Zealanders living in all dwelling types. The central city locations of many large tertiary institutions, and the large proportion of inner city apartments available for rent, make them a practical option for New Zealand and overseas-born students alike. In general, inner city apartments are smaller than the dwellings found in non-inner city areas. However, the growing tendency for people to delay or forgo childrearing and marriage means inner city apartments are often an appropriate size for smaller households.

The 2001 Census is the main source of data for this report. Certain sections also draw from the 1991 Census to show how particular characteristics of inner city apartment dwellers have changed over time.



Brian Pink

**Government Statistician**

## Summary

- Between 1991 and 2001, the number of people living in inner city multi-unit dwellings grew from 2,532 to 8,607, an increase of 240 percent. The number of Aucklanders living in inner city multi-unit dwellings more than quadrupled, while Wellington's inner city multi-unit dwelling population more than tripled. Christchurch experienced a 23 percent increase.
- Thirty-two percent of multi-unit dwellers living in inner city Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch in 2001 had moved there from New Zealand's smaller cities or non-urban areas sometime during the previous five years, while 28 percent had previously been living in the non-inner city areas of one of those cities.
- The inner city multi-unit dwelling population has a young age structure. The median age of multi-unit dwellers living in the inner city was 28, compared with 33 for people living in a similar dwelling type in the non-inner city areas.
- In 2001, 65 percent of inner city multi-unit dwellers had never been married.
- Inner city multi-unit dwellers are unlikely to live in households which include children.
- Forty-nine percent of inner city multi-unit dwellers lived in non-family households – 29 percent lived in flatting situations, and 20 percent lived alone.
- Approximately half of inner city multi-unit dwellers live in family arrangements. In 2001, 49 percent of inner city multi-unit dwellers lived in a household with just one family nucleus. Within this group, couple only households were the most common.
- In 2001, inner city multi-unit dwellers were less likely than the total New Zealand population to be of European or Māori ethnicity, and more likely to identify with Asian ethnic groups.
- Inner city multi-unit dwellers are more highly educated than those living in a similar dwelling type in non-inner city areas, and the New Zealand population in general.
- At the time of the 2001 Census, 15 percent of inner city multi-unit dwellers were enrolled in full-time study.
- Relatively high proportions of multi-unit dwellers living in the inner city are employed in industries that tend to be located in central city areas.
- Multi-unit dwellers living in inner city areas in 2001 were more likely than those living in a similar dwelling type in non-inner city areas to have white-collar jobs.
- Almost half (47 percent) of inner city multi-unit dwellers who were employed walked to work on census day in 2001.

- Seventeen percent of employed inner city dwellers worked 50-59 hours per week. An additional 12 percent worked 60 hours or more per week.
- In 2001, the median income of inner city multi-unit dwellers was \$27,500, considerably higher than the figure for those living in a similar dwelling type outside the inner city (\$19,800). Both groups were most likely to receive income from wages and salaries.
- Seventy-one percent of multi-unit dwellers living in the inner city rented their dwelling.
- In the ten years following the 1991 Census, there was a trend towards smaller dwellings in the inner city. While the proportion of dwellings with two or three bedrooms changed very little, the proportion with four bedrooms decreased from 8 percent to 3 percent, while the number of one-bedroom dwellings increased from 29 percent to 39 percent.
- Inner city multi-unit dwellers were more likely than those living in a similar dwelling type outside the inner city to live in a household that did not have access to a motor vehicle.

## *Chapter 1*

### **Introduction**

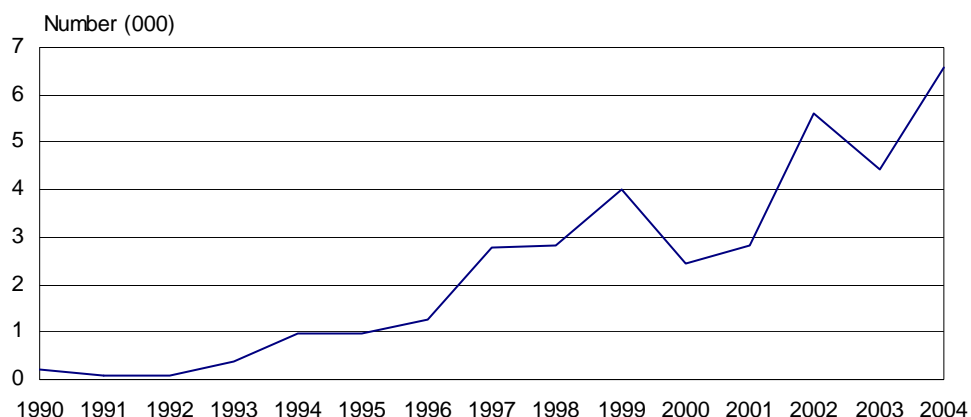
A rise in the popularity of inner city apartment living marks an important shift in New Zealanders' traditional housing preferences. Young people especially are deciding not to live in the large, stand-alone suburban houses so coveted by earlier generations. Attracted by the increased entertainment options, social facilities, and employment and education opportunities (Quality of Life Project Team, 2003), people are starting to make the move from the suburbs and other areas of the country, to the heart of New Zealand's largest cities. Many of these people are also part of the growing social trend to delay or forgo marriage and childrearing, so inner city apartments are often the ideal size to accommodate their smaller households.

The increase in the demand for inner city apartments is not the result of changing lifestyle preferences alone. Employment factors have also played a role. The economic reforms of the 1980s marked the start of a period of growth for industries that are commonly located in the Central Business Districts (CBDs). This growth came at the expense of industries like manufacturing, that are usually located in the outer suburbs. The number of employment opportunities in the finance and insurance, and property and business services industries increased, as did the demand for inner city housing. Economic factors have also had an effect. For example, events such as the 1987 stockmarket crash left many central city office buildings empty, forcing developers to look for alternative uses for their properties (such as turning them into apartments). It wasn't until the empty office buildings had all either been transformed into apartments, or had been reoccupied by businesses, that purpose-built apartment complexes were constructed (McMurray, 1996). In more recent times, immigration from countries where inner city apartment living is already an established practice has created further demand for this type of dwelling in New Zealand (Holden, 2004).

Additional factors, such as construction costs, have made apartments an attractive option for developers. Between 1990 and 2003, the average cost of constructing an apartment increased by 72 percent, while the average cost of constructing a stand-alone house increased by 99 percent (DTZ New Zealand, 2004). During the same period of time, the number of building consents issued for new apartments increased from just 196 in 1990, to 6,586 in 2004, as shown by Figure 1.

Figure 1

### Number of Building Consents for New Apartments



Source Statistics New Zealand, Building Consents Issued, 1990–2004.

In the 10 years between 1991 and 2001, the number of people living in inner city apartments went from 2,532 to 8,607, an increase of 240 percent. The number of Aucklanders living in inner city apartments more than quadrupled, from 1,197 to 5,283. Wellington's inner city apartment dwelling population more than tripled, from 753 to 2,607. Further south, Christchurch experienced a 23 percent increase in the number of inner city apartment dwellers, from 582 to 717. These increases are greater than the growth rates for the total populations of these cities.

While the move to inner city apartment living has emerged as a definite growing trend, there has been little research into the characteristics of those people making the move, or about the dwellings themselves. There have been several small regional studies, and much anecdotal evidence has been reported, but no large-scale study has been done to try and answer these questions. In addition, more recent data than that used in previous investigations is now available.

This report uses data from the 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings to try and build a picture of the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the people that live in inner city apartments. In selected sections, it also uses data from the 1991 Census of Population and Dwellings (which was held just before the reported trend started to gather momentum) to see how those characteristics have changed over time. Certain characteristics of the dwellings themselves are also analysed, to try and build a basic description of what these apartments are like.

There are some limitations to this report. Statistics New Zealand does not have a specific definition for the term 'apartment', which can mean different things to different people. The building consents figures mentioned earlier in this section consider apartments to be dwellings that include 10 or more residential units, while the census does not collect

information about apartments per se. Instead, the 1991 and 2001 Censuses collected information on people living in dwellings that were physically attached to at least one other residential dwelling. Therefore, this report focuses on people living in these 'multi-unit dwellings'. All the dwelling types included in this term, such as conjoined townhouses, flats and units, could potentially be considered apartments. Dwelling types which are not joined - such as standalone houses - are excluded from the analysis. (For a more detailed description of the term 'multi-unit dwellings', which is based on the Dwelling Type - Standard Classification 1999, see Appendix A.)

A further limitation is that the census does not collect information about people's motivations for living in the inner city, their satisfaction with their dwelling, or their intention to remain living there for any period of time.

There are two groups included in the analysis: 'Inner city multi-unit dwellers' are those living in multi-unit dwellings in the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch CBDs. (For descriptions of the three CBDs considered in this report, see Appendix B.) For context, these inner city dwellers are compared with 'non-inner city multi-unit dwellers', who are those living in multi-unit dwellings in the Auckland, Wellington or Christchurch cities, but outside the CBD areas. By comparing inner city and non-inner city multi-unit dwellers, the report will examine the differences between these two groups of people who live in a similar dwelling type, but in different sections of the city.

## *Chapter 2*

### **Migration**

While the inner city multi-unit dwelling population is increasing, simply looking at the number of people living in this dwelling type does not provide any information about where they are migrating from; whether it is from suburban or rural areas for example, or if they have already been living in the inner city for an extended period of time. The 2001 Census questionnaire asked respondents where they lived in 1996. Examining the responses of those living in inner city multi-unit dwellings in 2001 will show where those people are migrating from, and therefore suggest how their preferences for housing location may have changed.

Twenty-eight percent of those living in inner city multi-unit dwellings in 2001 had previously been living in the non-inner city areas of Auckland, Wellington or Christchurch, suggesting that there is a definite drift from the suburbs to the inner city.

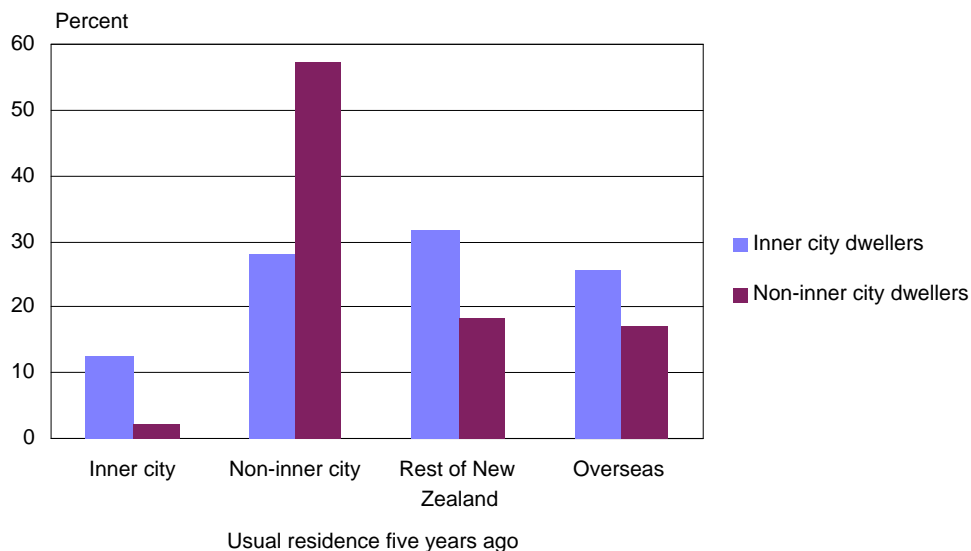
However, the 'suburb to inner city' drift does not explain how all of those living in inner city multi-unit dwellings in 2001 came to be there. They were most likely to have been living in one of New Zealand's smaller cities or non-urban areas in 1996 (32 percent), while an additional 13 percent were already living in the inner city areas of either Auckland, Wellington or Christchurch. This is shown by Figure 2.

