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**An analysis of the development
of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand
and their potential for tourism**

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Tourism Management

at
Lincoln University
by
Yue Huang

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There has been an increasing interest in (re)developing Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand over the past decade, particularly since former Prime Minister Helen Clark made a public apology in 2002 for discriminatory laws imposed on Chinese immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This renewed interest is apparent in a range of initiatives, including the proposed addition of ten Chinese gold rush-era sites to the Register of Historic Places Trust in 2003, redevelopment of Arrowtown Chinese settlement in 2004, the plans to reconstruct the Lawrence Chinese Camp and the recently opened Chinese garden in Dunedin. Most recently, in July 2008, a Chinese heritage trail for Otago has been proposed.

This research is based on three case study sites of the South Island: Chinatown of Shantytown on the West Coast, Lawrence Chinese Camp and Arrowtown Chinese settlement in Otago, which are at different stages of development and have differing management foci (for example commercial vs. conservationist). This thesis reports on findings of the research from interviews conducted with stakeholders involved in these sites and with Chinese group tour guides and outlines the history, the (re)development background, the management and marketing approach, the current visitation and stakeholders' view of each of the three sites. Particular focus has been given to exploring the tourism potential of these Chinese heritage sites to domestic and international tourists, including Chinese group tourists. Based on the findings and informed by heritage and heritage tourism literature and research, this thesis discusses the rationale for the current (re)development of Chinese heritage in New Zealand,

its tourism potential and markets, the challenges faced in interpreting and promoting these sites. Finally, suggestions are made regarding how this Chinese gold mining heritage could possibly be best (re)developed and interpreted to visitors.

Keywords: gold mining heritage, heritage tourism, Chinese tourism, New Zealand.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The Chinese were the largest non-European and non-Polynesian immigrant group to arrive in New Zealand during the Gold Rush era of the 1800s (Jacomb, McGovern-Wilson, & Walter, 2005a). Like much pioneering history, the story of New Zealand's Chinese prospectors is remarkable. These stories were, however, long ignored as mainstream New Zealand history emerged out of the confluence of European and Polynesian experiences and interests in this country. Until recent decades, the Chinese contribution to New Zealand's development was largely unknown and unacknowledged (Titus, 2003a).

In recent years, Chinese gold-rush history and heritage have received more attention in New Zealand both from the Government and the general public, particularly since former Prime Minister Helen Clark made a public apology in 2002 for the Poll Tax and other discriminatory laws imposed on Chinese immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Titus, 2003b). In light of this apology, ten Chinese gold rush era sites were proposed to be added to the Register of Historic Places Trust to make up for the shortcomings in the number of publicly recognised Chinese sites (Titus, 2003b). Seven Chinese heritage sites and areas were later added to the Register, making the total of 10 recognised sites. As part of the apology, the Government supported the establishment of the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust and provided funding to promote the preservation of Chinese history and heritage in New Zealand (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2008).

Through the support of the Trust, the Arrowtown Chinese settlement was further restored with updated interpretation and it is now attracting more than 100,000 visitors a year (Department of Conservation, n.d.). Also, with support from the Trust, a massive excavation and reconstruction project aimed at changing the Lawrence Chinese Camp from a ruin into a major tourist destination is being planned. On the West Coast, a project named 'History of West Coast Chinese' was undertaken by the

researcher of Shantytown with funding from the Trust as well. Her book, entitled 'Golden Prospects: Chinese on the West Coast of New Zealand', was published in 2009 (see Bradshaw, 2009). An authentic Chinese garden in Dunedin was opened to the public in July, 2008, with the intention of creating a fitting and permanent recognition of the Chinese who first came to Otago during the 1860s Gold Rush and stayed to establish some of the city's businesses. Most recently, a Chinese heritage trail in Otago has been proposed. This trail will link Queenstown/Arrowtown and Dunedin, via State Highway 8, and will terminate at each end with the Arrowtown Chinese settlement and the newly opened Dunedin Chinese garden respectively. In between, visitors will take in Kawarau Gorge's mining centre and the proposed recreation of the Lawrence Chinese Camp (Conway, 2008a). The project is seen as a possible 'champion' to boost the economy of the region and with the potential to attract Chinese visitors to New Zealand (Conway, 2008a, 2008b; Williams, 2008). These facts show that Chinese heritage is now playing an increasing role in New Zealand's tourism industry.

