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Abstract: This paper examines the local politics through which the reconstitution of rural localities under globalization is advanced and contested, with particular reference to the impact of international amenity migration. It contends that as globalization proceeds not by domination but by hybirdization and negotiation, local politics is critical as the sphere in which the outcomes of globalization processes are interpreted and contested. The paper examines the case study of Queenstown Lakes district in South Island, New Zealand, as a locality that has experienced significant transformation through engagement with globalization processes. These include high levels of international amenity in-migration, substantial overseas investment in property, commerce and construction projects, and an increasing volume of international tourists. Collectively, these processes have contributed to rapid population growth and intensive pressure for the development of rural land in the area. As detailed in the paper, land use planning became the dominant issue in local politics, with conflict between groups informed by 'boosterist' and 'environmentalist' stand-points, as well as the 'aspirational ruralism' of amenity in-migrants. Although locally-grounded, the

conflict engaged trans-local actors and networks and transgressed space and scale, thus becoming itself an expression of globalization.

Response to Reviewers: The manuscript has been substantially revised in response to the reviewers' comments. The comments of the two reviewers had slightly different emphasis and I have followed more the suggestions of reviewer 2, which have been addressed in full. The comments of reviewer 1, if followed in full, would have led to a substantially different paper. Although the approaches suggested are valid and could be applied to the case study, they would take the paper away from the main argument that I wish to advance and also away from the main themes of the special issue.

The revisions completed are as follows:

1) The introduction and opening sections have been completely rewritten, incorporating suggestions from the reviewers, but also placing a more direct focus on amenity migration and hence linking more strongly to the theme of the special issue. I have also developed a stronger explanation of the theoretical perspective employed, supported by references to existing literature, which I hope addresses some of the theoretical and methodological issues raised by referee 1.

2) More limited revisions have been made to the sections concerning the empirical case study, including the emphasis on amenity migration more apparent. More empirical evidence has been provided on this point, and on international investment, in response to comments from referee 1.

3) Greater discussion has been added about the significance of the New Zealand political context and the use of globalization as a political strategy, drawing particularly on the work of Larner and others, as recommended by both referees.

4) Give the time period since the original manuscript was written, statistics and other information in the paper have been updated where appropriate. I have also sought to engage with recent publications on amenity migration, globalization etc where relevant.

5) A new conclusion has been written to reflect the changes earlier in the manuscript and to emphasize the key arguments of the paper.

The local politics of the global countryside: Boosterism, aspirational ruralism and the contested reconstitution of Queenstown, New Zealand.

Abstract

This paper examines the local politics through which the reconstitution of rural localities under globalization is advanced and contested, with particular reference to the impact of international amenity migration. It contends that as globalization proceeds not by domination but by hybirdization and negotiation, local politics is critical as the sphere in which the outcomes of globalization processes are interpreted and contested. The paper examines the case study of Queenstown Lakes district in South Island, New Zealand, as a locality that has experienced significant transformation through engagement with globalization processes. These include high levels of international amenity in-migration, substantial overseas investment in property, commerce and construction projects, and an increasing volume of international tourists. Collectively, these processes have contributed to rapid population growth and intensive pressure for the development of rural land in the area. As detailed in the paper, land use planning became the dominant issue in local politics, with conflict between groups informed by 'boosterist' and 'environmentalist' stand-points, as well as the 'aspirational ruralism' of amenity in-migrants. Although locally-grounded, the conflict engaged trans-local actors and networks and transgressed space and scale, thus becoming itself an expression of globalization.

The local politics of the global countryside: Boosterism, aspirational ruralism and the contested reconstitution of Queenstown, New Zealand.

Introduction

Amenity migration is not in itself a new phenomenon. The idea of retreating either permanently or temporarily to a bucolic rural setting valued for its amenity opportunities was commonplace for the elites of ancient Rome and has remained an ambition of elite groups ever since. In the modern era, opportunities for amenity migration have been extended to large parts of the population of developed countries, and the pursuit of a 'better quality' lifestyle with enhanced possibilities for recreation and the consumption of the rural environment has been a key driver of domestic counterurbanization. However, recent observations have pointed to a new feature within amenity migration: not only is amenity migration booming, but it is also becoming increasingly global in character (Albrecht, 2007; McCarthy, 2008; Moss, 2006; Schmied, 2005).

Moreover, reference to a 'global amenity property boom' has a double meaning. On the one hand it recognizes that amenity in-migration is being experienced in a much more extensive range of rural localities than previously, including many parts of the global south as well as remoter rural localities in developed countries (McCarthy, 2008). On the other hand, it acknowledges that an increasing number of migrants are making international moves for amenity purposes, and that certain highly-valued amenity locations have developed global reputations and are selling property in a global marketplace. Indeed, a key characteristic of global amenity migration is its

geographically uneven constitution, with certain selected localities being catapulted into global consciousness as amenity destinations and thus experiencing a transformative impact that is highly localized yet contingent on global actors and networks. As McCarthy notes, "only areas meeting the requisite aesthetic, legal, linguistic and other preconditions qualify, leaving most rural areas unlikely to receive this form of investment" (2008; p. 131).

In the selected localities the transformative effects of international amenity migration – often coupled with a broader influx of international tourists – are the primary way in which globalization is experienced and engaged, yet the contribution of amenity migration to globalization in rural regions has received considerably less attention from researchers than the globalization of rural resource commodity chains (Woods, 2007). This is unfortunate, not least because such localities present a particularly pertinent context in which to explore the ways in which globalization reconstitutes rural space through processes of engagement, negotiation and contestation, involving as they do a number of social, cultural, environmental, political and economic challenges that result from the arrival of amenity migrants and associated property investment and development.

This paper therefore investigates the local politics of the 'global countryside' through an examination of the localized political struggles involved in negotiating the impact of globalization in a locality strongly associated with amenity migration, the Queenstown Lakes district of South Island, New Zealand. The analysis builds on an argument set out

in Woods (2007) that called for research exploring the micro-processes and micro-politics through which place is reconstituted as the key to understanding the uneven geographies of the emergent 'global countryside', and which was itself informed by relational perspectives on globalization (Massey, 2005) and by conceptualizations of rural spaces as hybrid and networked (Murdoch, 2003; 2006). This theoretical framework is introduced in the next section and linked to literatures on rural amenity migration and consumption, whilst the latter part of the paper focuses on the empirical case study.