Figure 2 also shows that it was very unusual for the 'suburb to inner city' drift to be reversed, with only 2 percent of those living in non-inner city multi-unit dwellings in 2001 having moved there from an inner city area sometime during the preceding five years.

Figure 2

### Multi-unit Dwellers by Usual Residence Five Years Ago

2001



**Note:** Those living in multi-unit dwellings in 2001 who were not born in 1996 have been excluded from this graph, so percentages will add to less than 100.

The 'suburb to inner city' drift was strongest in Christchurch. Thirty-eight percent of those living in multi-unit dwellings in inner city Christchurch in 2001 had moved there from the surrounding suburbs sometime during the preceding five years. In comparison, 29 percent of those living in inner city Wellington, and 20 percent of those living in inner city Auckland in 2001 had been living in the suburbs of those respective cities in 1996. It was unusual for people to move from the suburbs of one city to the inner city area of another.

Those living in inner city multi-unit dwellings in Auckland and Wellington in 2001 were most likely to have been living in one of New Zealand's smaller cities or rural areas in 1996 (31 and 34 percent, respectively, compared with 24 percent of those living in inner city Christchurch).

Christchurch's inner city multi-unit dwelling population was the most stable. Eighteen percent of those living in multi-unit dwellings in inner city Christchurch in 2001 lived in that same area in 1996 (although not necessarily in the same dwelling). Auckland's inner city population was the least stable; only 11 percent of those living in inner city Auckland in 2001 had also lived in that area in 1996. The corresponding figure for Wellington was 13 percent.

Over half (57 percent) of those living in non-inner city multi-unit dwellings in 2001 had also been living in non-inner city areas in 1996. This was the case for over two-thirds of Christchurch's non-inner city dwellers, with 68 percent of those living in suburban Christchurch in 2001 having lived in suburban Christchurch in 1996 as well. In comparison, 49

percent of those living in non-inner city Wellington, and 50 percent of those living in non-inner city Auckland had been living in the suburban areas of those respective cities in 1996.

As shown by Figure 2, a quarter of those living in inner city areas in 2001 had been living overseas in 1996. A small subset of this group (14 percent) were originally born in New Zealand and were returning from overseas where they may have lived a more urban lifestyle, and therefore been attracted to inner city living on their return to New Zealand (Holden, 2004).

Inner city multi-unit dwellers living in Auckland in 2001 were twice as likely as those living in Wellington and Christchurch to have been living overseas in 1996 (32, 15 and 16 percent, respectively).

For the purposes of this report, those who were born overseas and had been living in New Zealand for less than five years at the time of the 2001 Census are considered to be recent immigrants. Almost one fifth (18 percent) of those living in inner city multi-unit dwellings in 2001 were recent immigrants. In comparison, only 4 percent of the total New Zealand population were recent immigrants. Immigrants may be attracted to inner city living because they may come from countries where this type of living situation is already an established practice (Holden, 2004). Furthermore, many inner city dwellers who were recent immigrants were enrolled in study (22 percent were enrolled in full-time study, and a further 11 percent were enrolled in part-time study). Therefore, it may also be the central city locations of many educational institutions, and the greater availability of rental stock which makes inner city multi-unit dwellings a practical option for this group.

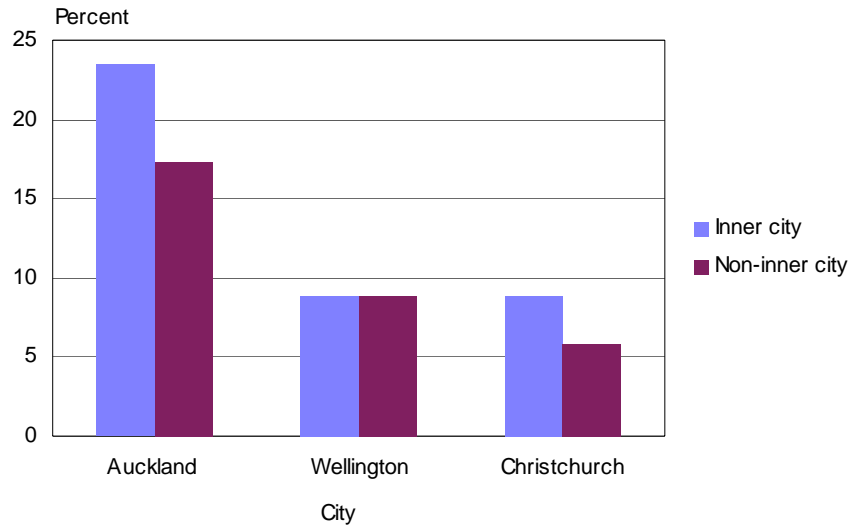
Those living in non-inner city areas were less likely to be recent immigrants (12 percent). This was the case for those living in Auckland and Christchurch. However, as Figure 3 shows, there was no difference between the figures for inner city and non-inner city Wellington.

Figure 3

**Proportion of Multi-unit Dwellers Who Were Recent Immigrants**

*By city*

2001



## Chapter 3

### Age and Sex

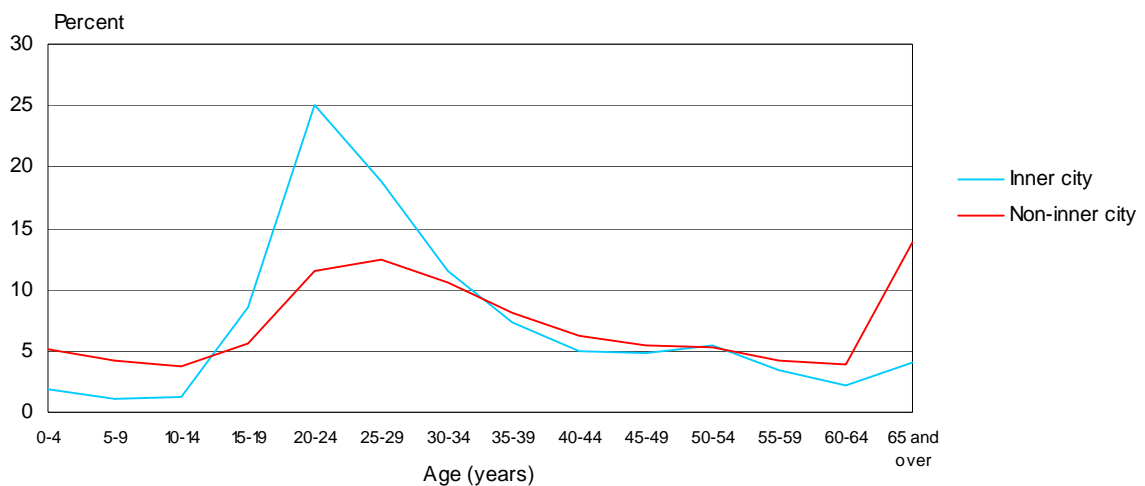
#### Age

The inner city multi-unit dwelling population has a young age structure. In 2001, one in four was aged between 20 and 24. This is the age group that is most commonly enrolled in tertiary study and therefore many may choose to live in the inner city to be close to tertiary institutions. As Figure 4 shows, a further 19 percent belonged to the 25–29 age group, and 12 percent belonged to the 30–34 age group. Inner city dwellers in these age groups have usually completed their studies, and may be attracted to inner city living by the many entertainment and employment opportunities located close by.

Figure 4

#### Age Distribution of Multi-unit Dwellers

2001



For the most part, the age distribution of inner city multi-unit dwellers living in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch all follow this general pattern. In 2001, there was only one major regional difference – 14 percent of those living in inner city Christchurch were aged 65 and over, a much larger proportion than for Auckland (3 percent) and Wellington (4 percent) suggesting Christchurch’s inner city housing is more affordable and more suitable for older people. In particular, Christchurch has a higher concentration of owner-occupied retirement complexes that are located in the inner city to be in close proximity to care facilities and related services<sup>1</sup>. The older age structure of the total Christchurch population will also be a contributing factor.

The age distribution of those living in inner city multi-unit dwellings changed very little in the 10 years following the 1991 Census. In 1991, inner city dwellers were most likely to be young;

<sup>1</sup> Robert Didham (demographic analyst, Statistics New Zealand), in discussion with the author, October 2005.

23 percent of inner city dwellers belonged to the 20–24 age group, and a further 15 percent were aged between 25 and 29. The only noteworthy difference between the 1991 and 2001 age distributions was that in 1991, 14 percent of inner city dwellers were over the age of 65, compared with just 4 percent of inner city dwellers in 2001. This doesn't necessarily mean older people have been put off inner city living, it may just be that younger people have started to move into these areas at a faster rate.

In 2001, the age distribution of non-inner city multi-unit dwellers was much flatter than that of their inner city counterparts. It had one peak in the 25–29 age group (12 percent), and another in the 65 and over age group (14 percent), as shown by Figure 4. The large increase for the 65 plus age group is partly due to the fact that this group covers a longer age span. However it may also be due to other factors, such as older people choosing to move into low maintenance conjoined flats and 'granny flats' attached to other houses which for the purposes of this report are considered multi-unit dwellings.

As was the case with the inner city dwellers, those living in non-inner city Christchurch were considerably more likely than those living in Auckland and Wellington to be over the age of 65 (22, 11 and 9 percent, respectively).

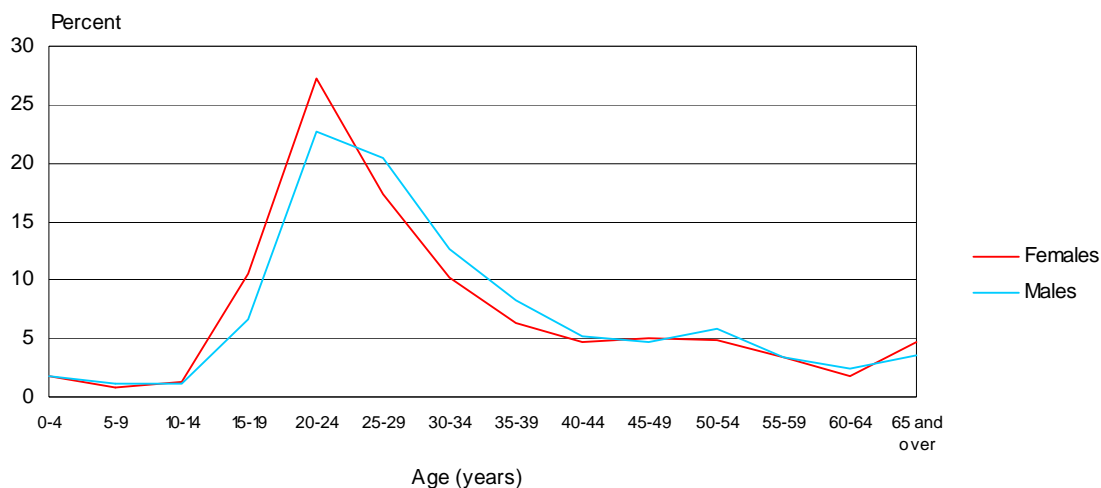
### Sex

In 1991, the inner city multi-unit dwelling population was fairly evenly split between males and females (51 and 49 percent, respectively). However, there were some imbalances in Auckland and Christchurch. Fifty-three percent of Christchurch's inner city dwellers were female, possibly due to inner city Christchurch's older age structure, and the fact that women currently live longer than men. In Auckland, the imbalance was reversed; 54 percent of inner city dwellers were male. This could have been due to the central city locations of traditionally male-dominated industries, such as manufacturing, and transport, storage and communication. In the years following the 1991 Census, these industries relocated outside the central city (Market Economics, 2003), and the inner city Auckland population developed a more even male to female ratio.