The role Chinese gold-rush heritage plays in New Zealand tourism has, however, received very little attention from academics. Some books have been written about the Chinese history in New Zealand (e.g. Bradshaw, 2009; Ip, 2003; Ng, 1993c), but hardly any about Chinese heritage and its tourism potential. Some studies on Chinese gold-rush heritage have been conducted in Australia (Frost, 2005; Frost, Laing, Wheeler, Reeves, & Weiler, 2007; Zhang & Murphy, 2005). These studies showed that some Chinese heritage sites in Australia have been successful in attracting both domestic and international visitors and have been providing satisfying visitor experiences. It is important to explore, from an academic point of view, why the long-neglected Chinese gold-rush heritage in New Zealand has started to receive attention today and what potential this heritage has for tourism development. This study intends to extend the knowledge of the existing literature on Chinese gold-rush heritage in New Zealand by exploring the reasons for its current (re)development and its potential to be expanded as one of New Zealand's tourism products. An understanding of this will assist in the ongoing development and future planning for Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand.

This research focused on three sites which are either linked to former Chinese gold mining activity or which have other Chinese heritage. These sites are: Shantytown

and its Chinatown on the West Coast of the South Island, the Lawrence Chinese Camp and the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, both in Central Otago. At these sites, the proportions of the Chinese element included vary, their developmental stage differs, and they are managed by contrasting organisations that perceive Chinese heritage differently. My fieldwork was based on intensive qualitative interviews with people involved in the development and management of these sites, and with Chinese group tour guides. These data were supplemented with archival material plus promotional texts used to advertise and sell the experiences provided at these sites.

1.2 Research aims questions and objectives

This research project aimed to explore the reasons for the (re)development of Chinese heritage and the form it takes. Particular focus was given to exploring the tourism potential of these Chinese heritage sites for both domestic and international tourists. In particular, this research looked into the tourism potential of these sites in the Chinese market, as China is one of the fast growing markets for the New Zealand tourism industry (Ministry of Tourism, 2009). Based on the findings, suggestions have been made about how these resources can be best developed and interpreted so they can meet the needs of different groups of tourists.

The central research question of this study was:

- Why are Chinese gold-rush heritage sites currently undergoing (re)development in New Zealand and what is their potential for the tourism industry?

The sub-research questions of this study were:

- What is the current state of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand (inventory and historical origin)?
- What form is the (re)development taking and who is involved?
- What are the emphases of the current approaches to management of New Zealand's Chinese heritage sites, and what influence do these management emphases have on the presentation of Chinese heritage sites?

- Is there any potential for Chinese heritage tourism to be expanded in New Zealand?
- Is there any potential for domestic and international tourists to engage more actively with Chinese heritage?
- Is there any potential in the Chinese market for this type of product?
- How can these resources be best developed to meet the needs of different groups of users?

The objectives of this research were:

1. To explore the reasons for the current (re)development of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand.
2. To explore the emphases of current approaches to the management of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand.
3. To explore the potential of Chinese heritage in New Zealand in terms of tourism development.
4. To formulate appropriate suggestions for managing and interpreting Chinese heritage to meet the needs of different groups of users.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis comprises nine chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter Two of the thesis reviews the literature to give a theoretical background to the research. Chapter Three outlines the methods used to fulfil the research aim and objectives. Chapter Four gives a background to New Zealand's Chinese gold mining history and heritage, its current development and the factors that are leading that development; and a background of Chinese tourist market of New Zealand. Chapters Five, Six and Seven present the research results relating to Shantytown and its Chinatown, the Arrowtown Chinese settlement and Lawrence Chinese Camp respectively. Chapter Eight discusses the research findings with regard to five aspects, which are the current value, the management, the tourism potential, the potential market and the interpretation of Chinese gold mining history and heritage. Chapter Nine, the results

of the study are summarised, implications of the study are drawn, the research limitations are outlined and recommendations for further research are made.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical background for the study of Chinese gold mining heritage in New Zealand. Heritage is defined and its subjective, selective and changing nature is discussed. The political process of defining and preserving heritage is then examined followed by a discussion of heritage management from both heritage conservation and tourism development perspectives. The chapter then turns to the concept of sustainable heritage tourism management that balances the two conflicting perspectives. Heritage tourism is then defined and reasons for its growth put forward with a focus on the New Zealand experience. Issues associated with interpreting heritage for tourism based on McKercher and du Cros' (2002) underlying principles of tourism are then explicated. Finally, gold field tourism is examined with reference to Goodman's (2001) concept of 'edgy' interpretations of the nineteenth century gold rushes.