Globalization, Amenity Migration and the Reconstitution of Rural Place

Globalization and Rural Localities

The impact of globalization processes on the social, economic, political and cultural constitution of rural localities has arguably been under-researched in comparison to the wealth of attention that has been devoted to the 'global city' and to urban experiences of globalization. Research on globalization by rural geographers and rural sociologists has been disproportionately focused on the development of global commodity chains for food, timber and other rural resources (e.g. Drummond and Marsden, 1999; Goodman and Watts, 1997; McMichael, 1994; Stringer and Le Heron, 2008), as well as on the shifting regulatory structures of the global economy and the practices of global corporations in these sectors (e.g. Busch and Bain, 2004; Hendrickson and Heffernan, 2002), rather than on grounded analysis of how globalization processes actually work to transform and remake rural places (notable exceptions include Bebbington, 2001; Échanove, 2005; Epp and Whitson, 2001; Murray, 2001). As I have argued elsewhere,

this bias has left a gap in our understanding of the consequences for rural localities of globalization, and in particular in our understanding of the uneven rural geographies of globalization (Woods, 2007).

The concept of the 'global countryside' attempts to address this issue by providing a discursive framework for imagining a countryside transformed by globalization and acting as a rhetorical counterpoint to the 'global city'. Described as "a hypothetical space, corresponding to a condition of the global interconnectivity and interdependency of rural localities" (Woods, 2007, 492), the global countryside is not an actually existent place, but rather a device to emphasize the uneven impact of globalization on rural localities. As detailed in Woods (2007), a number of features of the hypothetical global countryside can be proposed by extending current trends and processes, thus imagining a rural space that is characterized by primary and secondary sector dependency on elongated commodity chains; transnational corporate concentration and integration; the supply and employment of international migrant labour; global flows of tourists and amenity migrants; high levels of non-national property investment; commodified natural environments; transformed landscapes; increasing social polarization; new sites of political authority; and the contestation of globalization processes and of rural identities. Whilst each of these characteristics can be found at least partially articulated in certain rural localities, no locality at present corresponds to them all and their expression will vary between places. As such, it can be argued that,

As this emergent global countryside is not a uniform, homogeneous space, but rather is differentially articulated, and contested, through particular rural places, so the question … how are rural places remade under globalization? – becomes central to our understanding of the global countryside. (Woods, 2007, 494).

Guidance for answering this question is drawn from Massey's (2005) relational understanding of space and from perspectives developed by Murdoch (2003; 2006) and others of the rural as a hybrid and networked space. Both of these literatures share recognition of the co-constitution of space and the constitutive interrelatedness of local and global actors and of human and non-human actants in networks configured around place, informed by theories of hybridity and actor-networks. Applied to the question of globalization and rural localities, the approach reveals the unpicking of previous hybrid forms that constituted rural places and the remaking of new hybrid places through processes of negotiation, manipulation and contestation involving both local and non-local actors (Woods, 2007). Rural localities impacted by globalization processes are not homogenized but retain their local distinctiveness, yet they are also different to how they were before. As Massey suggests, the outcomes for localities of globalization are contingent and varied:

In a relational understanding of neoliberal globalization 'places' are criss-crossings in the wider power-geometries that constitute both themselves and 'the global'. On this view local places are not simply always the victims of

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the global; nor are they always politically defensible redoubts against the global. Understanding space as the constant open production of the topologies of power points to the fact that different 'places' will stand in contrasting relations to the global. (Massey, 2005, 101).

As indicated earlier, rural sites of global amenity migration offer a particularly pertinent context in which to explore such dynamics because they offer such a rich inter-play of different actors, forces and outcomes. The global flows involved in amenity migration are not only flows of migrants, but also flows of finance capital, property titles, cultural practices and ideas and consumer goods. Global actors here include distant corporations, but also individual migrants who move into the locality, as well as investors, entrepreneurs, developers and migrant workers who arrive to create the required infrastructure, alongside local investors, entrepreneurs, developers and workers. The product is a newly hybrid population of locals and in-migrants, with hybrid cultural and consumer practices, but also a transformed landscape, often involving hybrid architectural styles and landscape features. Moreover, sites of global amenity migration are frequently also sites of contestation, with conflict over the dilution of indigenous culture and displacement of indigenous population, increased social polarization, environmental degradation, and other impacts. These issues present challenges to local governmental actors who seek to balance the economic benefits of amenity migration with the perceived and real social and environmental costs.

Global Amenity Migration and the Reconstitution of Rural Localities

International amenity migration has been a growing phenomenon in recent decades, in terms of both volume and scope. Established patterns of amenity migration (including second home-owning) in neighbouring countries – Germans in Scandinavia, Britons in France, Americans in Mexico – have been supplemented by longer range migration, including the migration of western Europeans to Eastern Europe, North Americans to more distant parts of Central and South America, and Japanese and Taiwanese to Canada and New Zealand.

Whilst the overall scale of international amenity migration is difficult to quantify, individual studies have recorded its significance in specific localities. King et al. (2000) record the presence of over 4,000 British nationals in the Tuscany region of Italy, over 3,700 in Malta, and over 3,000 in the Algarve region of Portugal. In Costa Rica, foreign residents in the mountain region of Escazú have increased significantly in number and now comprise 25 per cent of the population of San Rafael district, drawn from 81 different countries (Chaverri P, 2006). Similarly, Glorioso (2006) reports the in-migration of over 4,000 foreign amenity migrants to the Baguio region of the Philippines between 1993 and 1999, mainly from South Korea, but also from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, and, in smaller numbers, Australia, North America and Western Europe. These studies also emphasize the geographical selectivity of amenity migration. Amenity migrants, by definition, are attracted to areas characterized by particular types of aesthetic experience and recreational opportunities. Mountain and coastal areas are especially favoured (Moss,

2006), along with certain 'idyllic' pastoral landscapes such as Tuscany, Provence or Andalusia.

In most of these localities, the impact of amenity migration operates in concert with the impact of international tourism – tourism itself having become increasingly globalized in recent decades (Hjalager, 2007). The combined transformational effect of international amenity migration and tourism on rural localities to a large part mirrors the impacts associated with domestic counterurbanization – urbanization, environmental degradation, gentrification and the displacement of endogenous populations, reduced community coherence – amplified by cultural differences and the undertones of informal colonization, especially in developing countries.

Yet, there are also particular impacts resulting from the international nature of the process. First, international amenity migration is often accompanied by international investment and property development. For example, Whitson (2001) describes Japanese investment in ski resorts in British Columbia, aimed at creating 'world-class resorts' attracting European and Asian tourists and migrants. Second, cultural hybridization occurs as population groups mix and elements of local culture are commodified, producing a hybrid space that stands apart from neighbouring localities. Torres and Momsen (2005), for example, in charting the transformation of Cancun from an agricultural community into a global resort, note that the product was "a dynamic 'hybrid-space' in which elements of Mexican, American, and artificial Mayan culture have been reconstituted for consumption" (p 314), referred to by locals as 'Gringolandia'.