In 2001, the sex ratio of the inner city multi-unit dwelling population was the same as in 1991. As Figure 5 shows, the female inner city dwelling population has a slightly younger age distribution than the male population. Females are more likely than males to be aged between 15 and 24, possibly due to the fact that females are more likely to be enrolled in tertiary study and therefore may choose to live near inner city tertiary institutions. Males are more likely to be aged between 25 and 39.

Figure 5

### Age Distribution of Inner City Multi-unit Dwellers by Sex 2001



At the time of the 2001 Census, those living in multi-unit dwellings in the surrounding suburbs were more likely to be female than male (54 and 46 percent, respectively). This can be at least partly explained by looking at the family roles that people fill. For example, in 2001 sole parents and their children were more likely to live outside the inner city, and the vast majority (85 percent) of sole parents living outside the inner city were female. Another contributing factor could be age – the largest proportionate difference between the sexes can be found in the 65 plus age group, as women currently live longer than men.

The age distributions for male and female non-inner city multi-unit dwellers are very similar. Both peaked in the 25–29 age group: 13 percent of males and 12 percent of females were within these ages. There was only one major regional difference between the age distributions of males and females living in multi-unit dwellings outside the inner city. Over one in four (26 percent) females living in Christchurch belonged to the 65 years and over age group. This was much higher than the corresponding male figure (17 percent) and the figures for males and females living in Wellington and Auckland (all between 7 and 13 percent).

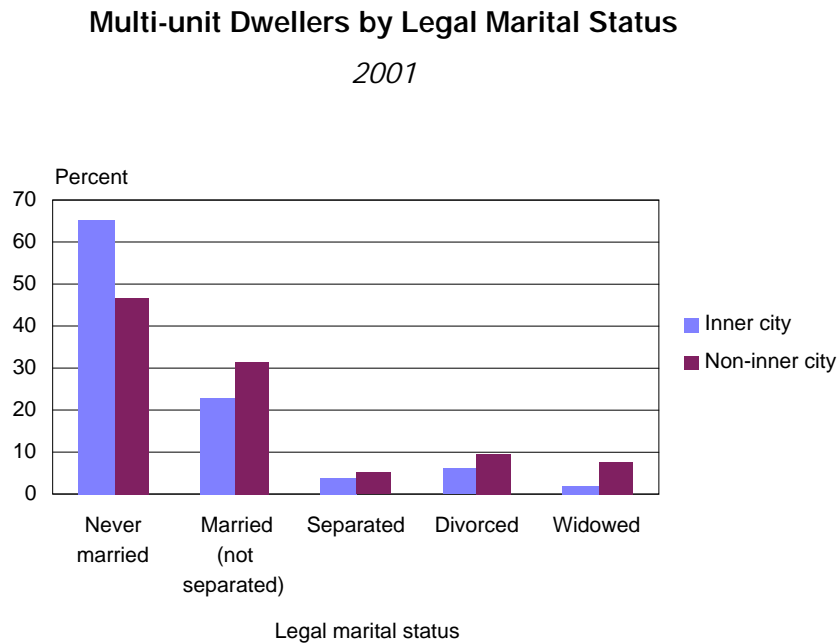
## Chapter 4

### Families and Households

#### Marital status

Inner city multi-unit dwellers tend to be single. As Figure 6 shows, those living in the inner city were considerably more likely than their non-inner city counterparts and New Zealanders in general to have never been married (65, 46 and 32 percent, respectively).

Figure 6



Furthermore, inner city dwellers are more likely not to be in a partnership of any kind – 47 percent had never been married and were not in a de facto relationship, compared with 34 percent of non-inner city dwellers.

Conversely, those living in non-inner city multi-unit dwellings are more likely to be separated, divorced or widowed. This can be attributed to their greater likelihood to marry in the first place by comparison with their inner city counterparts, as shown by Figure 6. The older age structure of non-inner city dwellers may also be a contributing factor. However, those non-inner city dwellers over the age of 50 are actually less likely than their inner city counterparts to be married. This may be a result of the growing trend for 'empty-nesters' (older married couples whose children have left home) to move into inner city apartments (Johnson, 2005). It could also be due to a higher proportion of the non-inner city dwelling population belonging to the older age groups and therefore widowed.

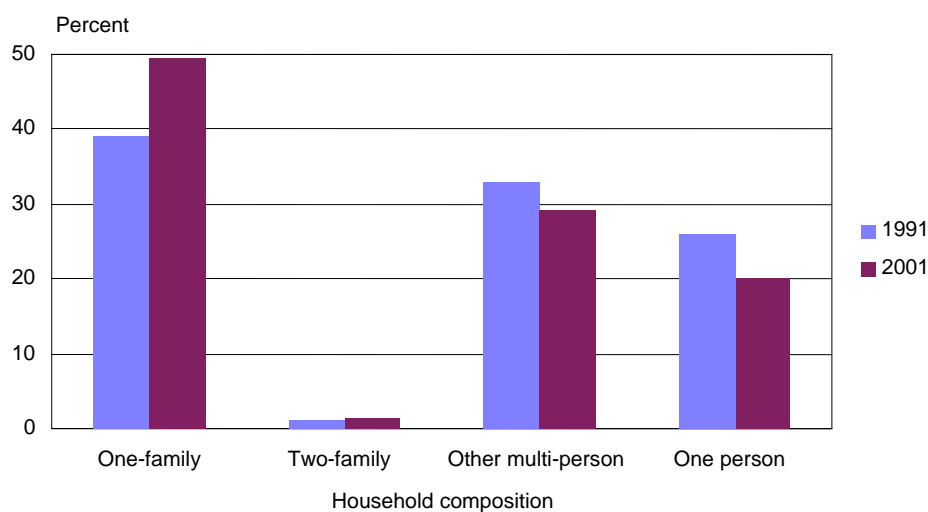
## Household composition

The living arrangements of multi-unit dwellers can be analysed in terms of household composition, or the combination of families and individuals which make up particular households. As shown by Figure 7, those living in inner city multi-unit dwellings in 1991 were most likely to live in non-family households, such as one person and other multi-person households. In 2001 however, inner city dwellers were equally likely to live in non-family and one-family households.

Within one-family households, in both years, the most common household type was couple only (42 percent in 1991 and 53 percent in 2001), followed by couples with children (23 percent in 1991 and 19 percent in 2001). This suggests that becoming part of a partnership does not cause inner city dwellers to move to the suburbs, but it may be the case that having children does.

Figure 7

**Inner City Multi-unit Dwellers by Household Composition**  
*1991 and 2001*



## Role in the family

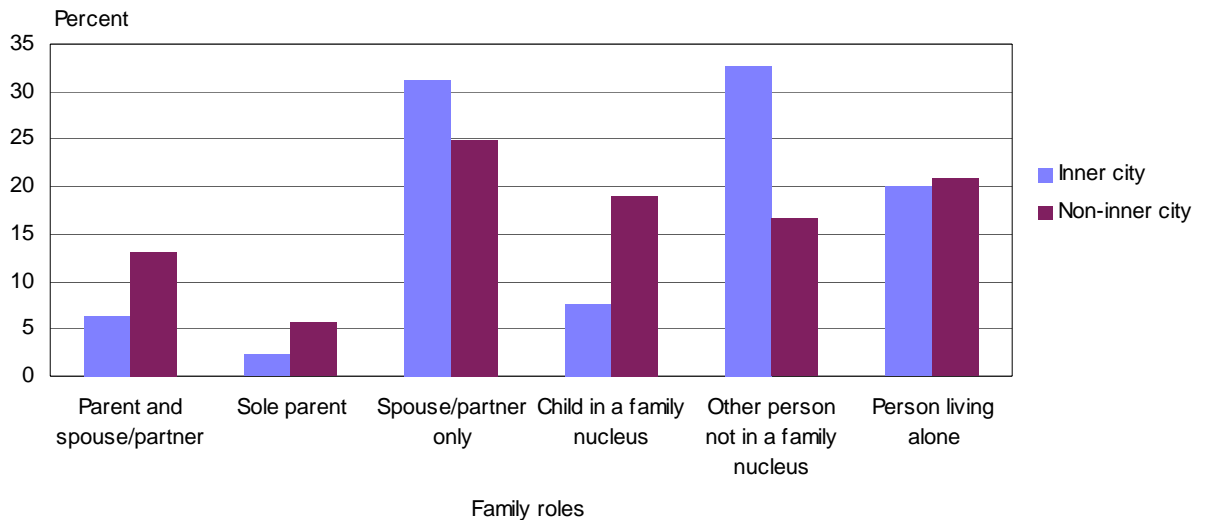
People are drawn to living in inner city areas by the close proximity to their workplaces, restaurants, nightclubs, and other forms of entertainment (McMurray, 1996). With a shortage of family-sized dwellings, and safe indoor and outdoor places to play, the inner city is not always a practical place to raise a family. This means inner city multi-unit dwellers are unlikely to live in households which include children. As shown by Figure 8, in 2001, few inner city dwellers were in the roles of parent and spouse/partner or sole parent (6 and 2 percent, respectively), and only 8 percent were children.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A child can be a person of any age who lives with at least one of their parents. They do not have to be dependent on that parent (they could be over the age of 18, or in full-time employment).

Figure 8

### Multi-unit Dwellers by Family Role

2001



Those in the role of the child were most likely to be aged 0–4 years (25 percent), with the proportion dropping to 13 percent for those aged between 5 and 9, and 15 percent for those aged 10–14. Although the census does not collect information about the intentions of young families to continue living in the inner city as their children get older, these figures suggest families might remain in the inner city while their children are very young, but tend to move to non-inner city areas as their children get older. However, 20 percent of those in the role of the child were aged 15–19, and a further 19 percent were aged 20–24, suggesting families may return to the inner city or move there for the first time when their children become young adults.

It appears that many inner city dwellers are following the growing trend to delay or forgo childrearing. They were most likely to live with other non-family members – usually in flatting situations – or with just their spouse or partner (33 percent and 31 percent, respectively). In addition, 20 percent of inner city dwellers lived on their own.

As Figure 8 shows, non-inner city multi-unit dwellers were more likely than their inner city counterparts to be living in family situations. Non-inner city dwellers were more likely to be parents or sole parents, and 19 percent were children. This no doubt reflects the fact that outside the inner city there are more family-sized dwellings and larger indoor and outdoor spaces where children can play. However, non-inner city dwellers were most likely to live with just their spouse or partner, while living alone was the second most common form of living situation.

There were some regional differences in the family roles filled by inner city multi-unit dwellers, as shown by Table 1. Possibly due to a larger proportion belonging to the older age groups,

those living in inner city Christchurch were more likely than those in Auckland or Wellington to live on their own. In contrast, those living in Wellington were more likely to live in flatting situations.