2.2 Definition of heritage

Before discussing heritage tourism, it is important to clarify the meaning of heritage. Heritage is a difficult concept to define because it is subjective, as shown in the wide range of objects, places and ideas that have been classified as 'heritage' (Fisher, 2000). Heritage includes not only tangible artefacts or sites, it is also intangible as symbolic meanings and spiritual embodiment that are attached to the material and tangible remnants of the past (Park, 2010). There is a general agreement that heritage can be almost anything that is linked to the past that represents some sort of inheritance to be passed on to current and future generations (Hardy, 1988, as cited in Timothy & Boyd, 2003). People preserve heritage because of the value it has to them. For example:

heritage helps to maintain a link with past, so a sense of continuity can be built;

heritage helps maintain individual, community and national identities;

heritage may help communicate and construct national belonging;

heritage may have educational, scientific and conservation significance (Hall & McArthur, 1996); and

heritage has economic importance as people increasingly want to visit heritage sites and experience what has been preserved (Park, 2010).

The value of heritage, however, is not based on the intrinsic quality of the ‘thing’ itself, but on its representative function, which is relative to the user’s perceptions and beliefs. An item from the past can be valuable heritage to some people but may mean nothing to others. This means that heritage is selective and subjective. Ashworth (1995, 2009) argues that heritage comprises selections of what are desirable from the past, to be kept by the user. Whatever element of the past is presented as heritage (arts, crafts, events, rituals or buildings) has already passed through a complex filtering process by which someone has selected it (Harrison, 2005). Decisions about what should be kept as heritage, and why, are always tied up with issues of cultural identity and competing sets of values (Hall & McArthur, 1991, as cited in Hall & McArthur, 1996). Harrison (2005, p. 7) argues that

“heritage is about individual and collective identity... conflict occurs because we are socialised into cultures which predispose us to favour one set of indicators that include us in a specific group or category – hence excluding others from membership of our group and ourselves from membership of theirs”.

Societies, cultural groups and governments collectively interpret the past in a subjective manner to meet their own ideological goals (Graham, 1998). Disagreement, therefore, on questions such as ‘who decides what value a heritage has?’, and ‘whose heritage is being presented and why?’ always exist among the various interest groups.

Many academics have argued that heritage is an entirely a contemporary product (Ashworth, 2009; Fountain & Thorns, 1998; Frost, 2005; Hall & McArthur, 1996; Schouten, 1995; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Heritage is not the same as history although history provides the material from which heritage is constructed (Fountain & Thorns, 1998). History is an interpretation based on the

assessment of historical data. Heritage can be seen as ‘history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity’ (Schouten, 1995, p. 21). The notion of heritage is shaped and defined according to the changing needs and expectations of a society that is undergoing substantial self-examination in terms of identity and cultural composition (Hall & McArthur, 1996). This suggests that not all types of heritage are valued by society at all times. Heritage could, however, come to represent values considered important by society as a whole or by some segments of that society at a particular point of time, as the value system of heritage goes through changes over time and through space.

2.3 Politics of heritage

The identification and preservation of heritage is a highly political activity (Hall & McArthur, 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). As stated above, perceptions of the past, and what is defined as heritage, are always linked to present hierarchies. The voices of those at the top are often the most likely to prevail because they have the power to impose a view of the world, especially the past, on others. Those whose lives were blighted by massacre, torture and discrimination are often overlooked and not represented in valued heritage (Hall, 1997; Harrison, 2005; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Poria (2007) argues that individuals are not interested in presenting or watching actions taken by ‘one’s tribe,’ when such actions evoke feelings of shame. This can explain why certain groups in the population are interested in preserving and observing only certain parts of the past. Norkunas (1993, p. 97) states that ‘the ruling class carefully controls the form and content of historical recreations and tourist landscapes, legitimising itself by projecting its own contemporary socio-cultural values upon the past’. In order to achieve some political/ideological objective(s), sometimes with a racist slant, some aspects of the past are deliberately disregarded, excluded or suppressed by the society or its leaders because they are uncomfortable or embarrassing. To this end, heritage reflects the stories told by the winners who have seen heritage as a tool to legitimise political control (Hall, 1997; Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

