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Introduction

Mountainous areas in New Zealand with a high dependency on its tourism industry are relatively small and remote. For some destinations, however, large-scale in-migration has turned small settlements into rapidly growing communities. Wanaka, an area in the Southern Alps of New Zealand, is one such example. During its history as a tourist destination, the population of Wanaka has grown relatively slowly but there was a dramatic change after the year 2000. The population of Wanaka has nearly doubled from 3330 inhabitants in 2001 to 5037 in 2006 and the population growth related to in-migration is still strong, according to the 2006 New Zealand Census.

Tourist destinations often have a stronger positive population development as a consequence of tourism than other similar small villages in peripheral regions (Hall and Boyd, 2005). For years, researchers have studied migration to tourism destinations and also tried to make connections between tourism and migration by studying factors such as retirement, labour, return, second-home and entrepreneurial migration (Williams and Hall, 2000). Still, the dividing line is blurred between different types of migration and social or personal motives for migration. Typologies, such as lifestyle migration (e.g. Benson and O'Reilly, 2009a and 2009b) and amenity migration (e.g., Moss, 2006a) have tried to clarify these blurred borders. Decisions to migrate, thoughts about migration and other social aspects about migration are important to consider both in research about different types of migration and by planners in areas with high in-migration rates. This paper contributes to an understanding of the social aspects of why people move to mountainous tourism destinations by studying the migration motivations of a few individuals and how they were integrated in the society and constructed their new life in the local community. The meaning of the place is also important to these newcomers. Are there connections between the place/environment and the decision to move to and live there and the lifestyle that can be achieved in the area?

The paper starts by revealing the connection between migration and tourism in previous research and what kind of motives have been recognised among migrants moving to tourism destinations and mountainous areas. The next section presents Wanaka's history as a tourism destination and community, followed by a description of the methods used for this study. The main part of the paper focuses on the responses given by the interviewees regarding lifestyle changes following migration. The paper concludes with a discussion about how in-migrants to

Wanaka reported their motives for migration, how they adapted to their new way of life and the importance of amenities in Wanaka to in-migrants. Finally, possible future research is also indicated.

Tourism-related migration

Permanent migration, along with temporary movements, such as those made by tourists, are part of the mobility in time and space that is continually occurring. However, research on the subject has neglected the connection between these two types of movements until recently, when Bell and Ward (2000) compared temporary mobility with permanent migration in connection to tourism. They observed that:

Temporary and permanent mobility act in complementary, symbiotic relationships, while in others the former has come to substitute for the latter; but temporary moves may also act as a precursor to permanent relocation.”(Bell and Ward, 2000:104)

They highlighted that there is a link between temporary and permanent migration and the only reason for keeping these two forms separate is merely for the sake of convenience. The lack of research about the connections between the two social phenomena of migration and tourism is also acknowledged by Williams and Hall (2000). Their study on tourism and migration and the possibility of finding new relations between production and consumption found five important relationships. These are discussed below.

Research about retirement migration mostly involves moving to warmer areas like the Costa del Sol on the Spanish Riviera (O'Reilly, 2003 and 2000; Rodriguez et. al, 1998), other parts of Spain (Rodriguez, 2001) other Mediterranean countries (Williams et. al, 2000), and Mexico (Truly, 2002). In many cases of retirement migration, the migrants have an affinity with the place from having been a tourist in the area. In South Carolina in the United States, many people over the age of 50 who are in a stage of pre-retirement travel around as tourists in order to find second homes, a place to retire and even new job opportunities (Mason and Pettit, 2001). Migration to South Carolina is characterised both by retirement migration and a type of labour migration. This type of migration, in which employment is part of the pull factor, often involves moving to areas where leisure and work are strongly connected. This is especially prevalent among young adults, who may work while they travel (Boon, 2006). Alternatively, work

opportunities in the tourism industry itself can attract migrants seeking jobs (Cooper, 2002). In Urielys' (2001) study on the interaction between work and tourism, working tourists and travelling workers were both seen as labour migrants, even though they differed in their main purposes for work and travelling.