Third, international amenity migration and tourism lock localities into new global networks. Thus, whilst the expressions of transformation may be highly localized, the actors involved can be globally dispersed, and resulting conflicts can be swiftly upscaled to become national or international controversies. In each of these respects, the target locations of international amenity migration become what Appadurai (1996) calls 'translocalities', belonging in one sense to particular nation-states, but transgressing conventional political geographies through their embeddedness in transnational networks and relations.

The factors driving international amenity migration are several-fold and reflect the multi-dimensional nature of globalization (see also McCarthy, 2008). First, technological advances, including improved transportation and new information technologies, have both increased access to remoter rural localities and enabled migrants to maintain stronger connections with home countries and to continue to participate in distant social, economic, cultural and political processes. Second, popular imaginaries of the rural have become increasingly transnational as globalized notions of the rural idyll are disseminated through the global media (Bell, 2006). Idealized representations of fashionable amenity resorts are hence broadcast around the world, enhancing their global profile and inspiring migrants who might otherwise target rural localities closer to home.

Third, international amenity migration has been facilitated by neoliberal reforms. These include the liberalization of controls on international travel and immigration, at least for citizens of many developed nations, and the liberalization of restrictions on the

transnational movement of capital and the foreign ownership of property. Fourth, the consumption of rural amenities by tourists and in-migrants alike is a form of commodification and responds to an economic imperative (McCarthy, 2008; Perkins, 2006). The involvement of international financiers, property developers, real estate agents, marketers, tourism operators, hotel and restaurant chains, retailers and construction firms in producing global amenity resorts is a function of capitalism's continual search for new markets and new opportunities for accumulation.

Equally, however, amenity booms can be fuelled by endogenous capital investment and entrepreneurship, supported by local and regional government policies (see again Torres and Momsen (2005) on Cancun). As traditional resource-exploitation-based rural economies have declined, the reinvention of rural localities as 'playgrounds' for visitors and in-migrants can be a relatively attractive option to local actors compared with the alternative futures (Epp and Whitson, 2001). Consequently, the politics of globalization in rural amenity resorts are not the politics of local resistance to globalization, but rather a local politics in which the terms of engagement with globalization are negotiated and contested.

The Local Politics of Globalization

The theoretical perspective of Massey's relational understanding of space, and the emerging empirical evidence from localities experiencing amenity in-migration, both point to the importance of local politics as a sphere in which globalization processes are engaged, negotiated, contested and facilitated. However, analysis of local politics has

often been overshadowed in studies of globalization, with Crot (2006), for example, criticizing "the preeminence attributed to global forces over local social and political processes" (p 227) in urban studies of globalization. As Crot and others have argued, intermediary roles are played by local governmental institutions and by local political leaders (Shatkin, 2004), as well as by local economic actors and social movements (Stahre, 2004) and by the discursive interpretations of globalization circulating within the local population (Edmondson, 2003; Hogan, 2004).

Through their engagement with global actors and forces in local politics, local actors are themselves transformed and changed (Crot, 2006; Shatkin, 2004) and local discourses modified as they reflect on meaning of locality (and of rurality) in a dynamic global context (Edmondson, 2003). As such, local actors are rarely able to completely resist global pressures, but can manipulate and adapt globalization processes, or at least secure a share of the spoils for endogenous communities (Jackiewicz, 2006). At the same time, the very sphere of local politics is transformed as it is opened up to exogenous interventions, producing a 'scale of engagement' that transcends the local scale, creating new arenas in which conflicts are played out at a distance from the geographical site at the centre of the dispute, such as law courts and newspaper columns (Cox, 1998). As Cox describes, local politics can appear "as metropolitan, regional, national or even international as different organizations try to secure those networks of associations through which respective projects can be realized" (1998; p 19) (see also Magnusson, 2003).

Furthermore, it is the entire local socio-political-economic response to globalization processes that is transformational for localities, not just the direct impact of specific processes. As Crot again comments, "globalizing pressures on cities are mediated by endogenous local institutional structures, social practices, and political decisions whose transformative power may be much more influential than globalization itself" (2006, p 229). Indeed, the blurring of global and local factors in shaping outcomes can be such that impacts may be debated locally without direct reference to globalization (see Edmondson, 2003). One arena in which this is particularly apparent is land use planning, where global forces exert pressure on urban and rural landscapes, yet decisions are fronted by local planners and policy-makers, and conflicts are often couched in highly localized terms of reference (Crot, 2006).

The remainder of this paper examines these dynamics further through an empirical case study of Queenstown Lakes district in South Island, New Zealand, focussing first on the engagement of local and global forces in transforming the locality to a global amenity resort, and then on the local political responses to the challenges for land use planning posed by this transformation.

Queenstown: 'Adventure Capital of the World'

The Queenstown Lakes district is a large and remote region of 8,467 square kilometres in the interior of New Zealand's South Island. Around nine-tenths of its area consists of sparsely populated mountain landscape and high country pasture, extending down from the peaks of the Southern Alps range to Lake Hawea, Lake Wanaka and Lake Wakatipu.

The exceptional natural environment and outstanding recreational opportunities have made the district a favoured destination for tourists and amenity migrants, with the self-adopted title of 'Adventure Capital of the World' proclaiming its status as a global amenity resort. The district's population, which is mainly concentrated in the small towns of Queenstown, Wanaka and Arrowtown, increased from 9,984 in 1991 to 22,956 in 2006 (Table I) – the fastest rate of growth in New Zealand. International migration has been a major contributor to population growth, alongside domestic amenity migration (Hall, 2006), and numbers of international tourists have also increased to form the mainstay of the local economy, whilst the district has additionally received significant international investment in property, commerce and infrastructure.

The rapid expansion of Queenstown Lakes's population and economy has presented challenges for the locality, notably the impact of development on the natural environment. As discussed further below, the council's approach to land use planning formed the focal point for a long-running struggle between neoliberal and environmentalist groups through the 1990s and early 2000s, acting as a proxy for debating the impact of globalization on the locality.

Queenstown's engagement with globalization processes is further framed by its location in New Zealand. Rural New Zealand has always been exposed to global forces, ever since Pakeha settlers started to forge a European-style countryside and introduced sheep and cattle to create an agricultural economy based on exports to Britain (Baragwanath et al., 2003). As global economic conditions shifted, New Zealand became one of the first

countries to embrace radical neoliberalism following the Labour election victory in 1984, with reforms aimed at enhancing New Zealand's competitiveness in a global free market (Baragwanath et al., 2003; Easton, 1997; Kelsey, 1997). Moreover, with the election of a National government in 1990, a 'globalization discourse' became a dominant interpretative frame in New Zealand politics, acting as "a political strategy that promotes a new understanding of the ends and means of economic governance" (Larner, 1998, p 600).