Table 1

**Multi-unit Dwellers by Family Role and City**

*2001*

Role in the family	Inner city			Non-inner city		
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch
	Percent					
Parent and spouse/partner	6	7	6	16	12	9
Sole parent	3	2	2	5	5	7
Spouse/partner only	31	31	31	24	25	26
Child in a family nucleus	8	7	6	22	17	14
Other person not in a family nucleus	31	37	29	15	22	15
Person living alone	21	17	26	17	20	28

Table 1 also shows that those living in non-inner city multi-unit dwellings in Auckland were more likely than those living in Wellington and Christchurch to be in family situations. Wellingtonians were the most likely to live in flatting situations, while those living in non-inner city Christchurch were most likely to be living alone.

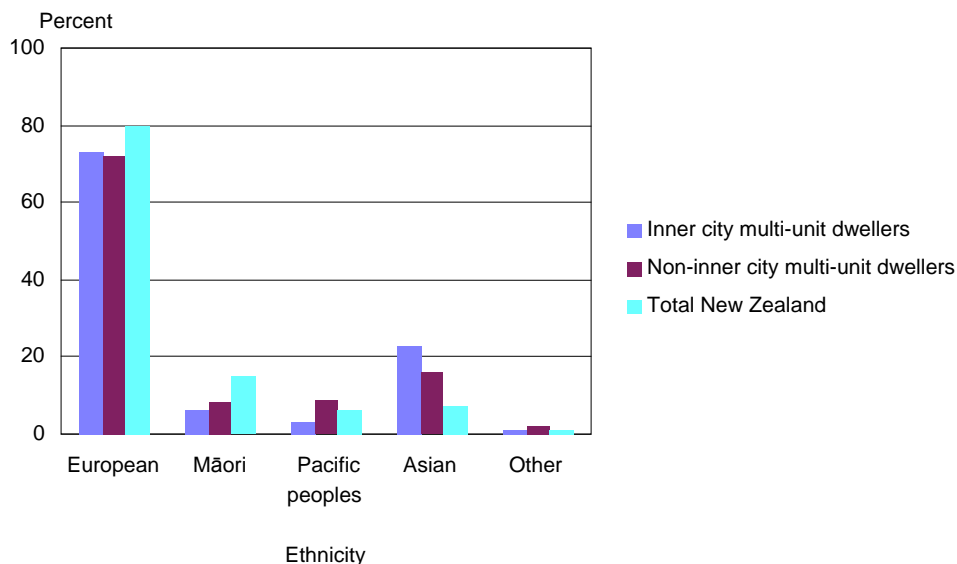
## Chapter 5

### Ethnicity

The multi-unit dwelling population is more ethnically diverse than the total New Zealand population. As shown by Figure 9, in 2001, multi-unit dwellers were less likely than the total New Zealand population to belong to the European and Māori ethnicities. Instead, multi-unit dwellers were more likely to identify with the Asian ethnicity. This could be because many of the people identifying with this ethnicity have immigrated from countries where living in this dwelling type is the norm, particularly in inner city areas.

Figure 9

**Multi-unit Dwellers and the Total New Zealand Population by Ethnic Group**  
2001



**Note:** For the 2001 Census, respondents were able to select more than one ethnicity, so percentages may add to more than 100.

In 1991, the inner city multi-unit dwelling population was less ethnically diverse. The majority (79 percent) identified with the European ethnicity. Eight percent of inner city dwellers were of Māori ethnicity, and a further 6 percent were Pacific peoples. The Asian ethnic group experienced substantial growth in the 10 years following the 1991 Census. In 1991, just 9 percent of inner city dwellers identified with this ethnicity, a much smaller figure than for 2001 (23 percent). This may be due to several interrelated factors, such as increased immigration and the growing popularity of New Zealand as a place to study among students of Asian ethnicity.

Figure 9 also shows that in 2001 there was variation in the proportions of inner city and non-inner city multi-unit dwellers that identified with various ethnic groups. The Asian ethnic group

showed the greatest variation, possibly because many were enrolled in full-time study (26 percent, compared with 17 percent of those living in the surrounding suburbs) and therefore chose to be close to central city educational institutions. The greater proportion of inner city multi-unit dwellings available for rent may also make them a practical option for students who are not looking to settle long term.

The regional ethnic breakdowns of those living in inner city and non-inner city multi-unit dwellings in 2001 are shown in Table 2. Many of the figures differ significantly from the aggregated figures previously discussed in this section.

Table 2

**Multi-unit Dwellers by Ethnic Group and City**  
*2001*

Ethnic group	Inner city			Non-inner city		
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch
	Percent					
European	65	85	89	60	76	87
Māori	6	8	5	8	10	8
Pacific peoples	3	3	1	13	7	2
Asian	31	10	10	24	12	7
Other	1	1	1	2	3	1

**Note:** For the 2001 Census, respondents were able to select more than one ethnicity, so percentages may add to more than 100.

Of those living in inner city multi-unit dwellings, those living in inner city Auckland were the most ethnically diverse. They were far less likely than those in other cities to identify with the European ethnic group and considerably more likely to identify with the Asian ethnic group. In contrast, the vast majority of those living in inner city Wellington and Christchurch were of European ethnicity.

The same was true for those living in non-inner city multi-unit dwellings. Those living in non-inner city Auckland were the least likely to identify with the European ethnic group, but the most likely to identify with the Asian ethnic group. Suburban Auckland also had the largest proportion of Pacific peoples. In contrast, the vast majority of Wellington's non-inner city dwellers were of European ethnicity, and an even larger proportion of Christchurch's non-inner city dwellers belonged to this ethnic group.

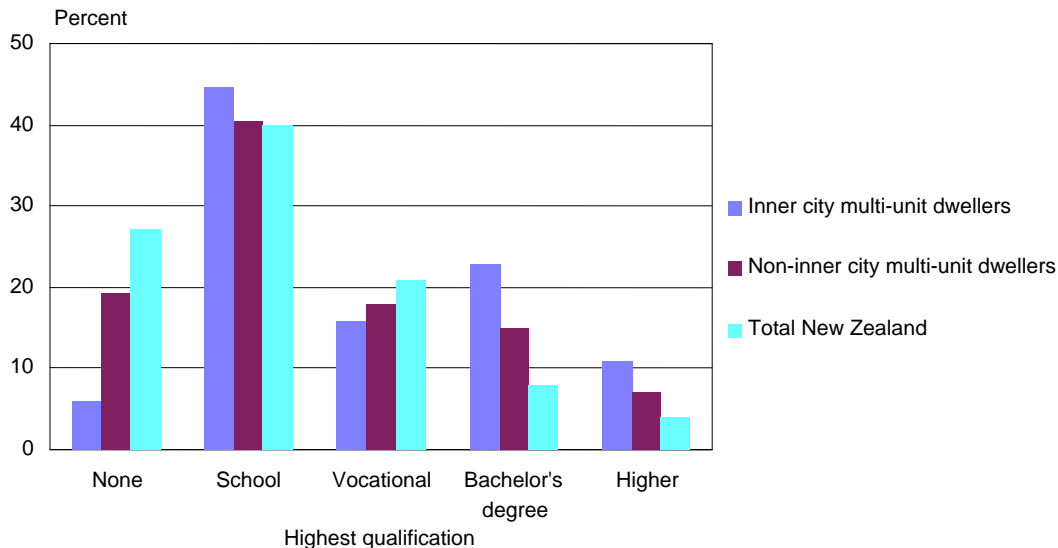
## Chapter 6

### Education

In general, younger generations of New Zealanders are more educated than their parents and grandparents. This may help to explain why, in 2001, inner city dwellers were more likely than the total New Zealand population to hold a bachelor's degree or higher, as the inner city population has a younger age structure than the total New Zealand population. Only 6 percent of inner city dwellers did not hold a formal qualification, as shown by Figure 10.

Figure 10

**Multi-unit Dwellers and the Total New Zealand Population by Highest Qualification**  
2001



The variation in the levels of educational attainment by inner city multi-unit dwellers and the total New Zealand population are not solely due to inner city dwellers having a younger age structure; in 2001, inner city dwellers were more likely to hold a bachelor's degree or higher at all ages. This could be due to young people moving into the inner city to be close to tertiary institutions while they are studying, and then remaining there once their studies are complete.

Multi-unit dwellers living in the inner city were considerably less likely than those from the surrounding suburbs to have no formal qualifications. As shown by Table 3, this was the case for all three cities. Again, this could be partly due to the younger age structure of inner city dwellers. Multi-unit dwellers living in non-inner city Christchurch were by far the most likely to have no formal qualifications (29 percent).

Table 3

**Multi-unit Dwellers by Highest Qualification and City***2001*

Highest qualification	Inner city			Non-inner city		
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch
	Percent					
None	6	6	7	19	13	29
School	47	41	44	41	39	40
Vocational	16	15	17	18	18	18
Bachelor's degree	22	25	21	15	20	8
Higher	9	13	10	7	10	4

Table 3 also shows that, in 2001, there was some regional variation in the proportions of inner city multi-unit dwellers who held a school qualification as their highest educational attainment. Those living in inner city Wellington were the least likely to hold this level of qualification. Instead, 38 percent of those living in inner city Wellington multi-unit dwellings held a bachelor's degree or higher as their highest educational attainment, compared with 31 percent of those living in inner city Auckland and Christchurch. The same was true for non-inner city dwellers. Thirty percent of those living in Wellington held a bachelor's degree or higher, a much larger proportion than for Auckland and Christchurch non-inner city dwellers (24 and 12 percent, respectively). This could be partly due to the high number of state sector jobs in Wellington which require a bachelor's degree or higher.

## Chapter 7

### Work and Study Status

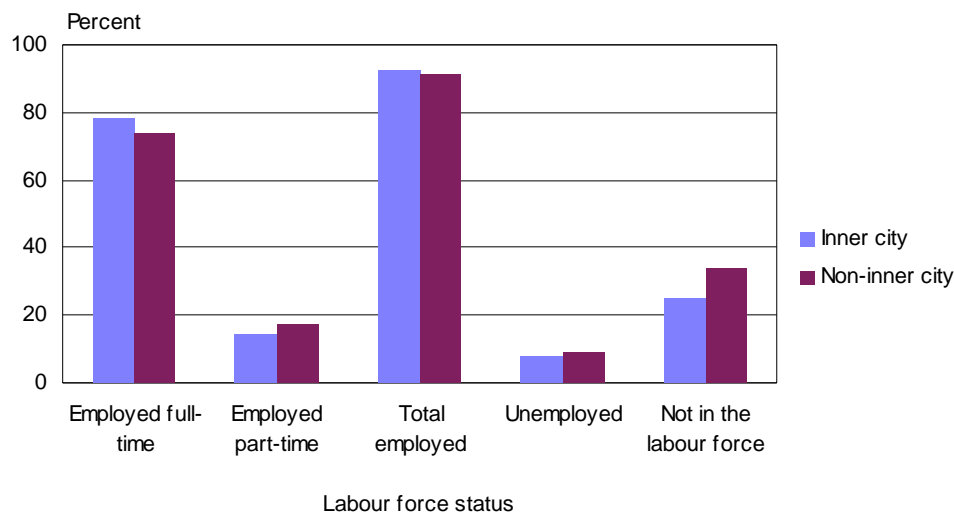
#### Labour force status

In 2001, as shown by Figure 11, multi-unit dwellers living in the inner city were slightly more likely than those living in the surrounding suburbs to be employed full-time. Conversely, non-inner city dwellers were slightly more likely to be employed part-time. Overall, inner city and non-inner city dwellers had very similar rates of employment (92 and 91 percent, respectively). The employment rates of multi-unit dwellers were only marginally lower than that for New Zealand as a whole (93 percent).