Entrepreneurial migration and how it is related to tourism, according to Williams and Hall (2000), can be divided into three different categories. The first is entrepreneurs who move to other countries and then create services for tourists from their home country. The second category is tourism entrepreneurs who, due to their business interest, become attracted to mass tourism destinations and the opportunities that these areas can create. The third category is entrepreneurs who are amenity seekers; they want to live in an amenity-rich tourism destination but not necessarily run a tourism business. A connection has also been found between entrepreneurial migrants and return migrants, where individuals born in the area return, either as a result of being a tourist in the area or in order to develop the tourism industry. In Greece, for example, it has been shown that return migrants starting new businesses have played a key role in the development of the tourism industry in Anafi on the Cyclades (Kenna, 1993). It can also be a visit to friends and relatives that triggers return migration (Illés and Michalkó, 2008).

The fifth link between tourism and migration that Williams and Hall (2000) revealed was persons moving to second homes (see Hall and Müller, 2004 for an anthology on the subject). One example of this type of migration is Germans who owned a second home in Sweden but did not initially consider migrating permanently to Sweden. After a few years, however, while visiting their second home, they reconsidered the potential to move to the country permanently (Müller, 2002). Second-home ownership can lead to permanent migration to tourist areas.

These five associations between migration and tourism are interconnected in many ways and, in some cases, are hard to separate. At the same time it is important to note that none of them explicitly consider the *social* aspect of why people actually move. As a result, as pointed out by Benson and O'Reilly (2009a), these factors fail to capture the complexity of social motives for migration. Because researchers have focused on social-orientated migration, the factors have been used as umbrella concepts, within which a wider range of migration research can be assembled. In an attempt to conceptualise one type of social phenomenon in migration, Benson and O'Reilly (2009a) studied the usefulness of lifestyle migration as a tool for analysis. This concept has grown in migration research recently and focuses on migrants moving as a

result of the belief that the new location will improve their quality of life (see Benson and O'Reilly, 2009b for an anthology on this topic). For retirees who move to southern Europe, the lifestyle they can achieve and the concept of lifestyle migration can be the main conceptual framework. This is a way of adjusting a topic of social-orientated migration into a smaller concept instead of using a broader concept such as retirement migration.

From a New Zealand perspective, lifestyle migration has been studied by, for example, Fountain and Hall (2002), who focused on the impact of domestic and lifestyle migration on the community of Akaroa, in the South Island. As the case study area for the present paper concentrates on rural mountain areas, this type of social-orientated migration research will be positioned in other areas than it was earlier. For this type of mountainous area, social aspects of migration have been studied mainly within the context of amenity migration (e.g., Loeffler & Steinicke, 2007; Jobes, 2000; Tonderayi, 2000; or see Moss, 2006a for an anthology on the topic with case studies from the Americas, Asia-Pacific's and Europe). This type of amenity-led migration mainly involves people who perceive an improved environmental quality in the new location, as well as a differentiated culture (Moss, 2006b). This usually involves migration to rural areas and involves both primary and secondary residences in areas for which the natural environment and its recreational aspects are pull factors (McCarthy, 2008). These amenity-rich areas can also be seen as attractive for tourists, who might end up as immigrants. However, the situation that takes place before tourists consider moving to this kind of area is more complex (Kuentzel and Ramaswamy, 2005).

This paper argues that there are strong links between lifestyle migration and amenity migration, especially in mountainous areas. It is important to study lifestyles in relation to such areas, as well as in relation to the amenities that are available there. There are gaps in the overall research regarding these social motives of migration. Even though research has started to relate migration to the change in life sought by many migrants the connections between this type of migration and studies on mountain areas are few. It is important to consider lifestyle-based migration together with the broader contexts of tourism-related migration in order to fully understand its importance both for migrants and for the local community. Another point to consider is the importance of the change of lifestyle in relation to the amenities that the place offers.

Research context

The area selected for this study is the community (both the social community and the geographical location) of Wanaka, a rural town in Central Otago in New Zealand's South Island. Other small or medium-sized communities exist around Wanaka but the closest city is Dunedin, which is about a four-hour drive away. Transportation on roads is the only way to access Wanaka. Regular buses operate in the area and an airport with domestic and international (flights to Australia) is located in Queenstown, a one-hour drive away (Queenstown Lakes District Council, 2009). The social service in Wanaka is well developed and includes police, fire brigade, medical center, childcare, primary schools and a college (Wanaka Community Information, 2009).

In Wanaka's early days in the mid-19th century (it was named Pembroke at the time), mining was the main industry (Roxburgh, 1957). Since the 1870s, the area has attracted tourists due to its natural beauty (Roxburgh, 1957) but the tourism industry was not enough to sustain Wanaka at this time. Today a dependency on tourism is evident as the mining industry no longer exists (Roxburgh, 1990).