The empirical account presented in this section is based on research undertaken between 2004 and 2008, including a period of fieldwork in the Queenstown Lakes district in October-November 2004. The narrative is primarily constructed from information collated from documentary sources including local and national press reports, council minutes and documents, official reports and documents, official statistics, written contributions to community planning exercises and associated papers, websites, and previous research reports, supplemented by a number of interviews with key informants including councillors, community activists and a local newspaper editor. Statistics are generally given in relation to the temporal period of the case study (1992 – 2004), but where appropriate have been updated from more recent data.

[Table I about here]

From Gold Rush Town to Global Playground

The transformation of Queenstown and district into a global amenity resort is the latest episode in a long history of exposure to interventions by external actors. The ecology of the district was modified by peripatetic hunters of the Waitaha people from around 1300, and again by European colonists from the 1850s (Anderson, 2002). In 1862, the discovery of gold attracted an influx of over 8,000 miners from Europe, Australia and China in less than twelve months. By 1870 the gold-rush was over and the miners left for Westland, or for Australia or California. Reduced in population, the area returned to a dependency on sheep farming, contributing to an industry that exported much of its product to Britain.

The amenity value of the locality was first recognized by tourists who arrived in the early years of the twentieth century to view mountain scenery and take excursions on the lakes, with the Wanaka Hotel advertising itself as "a thousand feet above worry level" (Sorrell, 1999: 728). The establishment of the Coronet Peak ski-field introduced the opportunity for year-round tourism and shortly after the installation of a rope-lift in 1947 the region was attracting over 17,000 ski-ers annually (Sorrell, 1999). Yet, the potential for tourism remained limited by severe problems of infrastructure, including a shortage of hotel accommodation, which were only overcome through state investment (Cater 2001; McClure, 2004).

Initially, amenity visitors were primarily domestic, with only 20 per cent of visitors to Queenstown in 1965 coming from outside New Zealand (Pearce and Cant, 1981). The

introduction of a commercial air service between Queenstown and Rotorua in 1970 improved accessibility for international visitors (McClure, 2004), and by 1974 international tourists, mainly Australian and North American, accounted for 38 per cent of visitors to the district (Pearce and Cant, 1981). However, it was not until the 1990s that the appeal of Queenstown became truly globalized. By 2001, international visitors made over 767,000 overnight visits to the district, comprising 51% of all overnight visits, increasing to 975,000 overnight visits in 2007, or 61% of all overnight visits (Figure I) (Tourism Research Council NZ, 2008a, 2008b).

[Figure I about here]

As an indication of its global amenity status, more than a third of international visitors to New Zealand are reported to visit the Queenstown region (Peart 2004). The town is part of an alliance of the self-described 'four leading mountain resorts in the world' with Vail (Colorado), Val Gardena (Italy) and Baroliche (Argentina), and one resort manager has boasted that in Sydney, "the name 'Queenstown' is higher than 'New Zealand', it's more recognized" (*Mountain Scene*, 17/5/00).

Of particular significance is the international reputation of Queenstown as a centre for 'adventure tourism', with its appeal to a multinational clientele, self-consciously reflected in the adoption of the marketing slogan 'The Adventure Capital of the World' by the district council in 2000 (Cater and Smith 2003, see also Cloke and Perkins, 1998; 2002). There are now over fifty attractions in the district offering tourists experiences of bungy-

jumping, jet-boating, rafting, heli-skiing and other thrill-based activities. Cater (2001) records that in a typical year over 65,000 visitors to the area take part in bungy-jumping, 30,000 go whitewater rafting and over 160,000 take a jetboat ride. Nearly three-quarters of the customers of Shotover Jet, the largest jet-boat operation, are international visitors, drawn in roughly equal proportion from Australia, North America and the rest of the world (Cater, 2001). Whilst only a minority of visitors actually participate in these activities, they are important to the international brand (Cloke and Perkins, 2002).

Tourism and recreation has become the mainstay of the Queenstown Lakes economy, contributing NZ$620 million in 2004, of which NZ$423 million came from international visitors (Tourism Research Council NZ 2006). Accommodation, cafes and restaurants provide just over a quarter of full time equivalent jobs in the Queenstown Lakes district, with the retail sector and cultural and recreational services providing just under a quarter (Table II). Among the 900 businesses operating in these sectors are both international chains and local enterprises that have appropriated Queenstown's global image to brand their own goods, including the 'Global Kiwi' fashion label and the 'Untouched World' clothes store, which boasts that its 'unique style is equally at home in the New Zealand outdoors, downtown New York or Milan' (Untouched World shop-front advertising).

[Table II about here]

Significantly, other economic sectors in the locality have also been integrated into global networks. A rapidly-growing viticulture industry – backed by overseas investment,

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notably from the United States, and supported by the migration of experienced American winemakers – concentrates on producing high-quality wines for export, increasing production ten-fold in the decade to 2004 (NZ Winegrowers, 2004); whilst Queenstown is a centre for the New Zealand deer-farming industry that generates over NZ$200 million per year in exports, particularly of velvet antler to Korea and venison to Germany (Drew, 1999). One former sheep station provides all-terrain testing facilities for European and Japanese car manufacturers, and the locality is a regular destination for film-makers – the latter reinforcing the global representation of the district's landscape and its amenity appeal.

Amenity Migration and International Investment

Adventure tourism may be the most eye-catching aspect of Queenstown's emergence as a global playground, but politically the greatest impact has come from the influx of amenity migrants. Over three-quarters of the district's population growth between 1999 and 2003 was due to inward migration, much of it from outside New Zealand. The 2001 census reported that 10.4 per cent of residents of the Queenstown Lakes district had been living outside New Zealand five years previously and the proportion born outside New Zealand increased from 16.5 per cent in 1996, to 19 per cent in 2001, to 25 per cent in 2006. Foreign-based amenity property owners also accounted for many of the 3,843 'unoccupied' dwellings recorded in the 2006 census – nearly one in three of the district's housing stock – up 30 per cent in number on 1996.

Offshore sales have oscillated between 10 per cent and 25 per cent of property purchases in the area, and the proportion of property owned by overseas investors in the district was estimated to have increased from less than 5 per cent in 2001 to around 20 per cent in 2004 (Table III) (Queenstownproperty.com 2004). As one local estate agent was reported to have remarked,

> In effect, Queenstown and the surrounding area has become a global playground with properties attracting global interest … We have sold to a United Nations of buyers. (*New Zealand Herald*, 17/07/2004).