In the European world, heritage has tended to present the cultural symbols of the white, middle/upper-classes and excludes a range of alternative ways of

understanding heritage (L. Smith, 2006). Timothy and Boyd (2003), however, argue that the choice of what to keep should be made to maintain a balance between the past of the aristocratic elites and the common folk, especially ethnic minorities whose past might have been ‘conveniently’ forgotten. These uncomfortable pasts should not be eliminated; although they have the potential to bring discomfort and embarrassment to certain groups, especially for nations trying to right the wrongs of history. The present and future generations have a right to know, and it may perhaps assist in healing processes.

Although it is often the people in positions of power who make the decisions of what should be kept, the political process of preserving heritage is influenced by community’s attitudes. For example, a private residence is not usually deemed to be heritage, but when it can be seen as part of the symbolic property of the wider culture or community, pressure may be placed on decision-makers to redefine such a place as heritage (Hall & McArthur, 1996). Understanding these community processes is very important in analysing the formation of heritage.

2.4 Managing heritage for tourism

Tourism is increasingly being recognised as one of the potential uses for heritage, as tourism can capture the economic characteristics of heritage and harness these for conservation by generating funding, educating the community and influencing policy (Graham, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Without appropriate management, however, developing tourism at heritage sites runs the ‘risk of alienating host communities and turning places into stage sets...for economic exchange’ (Graham, 2002, p. 1007).

The objectives of heritage conservation and tourism development often conflict and contradict each other; the objectives and activities of one group, therefore, are often compromised by the other (Breathnach, 2009; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Warren & Taylor, 2001). On one hand, there are concerns about depreciating the authenticity, value and integrity of heritage represented for commercialisation (Breathnach, 2009). On the other hand, in some cases, the touristic development of heritage assets is limited to ensure that the cultural or historical integrity is maintained (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Tourism development and heritage conservation have shared little in common apart from their resource base. Each discipline developed independently

with different core ideologies and values. For example, tourism industry professionals value heritage assets as raw materials that generate tourism activity and wealth. In contrast, heritage management professionals value the same assets for their intrinsic merits and their main goal is to systematically conserve a representative sample of heritage and maintain the value of the heritage assets for the enjoyment of present and future generations (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). McKercher and du Cros (2002, p. 9) point out that the challenge in managing heritage sites is, therefore, to find a balance 'between the consumption of extrinsic values by tourists and conservation of the intrinsic values by cultural heritage managers'. The concept of 'sustainable heritage management' has been realized as the future direction that both sectors should work towards. This management approach can set up a common ground for both disciplines, so professionals from each field may work as partners, rather than competitors, for their mutual benefit (Helmy & Cooper, 2002; Landorf, 2009; Maksin, 2010; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). In practice, the achievement of the dual objectives is complicated, especially when many stakeholders who hold diverse values toward the asset are involved (Landorf, 2009; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). That is why sustainable heritage management is a long term strategic and holistic planning process that requires the participation of both sides (Landorf, 2009; Maksin, 2010). Cooperating as partners requires both sectors to understand the needs and appreciate the values and interests of the other side. McKercher and du Cros (2002) explain that this means the heritage conservation stakeholders must be aware of how tourism works, while tourism developers must understand heritage conservation concepts and practices.

2.5 Heritage tourism and its growth

Heritage tourism is arguably the oldest form of tourism. It existed even in ancient days although it was not defined as such. Today, the World Tourism Organisation defines heritage tourism as 'an immersion in the natural history, human heritage, arts, philosophy and institutions of another region or country' (cited in Timothy & Boyd, 2003, p. 1). Boyd (2002) suggests that heritage tourism focuses on a destination's historic, natural and cultural values; and it goes beyond a simple interest in the past. It encompasses a wide variety of landscapes and settings; it explores the cultural and natural heritage of peoples, highlighting natural physical beauty, urban and industrial

developments, as well as historical landmarks. Some destinations tend to focus more on the built heritage while some destinations focus on archaeological significance of heritage and the history of ethnic groups.