Figure 11

#### Multi-unit Dwellers by Labour Force Status

2001



Among inner city multi-unit dwellers, employment rates varied little across the major cities, as shown by Table 4. The full-time employment rate was slightly higher in Auckland and Wellington than in Christchurch. The reverse applied to part-time employment, as inner city Christchurch dwellers were the most likely to be employed part-time.

Table 4

#### Multi-unit Dwellers by Employment Rate and City

2001

Employment rate	Inner city			Non-inner city		
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch
	Percent					
Total	92	93	91	91	92	91
Full-time	79	78	74	75	76	70
Part-time	13	14	18	16	16	21

Table 4 also shows the same patterns apply to the regional full-time and part-time employment figures for non-inner city dwellers. Those living in Auckland and Wellington were more likely than those in Christchurch to be employed full-time, while Christchurch's non-inner city dwellers were the most likely to be employed part-time.

Inner city multi-unit dwellers were more likely than their non-inner city counterparts to participate in the labour force (75 and 66 percent, respectively). This could be partly because non-inner city dwellers are more likely to have children and therefore may spend their time childrearing, rather than participating in the labour force.

### Study status

As already discussed, the inner city multi-unit dwelling population has a young age structure, with one-third aged between 15 and 24 years old in 2001. It is between these ages that people are most likely to be enrolled in study, especially at tertiary level. At the time of the 2001 Census, 15 percent of inner city dwellers were enrolled in full-time study, and a further 11 percent were enrolled in part-time study. In comparison, 10 percent of non-inner city dwellers were enrolled in full-time study and 9 percent in part-time study.

As shown by Table 5, multi-unit dwellers living in Auckland and Christchurch were more likely to be enrolled in study if they lived in the inner city. However, for those living in Wellington there was no such relationship.

Table 5

### Multi-unit Dwellers Enrolled in Study by City

2001

Enrolled in study	Inner city			Non-Inner City		
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch
Percent						
Full-time	18	10	16	10	10	10
Part-time	11	11	11	9	11	7

There are a couple of reasons that might explain this. The central city locations of Auckland University, Auckland Institute of Technology, Victoria University's Te Aro and Pipitea campuses, and the Christchurch Polytechnic drive tertiary student demand for inner city housing in all three cities. However, this effect will not be as strong in Wellington, as Victoria University's Kelburn and Karori campuses, and Massey University's Wellington campus are located outside the inner city. The large number of English language schools in inner city Auckland and Christchurch also creates demand for inner city housing among students of Asian ethnicity in those cities.

### Industry

Relatively high proportions of inner city multi-unit dwellers are employed in industries that tend to be located in inner city areas, whereas those living in the surrounding suburbs are

more likely to be employed in industries such as manufacturing, which are commonly located outside the inner city.

In 2001, inner city multi-unit dwellers were more than twice as likely to be employed in the property and business services<sup>3</sup> industries as any other industry group (27 percent). This is also over double the figure for New Zealand as a whole (12 percent). The other industries in which inner city dwellers were most likely to be employed are often located in the inner city as well, namely retail trade and accommodation, cafes and restaurants (both 10 percent). It isn't known if people are attracted to inner city living because of the number of jobs in these industries that are located in inner city areas, or if inner city dwellers work in these industries because they are located close to where they live. However, as the inner city population increases, growth will be encouraged in certain industries, such as accommodation, cafes and restaurants.

As Table 6 shows, inner city multi-unit dwellers in all three cities were most likely to be employed in the property and business services industries. The retail trade and accommodation, cafes and restaurants industries were also common sources of employment in each city. In Wellington, the state sector provides many jobs for inner city dwellers.

Table 6

### Inner City Multi-unit Dwellers Who Were Employed

*By industry and city*

2001

Inner City	Industry	Percent of total employed
Auckland	Property and business services	28
	Retail trade	10
	Accommodation, cafes and restaurants	10
Wellington	Property and business services	25
	Government administration and defence	11
	Retail trade	10
Christchurch	Property and business services	19
	Retail trade	14
	Accommodation, cafes and restaurants	10

Non-inner city multi-unit dwellers were also most likely to be employed in the property and business services industries, but at 18 percent they were considerably less likely to work in these industries than their inner city counterparts. Twelve percent of non-inner city multi-unit dwellers were employed in retail trade. Eleven percent were employed in manufacturing industries, which tend to be located outside the inner cities. For comparison, only 5 percent of inner city dwellers were employed in manufacturing industries.

<sup>3</sup> People employed in the property and business services industry are predominantly engaged in renting and leasing assets as well as providing a wide variety of business services, such as scientific research, technical, legal, accounting, marketing, and business management services.

As Table 7 shows, those living in non-inner city multi-unit dwellings in Auckland and Wellington were most likely to be employed in property and business services industries, while those in Christchurch were most likely to be employed in manufacturing industries. Those Wellingtonians living in multi-unit dwellings outside the inner city were only marginally more likely than their inner city counterparts to be employed in government administration and defence, indicating that there is no relation between the area of the city people live in and their employment in this industry. This is also the case for people employed in the retail trade industry in all three cities.

Table 7

### Non-inner City Dwellers Who Were Employed

*By industry and city*

2001

Non-inner city	Industry	Percent of total employed
Auckland	Property and business services	20
	Retail trade	11
	Manufacturing	11
Wellington	Property and business services	20
	Government administration and defence	12
	Retail trade	11
Christchurch	Manufacturing	16
	Retail trade	14
	Property and business services	12

### Occupation

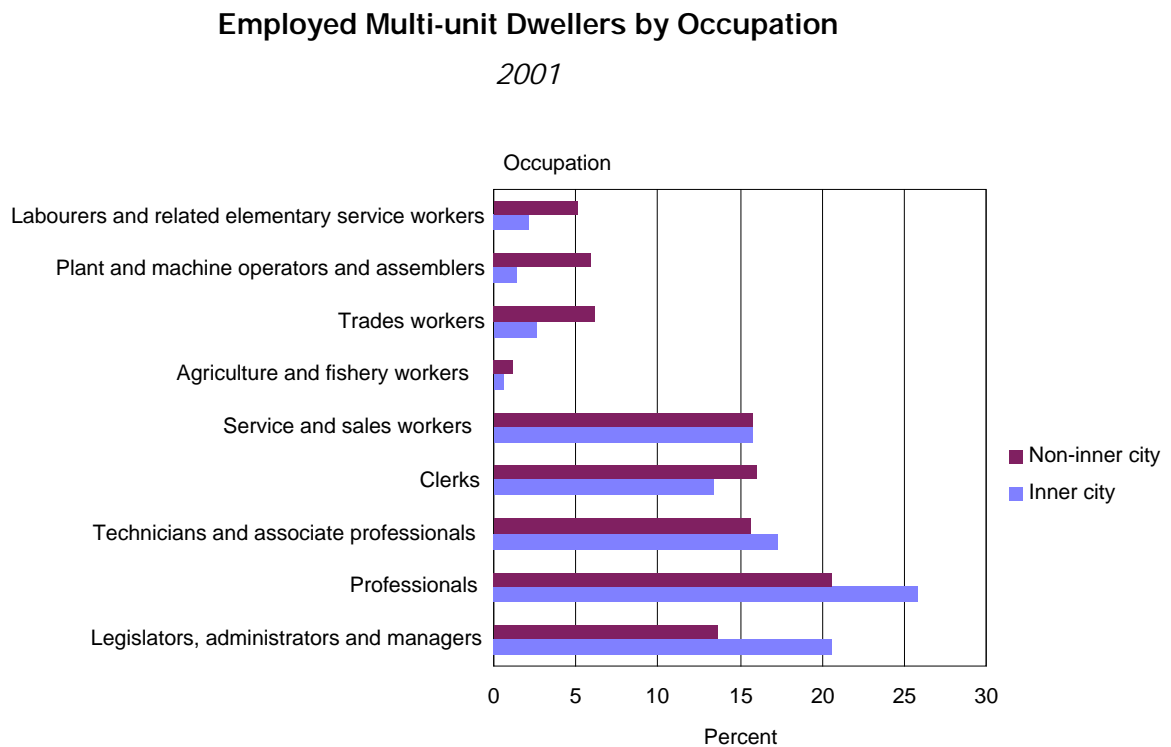
As Figure 12 shows, multi-unit dwellers living in inner city areas in 2001 were more likely than those from the surrounding suburbs to have skilled white-collar jobs, probably due to the fact that inner city dwellers are more highly educated. Inner city dwellers were most likely to have jobs in the professional category<sup>4</sup> (26 percent). The next most common occupations for inner city dwellers were legislators, administrators and managers (21 percent), and technicians and associate professionals (17 percent). While those living in inner city Auckland and Wellington followed this pattern, those living in Christchurch differed slightly: 21 percent had professional jobs, 20 percent were technicians and associate professionals, and 19 percent were service and sales workers.

While non-inner city multi-unit dwellers were also most likely to have professional occupations (21 percent), they were less likely than their inner city counterparts to hold jobs in this category. The next most common jobs for non-inner city dwellers were clerks, service and sales workers, and technicians and associate professionals (all 16 percent). As illustrated by Figure 12, non-inner city dwellers were more likely than those living in the inner city to have

<sup>4</sup> This category includes those occupations which involve the practical application of scientific and artistic concepts and theories, through the use of professional knowledge and experience in engineering, natural sciences, social sciences, humanities and related fields, to increase the existing stock of knowledge by means of research, creativeness and teaching.

manual jobs such as labourers and related elementary service workers, plant and machine operators and assemblers, and trade workers.

Figure 12



### Hours worked

In 2001, inner city multi-unit dwellers were more likely to work long hours than their non-inner city counterparts. Seventeen percent of inner city dwellers who were employed worked between 50–59 hours per week. An additional 12 percent worked 60 hours or more per week. In comparison, 13 percent of non-inner city dwellers who were employed worked between 50–59 hours per week, and 8 percent worked 60 hours or more per week.

When those employed part-time were excluded (to remove the effect of inner city dwellers having a higher full-time employment rate), inner city dwellers were still more likely to work longer hours. Thirty-three percent worked at least 50 hours a week, compared with 25 percent of non-inner city dwellers.