Although rural land sales were exempted from complete deregulation in the 1995 liberalization of foreign ownership in New Zealand (Larner, 1998), sales can be permitted if certain criteria are met, which can include migration for lifestyle purposes. Between 1994 and 2004, the Overseas Investment Commission (OIC) approved the sale of ten high country sheep stations in the Queenstown Lakes district to foreign purchasers, including buyers in Australia, Britain, Israel, Switzerland, Hong Kong, New Caledonia and the United States (CAFCA, 2008). These transactions, involving over 100,000 hectares and in excess of NZ$30 million in total value, included purchases for amenity migration as well as for interests in farming, tourism and residential development. One station, acquired by an Indonesian/New Zealand partnership, was subsequently split into residential subdivisions and sold as lifestyle blocks to purchasers in Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Britain and the United States. Additionally, the OIC approved over 20 purchases of smaller 'lifestyle blocks' by buyers in the Australia,

Japan, South Africa, Germany, Thailand, Singapore, Britain, Canada and the United States.

International investment has also contributed to new property development in the district. Asian investment was particularly significant in the 1990s and the first years of the twenty-first century in Queenstown, whilst NZ$60 million was invested in property development in Wanaka over five years from 2000 by a New Zealander who had returned home after establishing media and manufacturing interests in Singapore, Australia and Europe (*The Southland Times*, 27/12/2001; *The Press*, 09/09/2000). In 2007, a British-based investment company paid NZ$300 million for a new resort development near Wanaka including proposed hotels for the transnational Westin and Intercontinental chains, and an Australian corporation invested NZ$43 million in two residential developments near Queenstown. Foreign investment has also financed the development of infrastructure to support an amenity-focused lifestyle, including shopping centres and golf courses.

The number of planning consents awarded in the Queenstown Lakes district increased rapidly from 1998, peaking with permits for almost 600 new dwellings awarded in 2004, with a total value of nearly NZ$200 million (MAC Property, 2007). Yet in spite of this unprecedented new build the demand for property has fuelled escalating prices in the district. Median property prices in the rural Wakatipu Basin increased by 167 per cent over thirteen months between January 2002 and February 2003, from NZ$130,000 to NZ$347,000 (Peart, 2004). The resulting shortage of affordable housing has had a

consequential impact on recruitment to low-paid jobs as high rents have deterred school leavers and university students who traditionally filled seasonal positions in the tourism sector, leading to an increased reliance on foreign migrant workers (Hall, 2006). Over 3,000 overseas migrant workers were employed in Queenstown in 2007, especially from Malaysia, the Philippines and the Pacific island states, and local businesses and politicians have repeatedly called for special treatment from immigration officials to sustain the supply (*The Mirror*, 3/11/2004; www.workpermit.com, 7/08/2007 and 6/11/2007).

[Table III about here]

The Hybrid Reconstitution of Queenstown

The reconstitution of the Queenstown Lakes districts through its engagement with globalization forces from amenity migration to international capital mobility, and from global tourism to international labour mobility, has not only produced a hybrid space but has itself been a hybrid process, involving global, national, regional and local actors. At a global scale, new opportunities were created by technological innovations, airline industry competition, and social changes that broadened participation in international travel, particularly by young people. In this context, the disadvantages of New Zealand's geographical location were ameliorated and even turned to an attraction for travellers seeking adventure and 'unspoilt' environments. The economic and social modernization and political liberalization of eastern Asia further created opportunities for New Zealand as the geographical balance of global markets were shifted closer to the country.

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Crucially, however, the receptiveness of the locality to global-scale trends has been conditioned by national state policies, which have moved through three distinctive periods. Firstly, in the 1960s and 1970s, with the New Zealand government locked into a Fordist economic regime but keen to expand the country's tourism industry, the state invested heavily in developing Queenstown as centre for international tourism. Government agencies invested in road improvements, assisted with promotional activities, and constructed and operated a high-class hotel on the Queenstown lakefront, noted as "the first hotel in New Zealand to have a Japanese chef and fine porcelain bowls for its Japanese cuisine" (McClure 2004, 255).

Secondly, the early neoliberal reforms introduced by the Labour government after 1984 reduced direct state involvement, but facilitated a re-orientation of the Queenstown economy towards global markets. The devaluation of the New Zealand dollar – which lost 50 per cent of its value between 1975 and 1985, including a 20 per cent devaluation in July 1984 (Easton, 1997) – increased the attractiveness of New Zealand to international tourists and property investors. The privatization of state assets, meanwhile, created opportunities for overseas investors, including the sale of the flagship, state-owned Queenstown Hotel to an American-owned corporation (McClure, 2004) (later sold on to a Malaysian-Singaporean-led consortium and subsequently to a British/New Zealand partnership).

Moreover, the deregulation of agriculture had the unanticipated effect in localities such as Queenstown of releasing both land and capital for speculative development. Farming on the fringe of the Southern Alps had always been marginal and its economic viability was reduced by the removal of subsidies and exposure to global competition (Cloke 1989; Cloke and Le Heron 1994; Le Heron and Pawson 1996). Some farmers sought to supplement their income by diversifying into tourism; others sold their land for development, or as 'lifestyle blocks' for in-migrants (including overseas purchasers). Proceeds from farm sales could be invested in tourism, vineyards and property developments, and capital was also invested by landowners from the more agriculturally prosperous Southland region, many of whom traditionally owned holiday homes in Queenstown and Wanaka, and who had sold their sheep farms for conversion to dairying.

Thirdly, under the advanced neoliberalism of the National Party government between 1990 and 1999, a globalization discourse became embedded as a core framing device for political and economic governance in New Zealand (Larner, 1998). As Larner (1998) details, further reforms in this period included the liberalization of controls on foreign direct investment in New Zealand businesses and property, and the liberalization of migration policy, aimed at attracting entrepreneurs with investment capital. Both of these reforms have helped to stimulated international amenity migration and investment in localities such as Queenstown, whilst the broader globalization discourse permeated across the scales and sectors of governance to justify policies supportive of global engagement.

If national policies created the conditions for the transformation of Queenstown, local actors provided much of the initial capital investment for business start-ups and property redevelopment. Local observers note that many individuals and families in the area speculatively bought lots in the 1980s, and that "there's a lot of amateur property developers in the town" (Local newspaper editor, interview, November 2004). They were assisted in this by a radical neoliberal administration at Queenstown Lakes District Council between 1995 and 2001 which controversially adopted a permissive approach to development control (Ericksen et al. 2003). Several key figures in this administration, including the Mayor, Warren Cooper, a former National Party cabinet minister, had property development interests in the locality (Hogg, 2001). In this way, local actors appropriated the global networks and flows that were increasingly impinging upon them. Rather than waiting to be enrolled in the networks of global actors, they constructed their own capacity to act and enrolled global tourists, global investors and global migrants on their own terms. The result is a hybrid space: constructed by local capital and global capital, local initiative and global initiative, local labour and global labour, combining local culture and global culture, local products and global products.