From the supply perspective, heritage tourism is divided into two general categories. One is cultural heritage tourism, which includes artefacts and places associated with wars and other armed conflicts, religious sites and events, living culture, industrial pasts and literary places. The other category is natural heritage tourism, which includes urban, rural and protected areas and parks (Hall & McArthur, 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The research in this thesis focuses only on cultural heritage tourism, especially built heritage.

The late 1990s witnessed a renewed interest in travellers' desires to rediscover the past (Boyd, 2002). Warren and Taylor (2001, p. 3) suggest that 'the rise of heritage tourism has coincided with a general surge of interest in heritage preservation, local history and identity'. This interest in historical attractions has generated a cultural and heritage tourism market, and reliving the past has become a critical tourist experience (Bonn, Joseph-Mathews, Dai, Hayes, & Cave, 2007). A body of literature suggests that heritage tourism is one of the fastest growing tourism sectors; there has been a global rise in the demand for heritage tourist attractions (Chandler & Costello, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Warren & Taylor, 2001). Increased visitation of heritage sites and the associated flow-on effects has meant that heritage tourism is now big business (Hall & McArthur, 1996).

Apart from more tourists seeking out heritage experiences, heritage tourism is also developed because it may be a helpful tool for regional restructuring and economic development (Edward & Llurdés, 1996; Xie, 2006). It extends a destination's product base, diversifies visitors' routes and, potentially, creates a tourist market during the low visitation season (Warren & Taylor, 2001). Warren and Taylor (2001) suggest that heritage tourism can also be used to boost conservation advocacy and activity by both economically justifying conservation work and providing the revenue to make it possible. In terms of protecting local history and identity, development of heritage tourism provides an opportunity for local communities to invest in the regeneration and redevelopment of their historical resources. Developing a heritage product provides host communities with the impetus to research local history and culture and

learn more about themselves (Warren & Taylor, 2001). Heritage tourism also helps enhance cultural and community identity and pride, thereby strengthening communities (Esteban Ruiz Ballesteros & Macarena Hernández Ramírez, 2007; Warren & Taylor, 2001).

2.6 Development of cultural heritage tourism in New Zealand

In New Zealand, in general the focus of heritage conservation has been placed on preserving the natural environment. This is evidenced in the uneven allocation of conservation funds across natural, historic and cultural heritage in favour of natural heritage (Warren & Taylor, 2001). Warren and Taylor (2001) suggest that New Zealand is seeing a gradual shift in cultural and historical heritage conservation interest and focus which, in turn, is reflected in the development of historical and cultural heritage tourism. There has been a remarkable growth of interest in New Zealand's historic places in recent decades; many historic buildings are being preserved and recognised (Trapezink & Mclean, 2000). Cultural heritage tourism was specifically identified in the New Zealand Tourism Strategy (NZTS) 2010 as a sector requiring further development in order to maximise its potential (Ministry of Tourism, 2001). To this end, cultural heritage tourism has been given considerable prominence in both domestic and international tourism marketing strategies (Ministry of Tourism, 2001, 2007). This effort has lifted the country's cultural and historical heritage tourism capability, and a better understanding of cultural and historical heritage tourism opportunities has been achieved (Ministry of Tourism, 2007). The updated Tourism Strategy 2015 (Ministry of Tourism, 2007, p. 71) states that 'New Zealand's history and culture are an important part of the tourism experience. They help create our national and local identity and a sense of place'. According to this document, in order to consistently provide world-class visitor experiences with a distinctly New Zealand flavour there will be a continued emphasis on developing cultural heritage tourism products so the unique aspects of New Zealand's culture and history can be shared and celebrated. The same document also suggests that the tourism sectors need to work closely together with The New Zealand Heritage Trust to achieve 'quality visitor experiences through more regional differentiation, better interpretation, the sharing of stories and promoting local culture' (Ministry of Tourism, 2007, p. 71). Interest in developing cultural heritage tourism products has also emerged from the

growth of international tourism and the desire of tourists to learn more about New Zealand's culture, local traditions and histories (Warren & Taylor, 2001). Research conducted in 2003 on the demand for cultural tourism showed that visiting sites important to New Zealand's history/heritage was a popular activity taken by international (55%) visitors (Colmar Brunton Social Research Agency, 2003). According to the most recent information released by Tourism New Zealand in 2010, there has been a decrease in visitor participation in city or town based activities, in particular visiting historic buildings or sites, museums, art galleries, observatories and expo centres compared to the previous year. However, among those interested in city or town based activities, conversion from interest to participation is strong (Tourism New Zealand, 2010a).