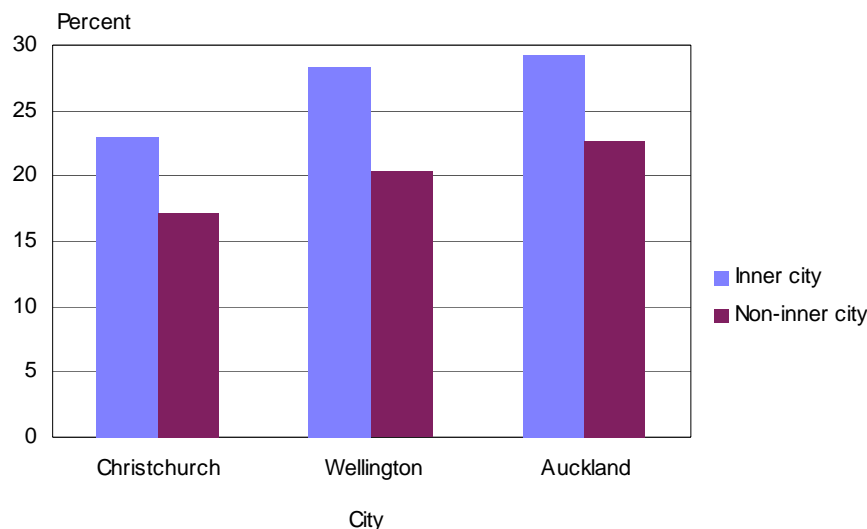
Figure 13 shows the effect that living in different cities has on the number of hours spent at work. Multi-unit dwellers living in Auckland were the most likely to work long hours, regardless of whether they live in the inner city or surrounding suburbs. However, Wellington’s inner city dwellers were only marginally less likely than their Auckland counterparts to work long hours.

Figure 13

### Employed Multi-unit Dwellers Working 50 Hours or More Per Week

*By city*

2001



It is possible that there is a link between the longer work hours performed by inner city dwellers and the fact that the majority of them live in close proximity to their workplaces. However, it is not known if they live near their workplaces because of the long hours, or work longer hours because living nearby enables them to do so (as they don't have to spend time commuting for example). Other factors, such as the type of occupations people have, and family responsibilities may also have an effect. A large proportion of inner city dwellers were employed as professionals, or legislators, administrators and managers – jobs in which people may often be required to work longer hours. Non-inner city dwellers, on the other hand, were more likely to have children and therefore responsibilities at home that may prevent many of them from spending longer hours at their workplace.

#### **Workplace address and main means of travel to work**

Just over half (56 percent) of inner city multi-unit dwellers who were employed worked in the central city, compared with 28 percent of non-inner city multi-unit dwellers. This inevitably affects how inner city dwellers travel to work. Almost two thirds (63 percent) of those who lived and worked in the inner city walked to work on census day in 2001, and only 4 percent used public transportation. However, 14 percent took a car, truck, van or motorbike. Some of these people may have had jobs that required them to use a company vehicle to get to work and get around town during the day, but the vast majority (76 percent) drove privately-owned vehicles.

Almost half (47 percent) of inner city dwellers walked to work, regardless of whether their workplace was in the inner city or surrounding suburbs.

Sixty-two percent of inner city multi-unit dwellers living in Wellington walked to work, compared with 40 percent of those in Auckland, and 33 percent of those in Christchurch. This pattern can be at least partially explained by looking at inner city dwellers' workplace addresses. Those living in Wellington were the most likely to work in the central city, with 63 percent doing so. Walking to work may not a feasible option for those living in inner city Auckland and Christchurch, as only 52 percent of those groups worked in the central city.

Most non-inner city multi-unit dwellers used cars, trucks, vans or motorbikes to get to work (59 percent). A further 12 percent used public transportation, and 11 percent walked. Inner city dwellers were less likely to use these forms of transportation. Thirty percent used cars, trucks, vans or motorbikes, and 7 percent took public transport.

## Chapter 8

### Income

#### Personal income

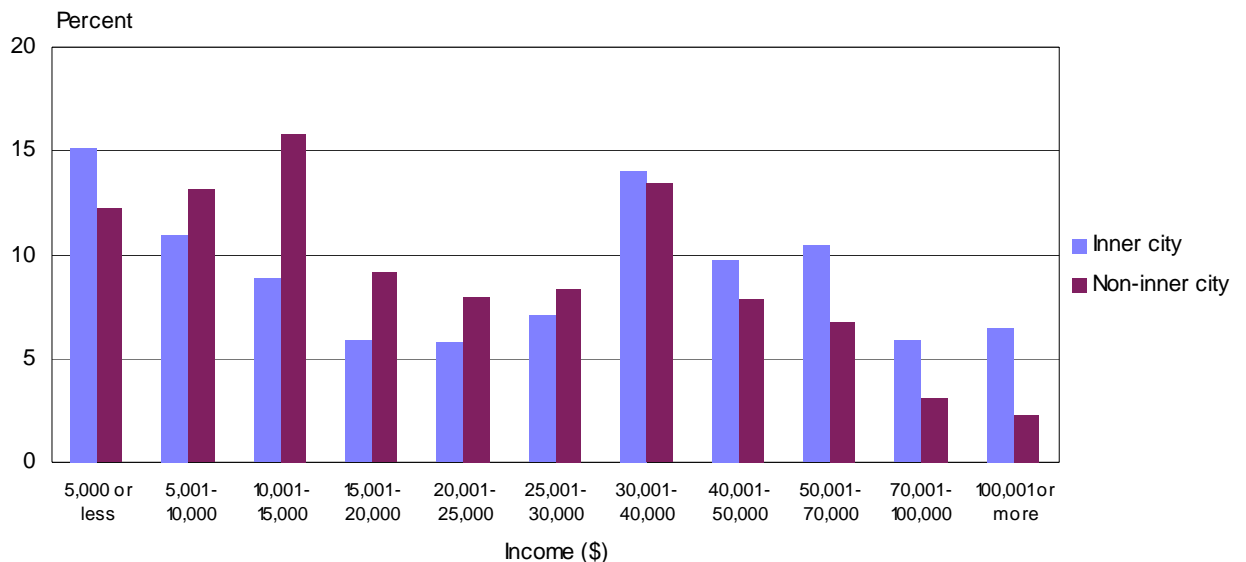
Inner city multi-unit dwellers tend to have relatively high incomes. In 2001, their median income was \$27,500, considerably higher than the figure for those living outside the inner city (\$19,800), and New Zealand as a whole (\$18,800).

About one in seven inner city multi-unit dwellers received less than \$5,000 (15 percent). The inner city dwellers in this income bracket tended to be young – 31 percent were aged 15–19 years, and a further 35 percent were aged 20–24 years. Many of them (42 percent) were enrolled in full-time study.

As shown by Figure 14, multi-unit dwellers living in the inner city were more likely than those from the surrounding suburbs to be medium to high income earners. This may be partly due to the fact that many inner city dwellers have white collar occupations which are generally well paid. For example, 40 percent of inner city dwellers receiving more than \$50,000 had professional occupations and an additional 34 percent were legislators, administrators and managers.

Figure 14

**Income Distribution of Multi-unit Dwellers**  
2001



In 2001, the most common income bracket among non-inner city multi-unit dwellers was \$10,001 to \$15,000 (16 percent). The most common occupation for employed non-inner city

dwellers in this income bracket was service and sales occupations (29 percent); however 60 percent of people in this income bracket were not participating in the labour force.

Thirteen percent of non-inner city multi-unit dwellers received between \$30,001 and \$40,000. Non-inner city dwellers in this income bracket were most likely to be employed as clerks, or have professional occupations (both 22 percent).

While, in general, inner city multi-unit dwellers in all three cities displayed similar patterns of income distribution, there was some variation between the three cities which resulted in different median incomes. The median income of those living in inner city Wellington was \$31,200, a higher figure than for Auckland (\$26,500) and Christchurch (\$21,400). Those in Auckland were by far the most likely to earn less than \$5,000 (19 percent, compared with 12 percent of Christchurch's and 9 percent of Wellington's inner city dwellers). Sixty-five percent of multi-unit dwellers living in inner city Christchurch received less than \$30,000, a much higher percentage than for those living in inner city Auckland (55 percent) and Wellington (48 percent).

The regional income distributions of non-inner city multi-unit dwellers were in general fairly similar, but small differences lead to different median incomes. The median income of those living in non-inner city Wellington was the highest (\$24,700), followed by Auckland (\$22,000) and Christchurch (\$15,000).

### **Sources of income**

As Table 8 shows, there were some notable differences in the income sources of inner city and non-inner city multi-unit dwellers. While both groups were most likely to receive income from wages and salaries, inner city dwellers were more likely than those living in the surrounding suburbs to receive income from this source, and from self-employment. Inner city dwellers were also more likely to receive student allowances, as a greater proportion of that population was enrolled in study. Due to a larger proportion of their population belonging to the older age groups, non-inner city dwellers were more likely to receive superannuation payments (both Government and private superannuation). Non-inner city dwellers were also more likely to receive Government benefits such as the community wage, sickness benefit and domestic purposes benefit.

Table 8

### Multi-unit Dwellers by Income Source

2001

Income source	Inner city	Non-inner city
	Percent	
Wages and salaries	71	60
Interest and other investments	28	24
Self-employment	16	11
Government benefits	12	20
Student allowance	9	6
Superannuation	5	16
Other	8	4

**Note:** No source of income has been excluded from this table. For the 2001 Census, respondents were able to select more than one source of income, so percentages may add to more than 100.

Multi-unit dwellers living in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch had similar patterns of income sources. All were most likely to receive income from wages and salaries. Nevertheless, as shown by Table 9, there were some marked differences. In particular, the proportions of Christchurch's multi-unit dwellers who received income from selected sources differed from those living in Wellington and Auckland. Those in Christchurch were more likely to receive superannuation due to the larger proportions of that group belonging to the older age groups. They were also more likely to receive government benefits and less likely to receive income from wages and salaries.

Table 9

### Multi-unit Dwellers by Income Source and City

2001

Income Sources	Inner City			Non Inner City		
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch
	Percent					
Wages and salaries	67	80	64	59	71	53
Interest and other investments	26	32	31	23	28	22
Self-employment	15	17	17	13	12	8
Government benefits	11	12	19	18	19	24
Student allowance	9	7	11	5	7	6
Superannuation	3	4	16	13	11	26
Other	9	6	6	4	5	4

**Note:** No source of income has been excluded from this table. For the 2001 Census, respondents were able to select more than one source of income, so percentages may add to more than 100.

## *Chapter 9*

### **Tenure**

#### **Tenure of Household**

A person's household tenure depends on a number of factors, including their age, and level of household income. In general, young people and those with lower household incomes tend to live in rented dwellings, whereas older people and those with higher household incomes typically live in dwellings that are at least partly owned by one of the usual inhabitants (Statistics New Zealand, 1998).

Inner city multi-unit dwellers differ from the norm in that their households are more likely to rent than own their dwellings, regardless of their level of household income. However, there is still a relationship between household income and tenure, as those with lower household incomes are more likely than those with higher household incomes to live in a rented dwelling. According to the 2001 Census, 80 percent of those with household incomes between \$20,001 and \$25,000 lived in a rented dwelling, compared with 62 percent of those with a household income over \$100,000.

There is a much stronger relationship between inner city dwellers' age and household tenure. According to the 2001 Census, those under the age of 50 were more likely to live in a household that rented their dwelling, whereas those aged 50 and over were more likely to live in a household that owned their dwelling. Those aged 20–24 were the most likely live in a household that rented their dwelling (88 percent), while those aged 55–59 were the most likely to live in a household that owned their dwelling (58 percent).

The same patterns apply to those living in multi-unit dwellings in non-inner city areas. Non-inner city residents were likely to live in a household that rented their dwelling, irrespective of household income. However, those receiving lower household incomes were more likely to rent. Seventy-seven percent of non-inner city dwellers receiving a household income under \$5,000 lived in a rented dwelling, compared with 47 percent of those receiving a household income in excess of \$100,000. As was the case with inner city residents, there is a strong relationship between the age of non-inner city residents and household tenure, as those under the age of 50 were more likely to live in a household that rented rather than owned their dwelling. Those aged 20–24 were the most likely to do so (86 percent).