Lake Wanaka and deerstalking (hunting) popularised Wanaka as a tourism attraction (Roxburgh, 1990) but the winter seasons brought a decline in visitors to the area. In the late 1960s the first tow-assisted downhill skiing was developed at Wanaka's first ski area, Treble Cone (Markby, 2008). Nowadays, the tourist attractions in the area are based on the mountains together with the lake. It has also become an all-season destination that attracts both domestic and international tourists (Kearsley, 1999). Skiing attracts tourists during the winter and tramping (hiking) and mountain biking are the major attractions for tourists in the summer. The increase in tourist numbers, which started in the 1960s, was reinforced by the new road being built in 1965 which passes Wanaka from the south up to Westland (Roxburgh, 1990). This road made the area more accessible for tourists. Since the 1960s, Wanaka has been one of New Zealand's main tourist destinations.

The population grew along with the growing tourism industry but not to the same extent. By the 1880s Wanaka had around 30 permanent households and 20 years later the population was 130. In the 1960s the population reached 1000 inhabitants, of which about 400 resided in central Wanaka. At this time, second-home owners in the area started to consider Wanaka as a place to do business, to work and/or to retire (Roxburgh, 1990). This in-migration has continued

and the number of inhabitants has increased rapidly recently. In 2006 the population of Wanaka was 5,037, which was an increase of 1,707 from 2001 (New Zealand Census 2006).

Methodological approach

This paper takes a qualitative approach and is based on material collected through semi-structured interviews with individuals who have moved to Wanaka since 2003. The sample for this article consists of seven interviews conducted with individuals and couples in Wanaka. The snowball principle was considered to be the most appropriate method for finding respondents (Finn, et. al. 2000). A diverse selection of respondents was made for the study, with age, gender and place of origin all taken into consideration. The selection was initially made based on a list of individuals that one contact person had put together as a guide to potential respondents. From these initial interviews, other people were suggested and selected. Some, but not all, of the respondents knew each other, which is common when using the snowball method. Their relationships became known partly through the snowball method used but also through the interviews, as they sometimes belonged to the same social network, for example.

A total of 11 people were interviewed (four men and seven women). The ages ranged from 30 to 73 and all except one (from Australia) came from other parts of New Zealand. Wanaka was for some respondents a move to a larger community, for others a move to a similar sized place and some moved from larger cities and for this group the move was made in an urban to rural direction. Four of the 11 respondents were fully retired ranging in age between 60 and 73. Four individuals were partly retired and had part-time jobs. This group was aged between 48 and 59. The remaining three individuals were full-time workers aged 30 to 55. Males and females are represented in each group.

The broader topic of migration was discussed during the interviews. The focus of this paper is the motives of the respondents to migrate and the new lifestyle they experienced after moving to Wanaka. The material was analysed with a starting point of the respondents' own perceptions of their motives for migrating and how they interacted within the community after moving to Wanaka. The following sections present respondents' feelings about moving to Wanaka and how they became part of a social community.

Motives for migration

Through statements like “*drained from meeting people all day long*” as a store owner, “*burned out at the farm*” as a full-time farming couple or “*after 40 years in one place you want a change*”, some informants showed that they were somewhat worn out by the life they had lived, which made a change in life sound tempting. The participants who were drained or burned out longed for a peaceful and relaxing life where the focus was on themselves rather than on their work. Others were seeking a change to a more active and stimulating life, as one woman in her sixties said:

“I wanted to sort of have a more outdoor life. I like walking and that sort of thing. For me it was, I felt a lot happier once we had moved. We just felt that we needed a change in our lives, I suppose.”

“Did you get that change?”

“Yeah, I think our life up north had become quite routine, you know we sort of saw the same people all the time and did the same things all the time. And summer holidays were always the same and I just felt I needed a change. Needed to meet new people, do new things.”