Contesting the Global Countryside: Aspirational Ruralism and Boosterism

The transformation of the Queenstown Lakes district through its engagement with international amenity migration and other globalization processes has been extensive and controversial. Local politics in the district during the 1990s and early 2000s was dominated by issues that concerned the ways in which local actors, including local government, actively sought to engage with global actors and processes, as well as the

ways in which local government responded to outcomes of these hybrid engagements. Conflicts developed around the appropriate branding and promotion of the locality to international tourists and investors, as well as around issues such as access to affordable housing. Yet, the most prominent and long-running arena of conflict concerned the scale of development of rural land in the district, its impact on the landscape and environment, and the appropriate form of regulation through the land-use planning system.

As in other rural and exurban localities that have come under pressure from in-migration and tourism development, planning politics in Queenstown focused on issues concerning the impact of new development on the local environment and the aesthetic quality of the landscape, as well as the loss of rural land and the inflationary effect on property prices. Yet, in Queenstown, these issues were further coloured by the global nature of the forces driving change, and the global character of the actors involved. The discourses through which the debate was articulated consequently framed understanding not only of the impact of development on Queenstown's environment and rural identity, but also of the district's engagement with processes of globalization.

Thus, the 'boosterist' discourse articulated by supporters of development not only regarded the expansion of international tourism and amenity migration as a unique opportunity for an otherwise marginal and fragile economy, but also contended that without permissive policies Queenstown would lose out economically to competitor localities elsewhere in New Zealand and abroad, and argued that local people needed to be empowered to benefit from globalization. The opposing environmentalist discourse

emphasized instead the ecological and landscape impacts of development and questioned the sustainability of the district's rapid growth, but also criticised the encroachment of transnational corporate interests and sought to position the conflict within the context of global environmental change. The 'aspirational ruralism' of the amenity migrants (Woods, 2003), meanwhile, formed a third discursive perspective that sought to protect the rural idyll that migrants had invested in. Hence, whilst the pursuit of aspirational ruralism had been facilitated by development, and many migrants welcomed infrastructural improvements, adherents to this position increasing became mobilized to protest against the perceived impact of development on the amenity quality of the locality.

The expansion of Queenstown's tourist industry and the parallel acceleration of amenity in-migration during the late 1980s reflected the prevalence of the 'boosterist' discourse among the town's traditional elite. In 1992, however, concerns at the pace of growth led to the election of a left-leaning, 'greenish' council, who produced a draft district plan that adopted a more strategic, controlled, approach to development (Ericksen et al., 2003). Yet, the council was widely perceived to have struggled with the escalating pace of development. As one leading councillor recalls, "we were working on the basis of the growth rate in the early 1990s, which was 5 per cent per year. In 1993-95 the growth rate jumped to 14 per cent per year in Wanaka, slightly lower in Queenstown" (interview, November 2004). Moreover, the proposed plan proved controversial, attracting submissions in consultation that raised 23,000 individual points (Ericksen et al, 2003).

Many of the submissions referred to regulations concerning the subdivision of rural land for development. In 1990 planning regulations had been changed to make limited provision for the development of 'lifestyle blocks', but the draft plan proposed a considerable reduction in subdivision rights (Peart, 2004). This issue alone attracted 975 submissions, 85 per cent of which came from farmers and landowners who saw their economic rights restricted by the proposal (Ericksen et al., 2003). The pro-development lobby was hence able to represent the conservation-orientated plan as a threat to the traditional rural community and rural lifestyle:

Rural farming people were, due to their inability to subdivide, expected to farm themselves into penury. Their land was evidently expected by the planners to provide scenes of green pastures and grazing sheep for the delight of visiting tourists in passing coaches. Farming was in the doldrums. Incomes were shrivelling. Assets were diminishing. Survival meant contemplating selling a block off the farm. Who would buy the blocks? Those seeking a rural lifestyle residence. It was the farmer's only escape hatch or bolt hole. (Cooper, 2000, 22).

Elections in 1995 led to a dramatic change of council administration, with one member of the 1992-5 and 2001-4 councils reflecting that the discontent of farmers was "the reason I was voted off the council, and it was the reason I was voted back on, at the top of the poll, ten years later" (interview, November 2004). The new council pursued a radical neoliberal vision that it applied equally to development control, the impact of

globalization, and the process of government. Within this discourse, globalization presented new opportunities for the exploitation of the undoubted amenity value of the district's environment through tourism and lifestyle migration, and landowners and developers needed to be freed to take advantage. Under the leadership of Mayor Warren Cooper – a local motel-owner, property developer, former local Member of Parliament, twice cabinet minister and previously mayor in the 1970s – the council articulated a boosterist strategy in which the enrolment of global capital was critical to the growth of the district, and growth was not only beneficial to the local economy and society, but entirely in keeping with the spirit and history of Queenstown:

> Progressive growth brings jobs and investment but areas of high scenic values throughout the district will be cherished and protected. Occasionally, used sparingly, if benefits can be proved. But there will be change, as there has been change since the establishment of Queenstown in the early 1860s. (Cooper, 2000, 22).

> Queenstown likes healthy entrepreneurs. This is an adrenalin-pumping beautiful place which can never be spoilt. It is a magnet. (Cooper quoted in *The Evening Post*, 27/06/01).

The boosterist agenda was pursued through a style of government that also bore the hallmarks of neoliberalism. A programme of privatization reduced the number of council staff to just 26, with development control responsibilities contracted-out to a private

company, CivicCorp. The council actively sought to dismantle the "prescriptive straitjacket" of the proposed district plan, removing references to 'areas of landscape importance' and significantly reducing the minimum size for rural subdivisions (Peart, 2004). Warren Cooper's own force of personality and abrasive style were crucial to the council's approach, with decision-making concentrated with a clique of councillors around the mayor, whose members included a real estate agent and an adventure tourism operator (Hogg, 2001). The council clashed with local community boards that opposed developments and frequently over-rode the advice of CivicCorp planners that applications be rejected. In 1999, only two out of 659 planning applications were rejected, in 2000, only nine out of 865 were rejected (*The Press,* 29/09/2001). During the two terms of the Cooper administration over two hundred rural subdivisions were approved.

Opposition to the administration was led by local campaign groups including the Wakatipu Environmental Society in Queenstown, the Upper Clutha Environmental Society in Wanaka, and the Queenstown Historical Society. These groups drew on the technical expertise of professional middle class in-migrant members in contesting the detail of the council's policy and launched a number of legal challenges. In November 2000 the Environment Court ruled against the council's proposed landscape provisions and imposed tighter controls graded by landscape amenity. Notably, in language which chimed with aspirational ruralism, it offered particular protection for mountain-side areas of 'Visual Amenity Landscape' which it described as "a pastoral or Arcadian landscape in the poetic sense" (Ansley, 2000, p 22; Peart, 2004).