Inner city multi-unit dwellers were more likely than their non-inner city counterparts to live in a household that rented their dwelling (71 and 62 percent, respectively). This may be because inner city dwellers have a younger age structure. They may not be in a financial position to own their own dwelling, nor want to. As shown by Figure 15, at the time of the 2001 Census there were only marginal differences in the regional figures for inner city dwellers, but there were significant regional differences for non-inner city dwellers, with those in Christchurch

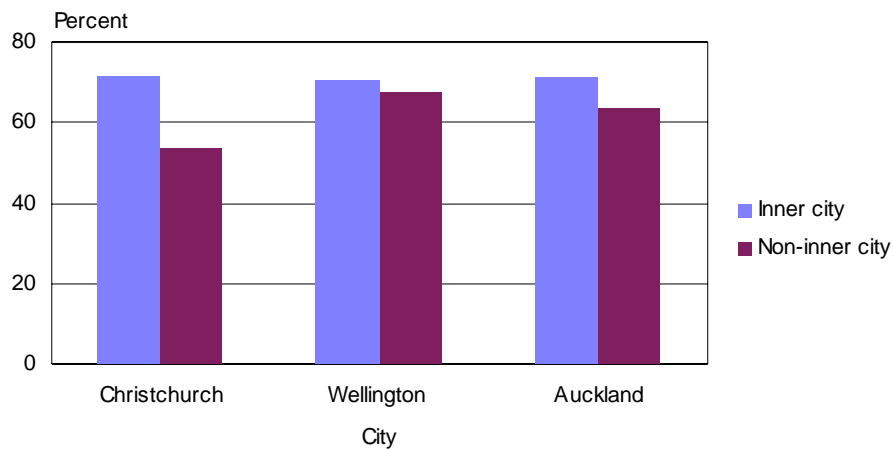
less likely than those in Wellington and Auckland to live in a household that rented their dwelling.

Figure 15

### Proportion of Multi-unit Dwellers Who Lived Rented Dwellings

*By city*

2001



### Sector of landlord

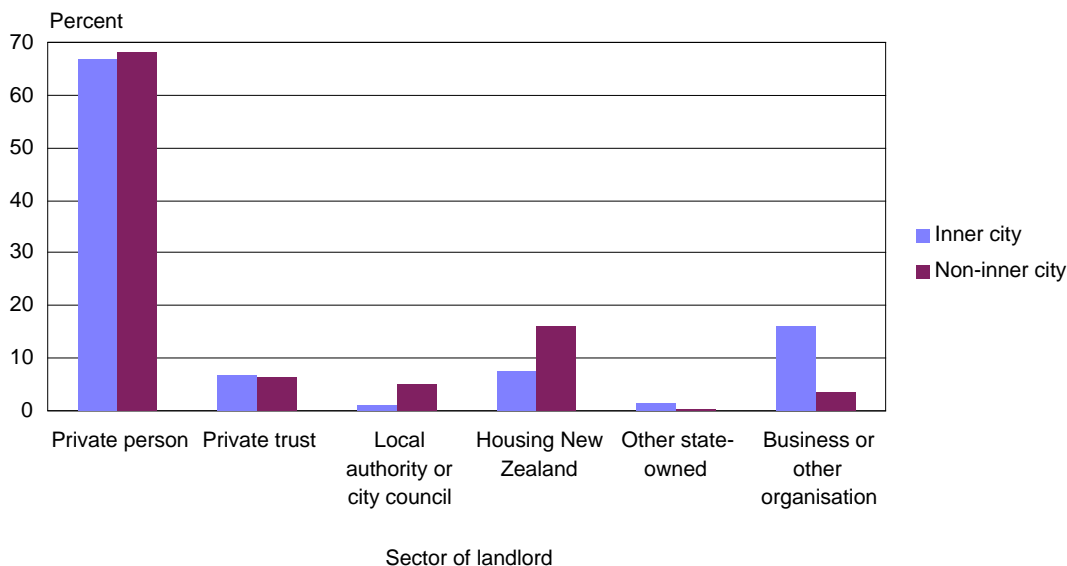
As Figure 16 shows, inner city multi-unit dwellers who lived in a household that rented their dwelling were most likely to have a private person as their landlord (67 percent). An additional 16 percent had a business or other organisation for a landlord. Non-inner city dwellers who lived in a household that rented their dwellings were also most likely to have a private person for a landlord. Non-inner city dwellers were more likely than their inner city counterparts to rent their dwelling from Housing New Zealand.

Figure 16

### Multi-unit Dwellers Who Lived in Rented Dwellings

*By sector of landlord*

2001



Those inner city multi-unit dwellers who lived in households that rented their dwelling from private people tended to be young (31 percent were aged 20–24 years) and were most likely to live in a flatting situation (38 percent). In contrast, inner city residents who lived in a household renting from Housing New Zealand often lived alone (35 percent) and the most common age group was over 65 (18 percent), suggesting that a lot of Housing New Zealand’s inner city properties are pensioner flats.

There are also significant differences in the rents paid by those who rent from private people, and those who rent from Housing New Zealand. Inner city dwellers who live in households that have private landlords pay market rents. This meant that, in 2001, 41 percent of inner city residents who rented their dwelling from a private person lived in a household that paid over \$350 in rent per week. Those renting from Housing New Zealand, however, pay income-related rents. Thirty-three percent of inner city residents who rented their dwelling from Housing New Zealand lived in a household that paid \$50–\$79 in rent per week.

There are also significant differences between the characteristics of non-inner city multi-unit dwellers who live in households that rent from private people and from Housing New Zealand. In 2001, people living in Housing New Zealand properties were predominantly either very young (10 percent were aged 0–4), or over the age of 65 (11 percent). The majority (89 percent) lived in a household that paid \$50–\$79 in rent per week. Non-inner city dwellers who lived in households that rented from private people were most likely to be aged 25–29 (20

percent). Households renting from private people made larger weekly rent payments than those renting from Housing New Zealand. Twenty-five percent of non-inner city dwellers who rented from a private person lived in a household that paid \$200–\$249 in rent per week.

## Chapter 10

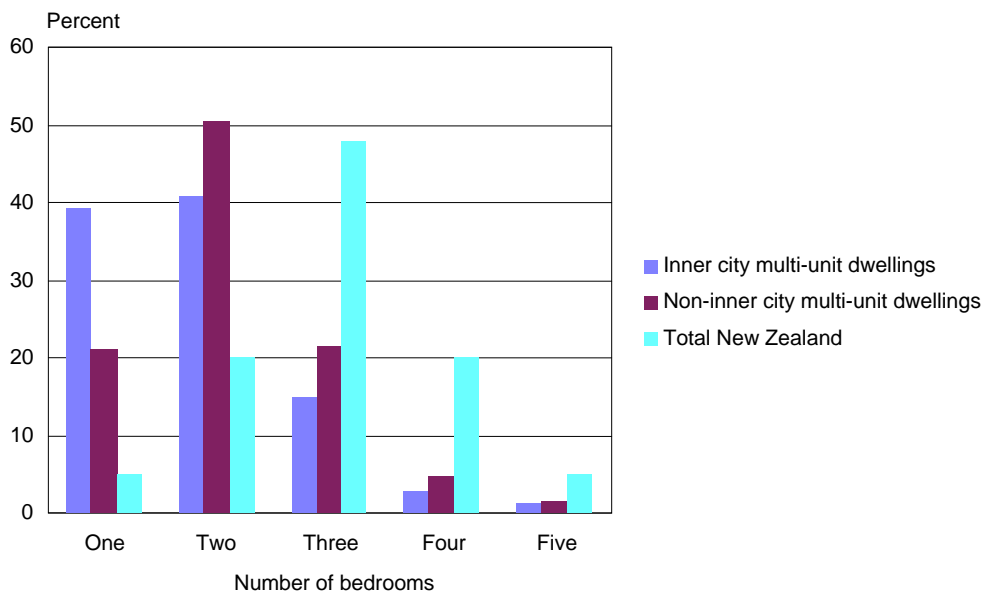
### Number of Bedrooms

The growing popularity of inner city multi-unit dwellings has coincided with the emergence of several social trends. Those wanting to concentrate on their career or lead a more active social life may not have time to spend maintaining a house, or commuting to and from the suburbs (Criscillo et al, 1999). Furthermore, the growing trend for young people to delay or forgo marriage and childrearing (Statistics New Zealand, 2005) means that many have no need for large, family-sized dwellings. These patterns have combined to help create a demand for inner city dwellings that are smaller than those available in the suburbs.

To provide an approximation of the size of New Zealand's dwellings, the 2001 Census asked respondents how many bedrooms their dwelling had. While New Zealand dwellings in general usually had three bedrooms, inner city multi-unit dwellings were smaller, usually having just one or two bedrooms (39 and 41 percent, respectively). However, 15 percent had three bedrooms. By comparison, half of all non-inner city multi-unit dwellings had two bedrooms, with most of the remainder having one or three bedrooms, as shown by Figure 17.

Figure 17

#### Number of Bedrooms in Multi-unit Dwellings and All New Zealand Dwellings 2001



In the 10 years since the 1991 Census, the size of inner city multi-unit dwellings decreased. While the proportions of inner city dwellings with two or three bedrooms changed very little, the proportion of dwellings with four bedrooms decreased from 8 percent in 1991, to 3 percent

in 2001. Meanwhile, despite the proportion of one-person households decreasing, the number of one-bedroom dwellings increased from 29 percent in 1991, to 39 percent in 2001.

In 2001, there was some regional variation in the size of inner city multi-unit dwellings, with Auckland's appearing to be the smallest and Wellington's the largest. Auckland had the highest proportion of one-bedroom dwellings – 44 percent compared with 31 percent in Wellington and 30 percent in Christchurch. Half of the dwellings in Christchurch had two bedrooms, compared with 41 percent in Wellington and 39 percent in Auckland. However, dwellings with more than two bedrooms were most common in Wellington (28 percent) compared with 19 percent in Christchurch and 16 percent in Auckland.

There is a relationship between the size of an inner city multi-unit dwelling and its tenure. Inner city dwellings that were rented were most likely to have just one bedroom (44 percent), while dwellings that were owned by one of the usual residents were most likely to have two bedrooms (48 percent).

Although inner city multi-unit dwellings are small, overcrowding does not seem to be a problem, as they tend to house smaller numbers of people. Fifty-eight percent of one-bedroom dwellings had just one usual resident. A further 39 percent of one-bedroom dwellings had two usual residents, but they tended to be people living with spouses or partners (75 percent). It was rare for one-bedroom inner city dwellings to have more than two usual residents. Fifty-one percent of two-bedroom dwellings had two usual residents, while 31 percent had just one usual resident, and 13 percent had three usual residents. It was rare for a two-bedroom inner city dwelling to have more than three usual residents.

Overcrowding does not seem to be a problem for non-inner city multi-unit dwellings either. Seventy-one percent of one-bedroom dwellings had just one usual resident. A further 25 percent had 2 usual residents, but 84 percent of those people were living with spouses or partners. Two-bedroom dwellings were equally likely to have one or two usual residents (both 41 percent), while 12 percent had three usual residents. Three-bedroom dwellings were most likely to have two usual residents (34 percent), while 24 percent had three usual residents, and 21 percent had one usual resident. Thirteen percent had four usual residents but it was rare for non-inner city multi-unit dwellings to have more residents than this.