This woman’s thoughts were described in depth as they give a clear description of the correlation between the life she lived before and after the move, and it also reflects the links between the decision to move and the place itself. This woman showed her interest in changing her way of life, both socially and physically. In a social sense she needed to meet new people and, from a physical perspective, she wanted to have a more active outdoor lifestyle. By saying that she reached a happier life due to a move, this indicates that it made a positive contribution in her life. A positive new way of living is the essence of lifestyle migration (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009a). This particular woman expressed the basic thoughts of a migrant moving in order to achieve a more attractive lifestyle. She also mentioned that she became happier once she moved, which indicates that the move itself made a positive contribution. The life she lived can be seen as the ‘push factor’ for the move. At first it seemed that Wanaka did not exert any attraction but later on in the interview, the specific importance of Wanaka became evident. Thus, the decision to move to Wanaka was also based on her interests and her perception of Wanaka’s natural beauty:

“... I think we wanted to move here because we like the mountains and the skiing and I just love it.”

The relationship between the new way of life and the amenities are connected. The location, with its mountains (in the case of this interviewee) and the lake (attractive for other respondents), offers an opportunity to be active outdoors and it also provides residents with a beautiful atmosphere in which to live. The change in lifestyle that occurs when moving to mountainous areas or other places that are rich in natural amenities cannot be taken out of the context of the physical location. The geographical place, as in amenity migration, can be the pull factor for moving to the area. But, as in this case, and perhaps in many cases of lifestyle-orientated migration, there are links between social aspects that can be gained in the community and the place to which people move. The place itself can constitute a pull factor and at the same time the social community can be attractive:

“It is the small community and the way that people are in the village that makes it so attractive to stay in.”

This quotation is taken from an interview with a woman in her seventies. She moved to Wanaka after visiting the place as a tourist for several years. During these visits and through friends she had met locals in the community; she found them friendly and became interested in living a life among such people. This was also the feeling of a former seasonal worker in Wanaka who, after a couple of seasons, moved permanently to the area with his wife and child. He (a man in his thirties) said that they:

“just met some really good people. The people were probably what brought us back the most.”

He also noted that the attraction of the mountains was one reason why he came to the area in the first place. As a seasonal worker he came to the area for the opportunities it gave him to snowboard and enjoy the mountains but the people and the social life later became important factors when deciding to move permanently. The same connections between the physical place and the social community were mentioned by the woman in her seventies, quoted above. She mentioned the mountains and the beauty of the place several times during the interview. Within the context of all the respondents' individual motives for migrating, it is hard to separate the life in the social community from the physical place of Wanaka with its amenity-rich environment.

Active lifestyle and voluntary work

When someone moves to a new place there is often a desire to meet new people and get to know the community. The same pattern is seen in Wanaka as among British migrants to

the Costa del Sol (O'Reilly, 2000), where leisure was seen as important but so too was club life and being a part of organised social groups. In-migrants to both Wanaka and the Costa del Sol participated in voluntary work in different ways and to different extents.

Some of the interviewees in Wanaka already knew that they were seeking a life filled with physical activities. They had lived an active life or were interested in an active lifestyle before moving and wanted to have more opportunities to be active in the context that Wanaka's nature and social community could offer. Respondents were sometimes escaping from a hectic lifestyle but were still searching for an active life, both in the sense of voluntary work and an active social and physical life. Others were more surprised by how they turned out to be more active, both physically and socially.

Many of the interviewees felt a need to be involved in activities in order to make connections, build relationships and start friendships. This was usually achieved by joining one or more of the social groups that were established in town, which catered to various interests. Some groups, such as the book club, were intellectually stimulating, while others, like walking groups, were more physically stimulating. Clubs such as the lawn bowling club and golf club are included as meeting points but they are not considered solely as places to perform a hobby or interest. Many of the respondents socialise and start to develop a social life through these kinds of clubs. Those respondents who had not yet become involved in activities of this kind saw the potential and believed that there was a need to become involved, meet new people and build up their social life. They saw the importance of "putting yourself out there" and "giving of yourself". Clubs (like these) combined with the fact that so many of Wanaka's inhabitants are newcomers, helped with acclimatisation to the community. As one woman aged in her seventies said:

"Everybody has moved here, the same kind of people. That makes it easy to get into the community."

As the community had always been small, many felt that it was easy to meet new people and because they had all met others who had moved to the area relatively recently, a common experience was shared. Another interviewee confirmed this:

"I feel that everybody that lives here has a common bond. You know, people live in Wanaka for one reason. We all live here because we like the outdoors and we like the environment. You feel that you have something in common with everybody from the beginning."

This active and social lifestyle does not just include clubs and groups. There was also significant interest in involvement in voluntary work. Volunteering created a sense of belonging in the community and the personal need to make a contribution to the community was articulated. These voluntary acts could range from full-time unpaid community social service to sporadic assistance with tourism-related events.