A second body of opposition came from the mobilization of residents in the rural Wakatipu Basin outside Queenstown against continuing development. The core of this group were wealthy in-migrants and second-home owners described in the press as "kiwi high-fliers", including a leading architect, a television personality, a golfer, a film producer, a renowned artist, the former deputy chair of the New Zealand Tourism Board and, most prominently, the actor Sam Neill, who interventions in the debate were made long-distance from Los Angeles (*The Press*, 26/10/2000). Their motivation was provided by an aspirational ruralism, in that having bought into the dream of the rural idyll they were prepared to fight to protect the rural landscape and lifestyle as it was when they arrived:

> It's rural butchery. We came [to the Wakatipu Basin] with dreams and ideas (In-migrant from London, quoted in *Mountain Scene*, 08/11/2000).

> There is a healthy debate on the whole, people feel pressured about this, because, and this is without exception, people have chosen to come here, whereas in a city, you know, they just grew up there. (Local newspaper editor, interview, November 2004).

The contributions from this campaign thus emphasized the amenity value of the locality, its rurality, its global individuality and its vulnerability:

There's a realisation coming over the district as people start to realise that this wonderful asset is gradually creeping away. (Campaigner, quoted in *Southland Times*, 26/10/2000).

This is one of the most extraordinarily beautiful areas in the world and the responsibility of the people with power – that's to say the council – is to ensure, not only for the people living there now but for future generations, that it's kept reasonably intact. (Sam Neill, quoted in the *Otago Daily Times*, 27/10/2000).

The objective of the council and its planners should be to keep Queenstown as one of the world's most beautiful alpine resorts. This makes not only good ecological sense, but good commercial sense as well. If we ruin the beauty of our place, why would people want to come here at all? … But the biggest challenge really is to maintain the rural nature of the surrounds, keeping all building off the mountain sides, setting aside no-go building areas in the Basin, minimising sight line impact, and so on. (Neill, 2000a, 1).

People want to go to Queenstown but not for casinos or nightclubs or fast food restaurants. We have all those and they're fine, but you'll find better elsewhere. The skiing's all right too, but you'll find better in North America or Europe. No, people go to Queenstown above all because of its unique beauty. It is unlike anything else in the world. If you cover it with suburbs,

then that will have gone. We are slowly getting the picture that ecology and tourism are inextricably linked. It is our environment that makes us viable. (Neill, 2000b).

The global references in these claims were deliberate, helping the debate to transcend scale and draw in external actors. This was also assisted by the hybrid identity of the campaign's protagonists as both local residents and individuals whose professional lives were lived largely outside the locality, and particularly by Neill's global celebrity. As such, coverage of the conflict was secured not only in the New Zealand national media, but also in the Pacific edition of *Time* magazine and in newspapers in Australia and Britain. The up-scaling of the issue was further reinforced by the notion that Queenstown is such a globally-significant space, and is so important to New Zealand's international standing, that the future of the region could not be entrusted to local politicians:

Some people up Queenstown way claim the town's 'brand' is stronger than the nation's. What they are saying is that in the tourism world – the one that matters for the district – international recognition of New Zealand is actually less than that of Queenstown. This supposition, which might well be correct, underlines why the area is so important to all New Zealand and not just to the 'locals' … In Queenstown's case, the council is acting not just for local residents but for the whole nation … Development in sensitive areas must be tightly controlled lest Queenstown fouls its own nest, the district degrades and all New Zealand suffers. (*Otago Daily Times* editorial, 11/11/2000).

At the same time, the pro-development lobby played up the translocal and global connections of the anti-development campaigners, portraying them as a moneyed, jet-setting elite who were shutting out local people by buying up property and opposing new housing:

> They close the door, pull the drawbridge up, and leave the peasants outside, to live in their elitist homes in the rural area. (Warren Cooper, quoted in *The Press*, 11/11/2000)

> We don't want to become the Aspen of the South Pacific. We … shouldn't become a community of millionaires and multi-millionaires. (Warren Cooper, quoted in the *Otago Daily Times*, 09/11/2000).

Thus, although the boosterist policies of the Cooper administration had played a major role in making the district accessible to international tourists, migrants and investors, they attempted to invert the local politics of globalization, representing themselves as the defenders of locality against the intrusion of a globally-mobile elite. This position is not necessarily as contradictory as it might initially seem. A central tenet of the boosterist discourse has always been that if Queenstown is going to be transformed under globalization then local people should be able to profit as well as external corporations.

The importance of external earnings to the Queenstown economy was however demonstrated in the critical position taken by local businesses in the development debate. Whilst some subscribed to the boosterist discourse, others became increasingly concerned at the impact of growth on the appeal to tourists and in-migrants. In July 2000, warnings were issued by two leading business figures, the Auckland-based director of a leisure group with four hotels in the town, and the head of the promotion agency, Destination Queenstown:

> Queenstown has to be very careful it doesn't end up blowing it because it wants to get too big too quickly. (Director, CDL Hotel Group, quoted in *Mountain Scene*, 06/07/2000).

> You've got to be slightly careful that in 20 year's time Queenstown doesn't look like one big three-storey shoe box. (Chief executive, Destination Queenstown, quoted in *Mountain Scene*, 06/07/2000).

Equally significantly, as the 2001 local elections neared it was the chief executive of the Queenstown chamber of commerce, Clive Geddes, who emerged as the main rival to Mayor Cooper. After Cooper voluntarily withdrew from the race, Geddes was elected Mayor with 70 per cent of vote and all of the councillors who had been supportive of growth were voted-out in favour of more critical candidates. The new council imposed a moratorium on new developments in February 2002 whilst it embarked on an ambitious community planning exercise (see Bond and Thompson-Fawcett, 2006; Woods, 2006).

The consultations revealed the ongoing differences within the community over the balance of development and conservation, and the implementation of the recommendations has been criticised as too slow. In October 2003 the leaders of one local anti-development group publicly expressed disappointment in the new council and Mayor Geddes acknowledged that he had been "naïve" about the ease of changing the council's approach (*Southland Times*, 30/10/2003). Ironically, perhaps, the largest number of new building permits were awarded in 1995 and 2004 by pro-control councils, and whilst the number of permits awarded fell sharply in 2005 and 2006 this was not necessarily solely the consequence of council policies (MAC Property, 2007).

Indeed, it could be argued that in spite of the intensity of the local political conflict, Queenstown's economy is more sensitive to distant political events than the machinations of the local council. The locality's cycle of rapid and slowing growth since the 1980s has corresponded closely with the economic cycles of south-east Asia and the liberalization of the Chinese economy was credited for the withdrawal of Asian investments from Queenstown in 2004. Global insecurity following the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11 2001 prompted a wave of cancellations from overseas tourists and the collapse of one of the airlines serving Queenstown airport, mournfully reported by a local newspaper as the 'end of the golden weather' (*Mountain Scene*, 20/09/01).