2.7 Interpreting heritage for tourism

There are many debates about how interpretation can best be used to facilitate the tourism experience at heritage sites. It is important, therefore, to understand the nature of heritage tourism. McKercher and du Cros (2002) suggest that tourism is governed by a number of underlying principles (see Table 1), regardless of what form that tourism takes. McKercher and du Cros (2002) argue that the core product of tourism is the beneficial experience, and this is no different for visitors to heritage sites. This point of view is also supported by a number of other writers (e.g. Moscardo, 1996; Prentice, Witt, & Hamer, 1998). McKercher and du Cros (2002) point out that not all heritage assets have tourism potential. The existence and significance of a heritage site may not necessarily result in tourist interest and visitation. There is a need for levels of product development to attract potential visitors. This may include the development of marketing, associated facilities and interpretation (Frost et al., 2007; Hall & McArthur, 1996; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; McKercher & Ho, 2006; Moscardo, 1999). Schouten (1995) argues that visitors are looking for an experience rather than the hard facts of historical reality. While visiting a heritage site, they cannot necessarily construct a meaningful and enjoyable experience through the facts and relics by themselves. They have to rely on the interpretation of what they are visiting. Presenting the value of heritage assets to visitors through interpretation as an experience, therefore, has become an important part of ongoing heritage conservation and management (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995).

Table 1: Underlying principles of tourism

Issue	Principle
The nature of tourism	Tourism is a commercial activity. Tourism involves the consumptions of experience. Tourism is entertainment. Tourism is a demand-drive activity that is difficult to control.
Attractions drive tourism	Not all tourism attractions are equal. Cultural heritage attractions are part of tourism. Not all cultural assets are cultural tourist attractions.
Factors influencing visitation levels	Access and proximity dictate the potential number of visitors. Time availability influence the quality and depth of experience sought.
Tourist behaviour	Tourist experience must be controlled to control the actions of the tourist. Tourists want controlled experiences. The more mainstream the market, the greater the need for user-friendly tourism product.
Cultural tourism	Not all cultural tourists are alike. Cultural tourism products may be challenging and confronting but not intimidating or accusatory. Tourists want 'authenticity' but not necessarily reality.

Source: McKercher & du Cros, 2002, p. 7

In a general context interpretation is 'a means of communicating ideas and feelings which help people enrich their understanding and appreciation of their world and their role within it' (Interpretation Australia Association, 1995, as cited in Hall & McArthur, 1996, p. 90). Many definitions of 'interpretation' have been proposed in

the tourism literature but no single definition that has been universally accepted (Poria, Biran, & Reichel, 2009). One of the first to write on the topic, Tilden (1977, p. 7), argues that interpretation is ‘an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand experience, and by illustrative media rather than simply to communicate factual information.’ More recently, Alderson and Low (1996, p. 3) defined interpretation as a ‘planned effort to create for visitors an understanding of the history and significance of events, people, and objects with which the site is associated’. Poria, Biran, & Reichel (2009, p. 2), in a review of the literature, conclude that interpretation is ‘a transmission of information from the presenter to the viewer in an attempt to educate the latter’.

As Alderson and Low (1996) further explain, interpretation is both a programme and an activity. The programme establishes objectives for the things that the interpreters want visitors to understand. The activity refers to the skills and techniques by which that understanding is created. How well the visitors can understand the meanings of, and relationship with, the site depends on how well the programme and the activity work together. This includes communication with the interpreter, the quality of restoration, the authenticity of furnishings and the effectiveness of the exhibitions.

It is also noteworthy that the above definitions of interpretation are from a supply side perspective; the writers emphasise the role of the heritage tourism supplier. The messages that are passed on to the visitor depend on what the management of the heritage sites decides is important and needs to be presented. As Poria, Biran and Reichel (2009, p. 2) argue the ‘display justifies and validates the version of history as seen by those in power ignoring other versions’. There is, therefore, a ‘need for providing those without power the opportunity to influence heritage presentations’ (Poria et al., 2009, p. 2).