This eagerness to participate and contribute to the community is not merely a substitute for the work time that retirees lose after retiring. Those who still worked felt that they were not a part of the community if they did not contribute to it in some way. One example was the young father who took a voluntary job in the fire brigade. He saw that he had made a contribution to the community but he also saw a personal victory in being part of this group. Due to his work in the fire brigade he gained contacts and built up a personal network that he could use in his private company in the construction industry.

These social groups and meeting points, regardless of whether they are physically active, intellectually stimulating or consist of voluntary work, can be one of the ways to start social relationships in a new place of residence. A socially stimulating life was a high priority for the respondents and they all wanted to build a social network and participate in the local community. As voluntary workers, respondents were seeking a sense of belonging and of making a contribution to the community.

Adopting lifestyle changes

Some interviewees felt that they had a hard time coping with their new life in different ways. It was also clear from observation that some had held on to aspects of their former life, even though, in many ways, they enjoyed the new life and the changes that the move provided them with. One example of holding onto a former way of life was a retired farmer who still had a tractor but said that he used it more as a hobby. This family also kept their old truck, even though they just used it around the newly built house. The man's wife said that she liked the truck because it reminds her that they will always be a farming family. At the same time she also expressed distaste for some old clothes her husband wore, as they may have been appropriate on the farm but not when attending social events in Wanaka. Also, when building their house they chose a section that was relatively far away from their closest neighbour, as they were used to having privacy. At the same time, they attended social events almost every night of the

week. The husband actually started to think they were having a bit too much of 'the good life' in terms of eating and drinking.

Another example of holding onto a former way of life was demonstrated by some of those interviewees who had moved to Wanaka for semi-retirement. Many of them continued to work in the same field as they had before moving. One couple had complained of being burned out and tired of meeting people all day at the store they had owned, yet they continued to work part-time at companies where interaction with guests and costumers was a large part of the job. One of the reasons they provided for working at these new workplaces was to meet people. This creates something of a contradiction between the way this couple is actually living their new life and how they imagined their new life would be. However, this can also be a way of slowly acclimatising to the new way of life. A total change in life and lifestyle might have been too much to cope with.

Conclusion

By studying the motives of individuals, this study has aimed to offer an understanding of why certain individuals moved to and settled down in a mountain tourism destination and also how these individuals became part of the social community that constitutes their new place of residence. Based on these aims, two themes were set up to analyse the material.

The first was the motivation for migrating, where the amenities of the mountains and the lake were attractive when considering Wanaka as a place in which to live permanently. The location itself and the activities that the amenities provide were attractive and worked as a pull factor for in-migrants. Another pull factor was the importance of the people who live in Wanaka. In-migrants became attracted to Wanaka partly because of the inhabitants they met when they were there as tourists or seasonal workers. Therefore, the motives for migration were not driven solely by amenities but also by thoughts of a friendly and social lifestyle.

The other theme was that the interviewees could build up a social life in Wanaka through an active lifestyle. This active lifestyle can be seen as a strategy for the interviewees to create an enjoyable social life at the new place. Most of them were actively seeking ways to create social well-being. These strategies and the ways in which life changes after the move creates a lifestyle change that would fit under the conceptual framework of lifestyle migration, where the migration motive is based on a search for a better way of living life (Benson and O'Reilly,

2009a). At the same time, the motives for migration were, in some cases, connected to the environment, which makes it a part of amenity-led migration.

It is important, therefore, to study the entire migration and adoption process through which individuals have gone. Knowing the motivations for moving as well as the strategies used to become part of the community helps provide an individual history. On its own, this contributes to a broader understanding of social orientated migration where the borders between different conceptual frameworks in migration research still make it difficult to categorise an individual into one specific migration type. This study has provided examples of individuals who have sought a better way of life and an environment with high amenity value. This makes them amenity migrants just as much as lifestyle migrants.

The impact that this kind of migration has on communities in mountain areas still requires further research. This paper manages to contribute to research about the migrants' own thoughts and decisions but a large in-migration rate, such as that of Wanaka, also affects the local community, both economically and socially. The social changes that in-migrants can bring to small rural communities are important and an issue for further research. Such research could involve, for example, the rural image that migrants create and how it suits the one held by locals. Another question might be whether this type of in-migration can create subcultures in small areas that already have a kind of subculture in the form of their tourist and temporary tourism workers.

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