Conclusion

The case study of Queenstown Lakes district illustrates the complex inter-play of actors, processes and discourses in the reconstitution of rural localities in the emergent global

countryside. The scale and speed of change in Queenstown and the extent of its exposure to global forces is exceptional, and the precise outcomes unique to the district, but aspects of its experience are shared by other localities around the world that have become magnets for global amenity migrants. As such, the analysis presented in this paper points to a number of lessons for further research into the role of amenity migration in transforming rural localities under globalization.

First, the transformative impact of international amenity migration on rural localities cannot be understood in isolation, but should be examined as operating in concert with other globalization processes. In particular, amenity migration is closely entwined with the development of international tourism, and also tends to be associated with overseas investment and property speculation, the arrival of transnational corporations across a range of sectors, and forms of cultural hybridization and assimilation. Moreover, as the Queenstown case study demonstrates, opportunities for amenity in-migration may be facilitated by the consequences of other globalization processes, notably the weakening of traditional primary industries such as agriculture in the face of global competition.

Second, the Queenstown case study confirms the contention outlined earlier in this paper that globalization transforms localities not through domination and subordination, but through a process of negotiation involving both global and local actors. Indeed, local actors, including governance agencies, entrepreneurs and investors, can be proactive in seeking to engage with global networks and actors to stimulate local economic growth. Amenity in-migration may be welcomed and encouraged as part of local economic

development strategies, with associated transformative impacts driven primarily by local agents in anticipation of globalization.

Third, although globalization is commonly represented as eroding national sovereignty, nation states remain significant in shaping the engagement of localities with globalization processes. In particular, policies on international trade, immigration, external investment and foreign ownership, as well as fiscal policies affecting taxation rates and currency exchange rates, can influence the scope for international amenity in-migration. The early adoption of neoliberal policies in New Zealand created conditions that encouraged significant international amenity migration not only to Queenstown, but also to other localities such as the Bay of Plenty and the Coromandel Peninsula. Similarly, the promotion of neoliberalism in Central America and East Asia is a factor in the emergence of sites of international amenity in-migration in these regions.

Fourth, the experience of globalization, including international amenity migration, in rural localities is interpreted through a range of discursive frames, and hence can prompt a range of responses. These in turn can lead to political conflict and contest, which whilst focused on impacts of amenity migration or other globalization processes, are articulated and framed around locally-embedded issues of environmental degradation, landscape change, social exclusion, rural identity, and so on. Yet, the entanglement of such conflicts with global actors and global networks means that they can rarely be contained within localities, but transcend space and scale. Thus, the political question of regulating rural land use in the Queenstown Lakes district, through its engagement of global actors and

representation in the global media, became an expression of globalization as well as a response to it.

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Tables

Year	Population
1991	9,984
1996	14,285
2001	17,940
2003*	20,700
2006	22,956
2011*	28,300
2016*	32,320
2021*	36,250

Table I: Recorded and projected population of the Queensland Lakes district, 1991-2021. (* estimate/projection) (Source: Queensland Lakes District Council)

Industry	FTE	%
Accommodation, cafes and restaurants	2,790	25.6%
Retail trade	1,690	15.5%
Construction	1,320	12.1%
Property and business services	1,230	11.3%
Cultural and recreational services	950	8.7%
Government, education, health & care services	620	5.7%
Manufacturing	440	4.0%
Agriculture, forestry & primary industries	139	1.3%
Other	1,700	15.6%
Total	10,890	100.0%

Table II: Full time equivalent (FTE) jobs in Queenstown Lakes district, 2003. (Source: Statistics New Zealand)

	2001	2002	2003	2004*
Local	59.5%	55%	46%	41%
Rest of New Zealand	36%	39%	39%	39%
Offshore	4.5%	6%	15%	20%
Of which:				
Australia	*50%*	*42%*	*46%*	
North America	*15%*	*16%*	*14%*	
Asia	*22%*	*21%*	*--*	
Singapore	*--*	*--*	*9%*	
Hong Kong	*--*	*--*	*8%*	
United Kingdom	*--*	*--*	*12%*	
*Rest of World***	*13%*	*21%*	*11%*	

* Estimate

** Includes United Kingdom 2001, 2002.

Table IV: Ownership of property in Queenstown Lakes district, 2001-04, based on mailing addresses. (Source: www.queenstownproperty.com)
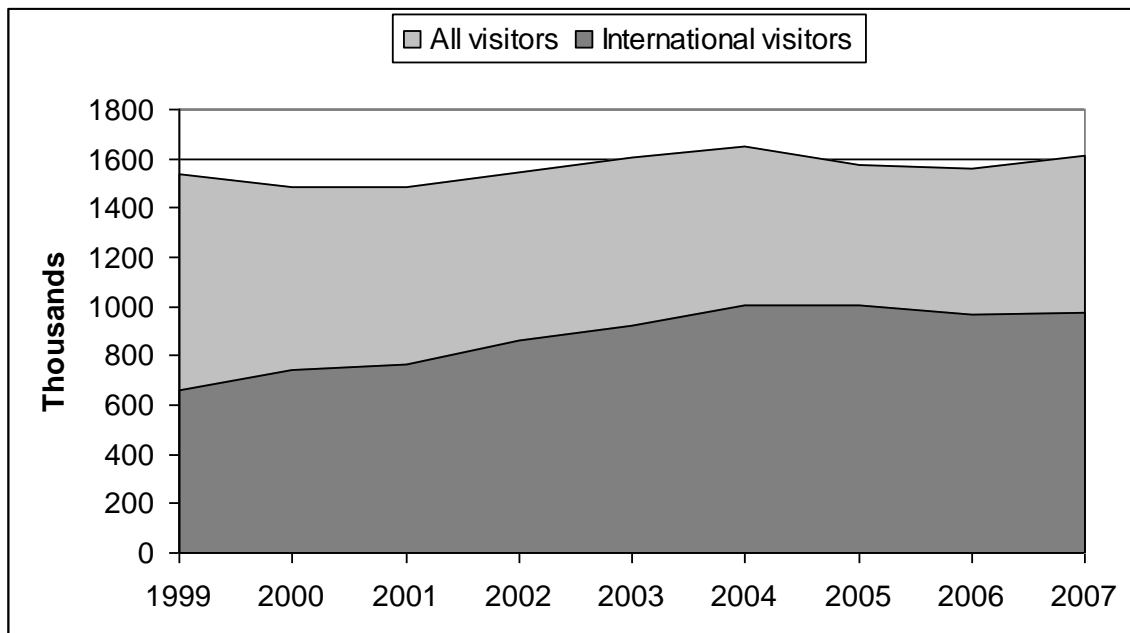
Figures

Figure I: Overnight visits to the Queenstown and Lake Wanaka tourism regions,

1999-2007.

(Source: Tourism Research Council NZ, 2008a, 2008b)