The importance of the educational role of interpretation is also emphasised in the above definitions of interpretation. Poria, Butler and Airey’s (2004b) research found that the educational component is a significant motivation for visitors to heritage sites, suggesting that there has been a shift at many sites to a focus on education rather than display. This explains why being educational is considered important to interpretation of heritage sites.

Herbert (1989) argues that the role of interpretation is to provide knowledge which increases visitors' awareness and understanding of the place they visit, which may promote interest, lead to greater enjoyment and stimulate a sense of responsibility. This definition suggests that one of the aims of providing knowledge is to provide enjoyment. This is also an important aspect of interpretation, which is missing from the earlier definitions. McKercher and du Cros (2002) state that tourism should be entertaining and this includes cultural heritage tourism. Heritage settings must compete with other tourist attractions and be profitable in order to be sustainable. Heritage tourism providers, therefore, have to present the past in an interesting and appealing way that is fun and can be easily consumed by tourists (Laing, Wheeler, Reeves, Frost, & Weiler, 2007; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; M. K. Smith, 2003). It should be remembered that not all visitors want to be educated (Chen, 1998; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Chen (1998) suggests that visitors to heritage sites have two main motives: pursuit of knowledge and personal benefits. Personal benefits include relaxation, sightseeing and recreation. Poria, Butler and Airey (2004a) agree with Chen (1998), suggesting that visitors to heritage sites seek not only heritage and learning experiences, but also a recreational experience. Furthermore, learning opportunities that can be created through entertainment, as a 'fun' and enjoyable experience are more likely to generate an efficient knowledge gain (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Also, entertainment-oriented objectives may serve to broaden the market, so the message of preserving heritage could be passed to a wider audience, thus enlisting greater support from the general public (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). To this end, education and entertainment are two inherent objectives of interpretation; apart from educating, heritage interpretation needs to facilitate entertainment.

Making a heritage site interesting and attractive to visitors through interpretation can be challenging, especially for those sites associated with dark, 'edgy' and sensitive history (e.g. Foley & Lennon, 1996, 1999; Frost, 2005; Marcel, 2005). Tourist visits to historical sites that portray events associated with sites of death, disaster, depravity and human suffering is referred to as dark tourism (Foley & Lennon, 1996, 1999; Marcel, 2005). However Marcel (2005) raises questions about 'whether one can learn deep and some ugly truth about human nature while, at the same time, wearing shorts, eating a hot dog and reading a guide book'. Austin (2002) suggests that this issue relates to the differing needs of various stakeholders. Those who consider themselves

to have a stake in the material presented at the site may want an authentic and historically accurate interpretation that particularly emphasises the sufferings. However, tourism operators and providers may want to present a 'sanitised version' of the site in order to maximise visitation. Therefore, determining what to include in the interpretation of 'dark' heritage is never an easy task. These tensions can be recognised in decisions regarding the interpretation of the Chinese experience of the nineteenth century gold rushes in Australian and New Zealand to different interest groups, for example Europeans, Chinese, and descendants of Chinese miners, as this history is largely associated with discrimination and hardship (see section 2.9).

There are other challenges to interpreting heritage sites because a number of factors influence the quality and depth of tourist experience, such as 'time availability'. The amount of time tourists allocate to any experience depends on the time they have available, the competing uses for that time, and the priority given relative to other options (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). McKercher and du Cros (2002) suggest that some types of cultural tourism attractions demand substantial amounts of time or emotional effort be expended to appreciate the experience fully. For tourism suppliers, the challenge is to find the right balance between the time and effort the experience requires and the quality gained from the experience. On the one hand providing experiences that require a greater effort to consume may result in fewer visits. On the other hand, if the product is too simple, it may compromise its quality and its portrayal of the story to be told. To this end, McKercher and du Cros (2002) suggest that the services provided by tourist operators need to be standardised and modified, so the visitors can quickly obtain a guaranteed experience.