## Chapter 11

### Access

#### Access to motor vehicles

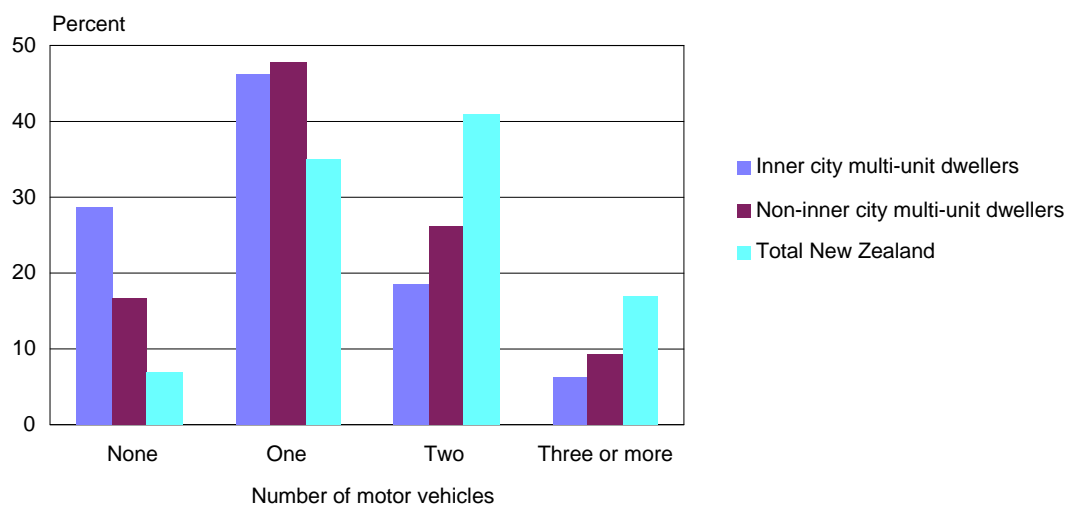
Due to the close proximity to workplaces, shops and sources of entertainment, inner city multi-unit dwellers may not have as great a need for motor vehicles as people living in other areas. As shown by Figure 18, in 2001, inner city dwellers were the most likely to live in a household that did not have access to a motor vehicle (29 percent). However, the majority of inner city dwellers still may want a motor vehicle for activities like grocery shopping and for recreational purposes. For some, the lack of a motor vehicle may not be entirely a result of choice – while some inner city residents have secure parking spaces provided for them as part of their dwelling, this is not always the case. Others may have to rent parking spaces, not necessarily near their dwellings, or leave their cars in areas where parking is free (Heslop et. al, 2004).

Figure 18

#### Multi-unit Dwellers and the Total New Zealand Population

*By household access to motor vehicles*

2001



Inner city multi-unit dwellers are more likely than the total New Zealand population to live in a household with access to one motor vehicle, possibly due to their higher incomes and younger age structure. However, inner city dwellers are less likely to live in a household with access to two or more motor vehicles. Once again, this may be due to the lack of multiple parking spaces available to inner city residents.

Forty-five percent of inner city multi-unit dwellers living on their own did not have access to a motor vehicle. This could be because people who live alone may not have as great a need for a motor vehicle. Those in flatting situations were the next most likely to live in households

without access (34 percent). Twenty-seven percent of those live in flatting situations without access to a motor vehicle were enrolled in full-time study, so it may be that running and maintenance costs are a barrier for some of the people in this group. People in family roles, such as the role of parent and spouse/partner, and child were the least likely to live in households without motor vehicle access (9 and 15 percent, respectively).

Figure 18 also shows that non-inner city multi-unit dwellers had a lower rate of motor vehicle access than the total New Zealand population. This may be partly due to a slightly higher proportion of non-inner city multi-unit dwellers being over the age of 65, as increasing age is known to be a barrier for people wanting to access motor vehicles (Statistics New Zealand, forthcoming). Another influencing factor may be that Figure 18 compares those living in suburban Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch where there are well-developed public transportation systems, to the total New Zealand population which includes people living in smaller cities and rural areas who have limited public transportation options, and therefore a greater need for private motor vehicles.

As shown by Table 10, inner city multi-unit dwellers living in Wellington were the most likely to live in a household with no motor vehicle access. Similarly, of all the non-inner city multi-unit dwellers, those living in Wellington were the most likely to live in a household without motor vehicle access. This suggests the lower rate of access among Wellington's inner city dwellers may be a result of factors that are relevant for inner city and non-inner city dwellers alike; such as the relative compactness of Wellington, and its effective public transportation system.

Table 10

**Multi-unit Dwellers**  
*By household access to motor vehicles and city*  
2001

Number of Motor Vehicles	Inner City			Non Inner City		
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch
Percent						
None	28	31	22	14	22	18
One	47	45	45	47	49	49
Two	19	17	21	29	22	24
Three or More	5	7	11	11	7	8

### Heating fuels

At the time of the 2001 Census, many of the inner city multi-unit dwellings were relatively new. Furthermore, it is not always possible or practical to install fireplaces or woodburners in this type of dwelling. This may have had an effect on the types of heating fuels used by the inhabitants of these dwellings, as shown by Table 11. Electricity was the most common method of heating (77 percent), whereas few inner city households used the more traditional forms of heating, like wood and coal.

Table 11

**Multi-unit Dwellers and the Total New Zealand Population by Household Heating Fuels Used**

*2001*

Heating fuel(s) used	Inner city multi-unit dwellers	Non-inner city multi-unit dwellers	Total New Zealand population
	Percent		
Electricity	77	81	71
Mains gas	8	10	14
Bottled gas	9	21	30
Wood	2	14	48
Coal	1	4	10
Solar power	0	1	1
No fuels used in this dwelling	18	7	3
Other fuel(s)	1	1	1

**Note:** For the 2001 Census, respondents were able to select more than one fuel type, so percentages may add to more than 100.

Almost one-in-five (18 percent) inner city multi-unit dwellers lived in households that did not heat their dwelling at all. This was much higher than the corresponding figures for non-inner city multi-unit dwellers and the total New Zealand population. Low household income does not seem to be a barrier for inner city residents wanting to heat their dwelling, as those that did not heat their dwelling were most likely to have a household income of between \$50,001 and \$70,000 (16 percent). This suggests fewer inner city residents heat their dwelling because they do not need or want to. While it is uncommon for New Zealand's inner city multi-unit dwellings to have central heating, many are well insulated, and as these dwellings are physically joined to at least one other dwelling, they may not lose as much heat to the external environment. Those individuals living in unheated dwellings were most likely to be aged 20–24 (36 percent) so they may not feel the cold as much people belonging to the other age groups. Finally, if people choose to live in inner city dwellings to be close to their workplaces and social facilities, they may not actually spend much time in their dwelling and therefore have less cause to heat it<sup>5</sup>.

Those living in unheated inner city multi-unit dwellings were most likely to be living in a flatting situation (40 percent) or be in the role of spouse/partner only (31 percent). Low household income was not a barrier that prevented these people from heating their dwelling, as they were most likely to receive a household income of \$100,000 (20 and 24 percent, respectively). Very few received low household incomes.

There are significant regional differences in the proportions of inner city multi-unit dwellers living in households without access to heating. Probably as a result of Christchurch's colder climate, only 6 percent of its inner city dwellers lived in households that did not heat their dwelling, compared with 12 percent of Wellington's and 22 percent of Auckland's.

<sup>5</sup> Eddy Saul (Wellington City Council), in discussion with the author, September 2005.

## Glossary

### *Area units*

Area units are aggregations of meshblocks. They are non-administrative areas and in between meshblocks and territorial authorities in size. Area units must either define or aggregate to define regional councils, territorial authorities, urban areas and statistical areas.

Each area unit must be a single geographic entity with a unique name referring to a geographical feature. Area units of main or secondary urban areas generally coincide with suburbs or parts thereof.

### *Ethnicity*

Ethnicity is defined as the ethnic group or ethnic groups that people feel they belong to. People may therefore belong to more than one ethnic group.

### *Household*

A household is either one person, who usually resides alone, or two or more people who usually reside together and share facilities.

### *Household composition*

This is a derived variable that classifies all households according to the relationships between usually resident people. Households are classified according to the presence, number and type of family nuclei and the presence of related and unrelated people.

### *Labour force status*

Labour force status is a derived variable that classifies people aged 15 years and over according to their inclusion or exclusion from the labour force. People aged 15 years and over can either be participating or not participating in the labour force. Those who are participating can either be employed or unemployed. Someone is unemployed if they are without paid employment, but are available for work and are actively seeking work, or are starting a new job in less than four weeks time.

### *Marital status*

A person's marital status is their status with respect to the marriage laws or customs of the country. *Legal* marital status is a person's status with respect to registered marriage. *Social* marital status is a person's status with respect to consensual union (partnered or unpartnered).

### *Multi-unit dwellings*

This term refers to dwellings that are physically attached to at least one other residential unit. For a more detailed description, see Appendix A.

### *Tenure of household*

This variable refers to the nature of the occupancy of a private household in a dwelling at the time of the survey. Tenure of household seeks to ascertain if the household rents or owns the dwelling and whether payment is made by the household for that right. It does not refer to the tenure of the land on which the dwelling is situated.

## **Appendix A**

### **Dwelling Type - Standard Classification 1999**

The term 'apartment' can mean different things to different people; therefore the 1991 and 2001 Censuses did not collect information on people living in this dwelling type per se. Instead they collected information on people living in dwellings that were physically attached to at least one other residential dwelling. Therefore, this report is about people living in these 'multi-unit dwellings'.

For the purposes of this report, the term 'multi-unit dwelling' refers to three dwelling types from the Dwelling Type – Standard Classification 1999:

- Two flats/units/townhouses/apartments/houses joined together
- Three or more flats/units/townhouses/apartments/houses joined together, in 1 or 2 storey building
- Three or more flats/units/townhouses/apartments/houses joined together, in 3 or more storey building.

## **Appendix B**

### **Definition of inner city areas**

For the purposes of this report, 'inner city multi-unit dwellers' are those living in multi-unit dwellings in the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch Central Business Districts (CBDs).

The Auckland CBD was based on 'Map of Auckland's CBD' (Auckland City Council, 2005). The boundary streets were The Strand, Stanley St, Grafton Rd, and the Southern Motorway. This includes all of the Auckland Highbourside, Auckland Central West, and Auckland Central East census districts, and parts of the Freemans Bay, Newton, Grafton West and Grafton East census area units.

The Wellington CBD was based on 'Downtown Wellington' (Wellington City Council, 2005). The boundary streets were Bunny St, Bowen St, The Terrace, Dixon St, Willis Street, Webb St, Buckle St, Kent Tce, Pirie St, Brougham St, Majoribanks St, Oriental Bay and Herd St. This includes parts of the Lambton, Willis Street and Mount Victoria West census area units.

The Christchurch CBD was based on those areas identified as central city by the city plan (Christchurch City Council, 2004). The boundary streets were Moorhouse Ave, Durham St South, Tuam St, Oxford Tce, Montreal St, Hereford St, Rolleston Ave, Gloucester St, Montreal St, Salisbury St, Colombo St, Peterborough St, Manchester St, Cambridge Tce and Madras St. Part of Victoria St was also included. This area includes parts of the Cathedral Square, Hagley Park and Avon Loop census area units.

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