A further challenge is not all tourists are the same. Each visitor may look for a specific set of attributes and characteristics in an attraction, what constitutes significance at a heritage site will, therefore, be personal and idiosyncratic (Bonn et al., 2007; Poria et al., 2009). Austin (2002) interviewed visitors to Cape Coast Castle, a slave trading fortification in the Republic of Ghana. It is noted that the meanings the site has for different visitors (African Americans, Caucasians, and Africans residing in Africa) affect their expectations of the information provided. It is therefore a place with multiple meanings. These meanings, in turn, affect individual interest in this interpretation. Poria, Biran and Reichel's (2009) found that some visitors are interested in seeing an interpretation that generates emotional involvement and

strengthens the links with the site. Lennon and Foley's (1999) study on visitors' experience at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum showed similar results; the Museum succeeds in providing visitors with an experience that is related to the individuals who lived through/died as part of the Holocaust through an identity adoption experiment (via an ID card). Visitors can update individual information on the ID card through user-friendly technology and multimedia at various points. Through this experience, the museum finds its emotional uniqueness that makes it appealing to the visitors who are looking for a specific connection (Bonn et al., 2007).

2.7.1 Who is a heritage tourist

It is, therefore, very useful to understand different types of heritage tourists. A wide range of visitors may visit heritage sites. In general, heritage tourists are relatively highly educated and better paid than average; they are middle aged, neither very young (below 20 years), nor older (over 60 years). The most common age group is between 40 to 59 years (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Warren & Taylor, 2001). This, however, may depend on the attraction. The Sovereign Hill historical park (Figure 1) is very successful in terms of attracting families with young children and school groups (Frost et al., 2007). The socio-demographic characteristics of visitors, however, may not be the most appropriate indicators for understanding of the tourist experience, because the experience or benefits gained can be irrelevant to socio-demographic differentiations (Prentice et al., 1998, p. 20).



Figure 1: Street scene of Sovereign Hill, Ballarat, Australia

Source: author

Warren and Taylor (2001) suggest that one thing that distinguishes visitors is their level of specialisation. 'Specialists' go to heritage sites for a distinct purpose; for example, archaeology students visiting a significant site. This type of visitor will go out of their way to visit a remote site as they have specific interests that make them want to access as much information as possible. 'Generalists' comprise the majority of heritage tourists. 'They gain pleasure from their visit for any number of reasons, some remotely connected to the 'main attraction'. Some are merely following the tourist trail while others may be 'fans' with a very general knowledge' (Warren & Taylor, 2001, p. 6). This type of heritage visitor is more likely to 'stop in' at the site that is 'on their way' or part of a cluster of attractions. Unlike 'specialists', they want to know just enough about the site or event to enlighten them. Similarly, Frost, Laing, Wheeler, Reeves, and Weiler (2007) divide visitors to heritage sites into 'heritage enthusiasts' and 'incidental heritage visitors'. They point out that the interests of 'heritage enthusiasts' can be quite narrow. While passionate about a particular heritage, they might not be interested in nearby, but different, types of heritage. In this case, the visitors to gold mining heritage sites may be only interested in a certain aspect (e.g. mining techniques) but not others. For the 'incidental heritage visitors', their motives are more likely to be recreational, as simple as seeking a pleasant day out and sharing some fun time with family members. Their consumption of heritage products and experiences may be combined with shopping, relaxing in cafes, visiting wineries and other attractions. These 'incidental' types of heritage visitors are increasingly the main heritage tourism segment (Prentice, 1993).

Based on the motives and the depth of experience sought, McKercher and du Cros (2002) divide visitors into five types and identify 'purposeful', 'sightseeing', 'serendipitous', 'casual' and 'incidental' heritage tourists. At one extreme 'purposeful' tourists travel with specific motives and seek deep experiences, often at heritage sites. At the other end of the spectrum, 'incidental' tourists, will nevertheless consume cultural and heritage products but only superficially and as part of a much wider repertoire of attractions.

In relation to visitor type, McKercher and du Cros (2002) point out that a clear hierarchy of tourist attractions can be defined according to the degree of compulsion to visit. Primary attractions will draw people who specifically want to see the attraction and who are therefore more likely be knowledgeable about it; while the

visitors to lower order attractions may merely look for a lighter experience or discretionary activities to round out their trip. In this case, they may be less familiar with the attraction and less likely to spend a large amount of time or invest substantial emotional energy in it. The quality of interpretation and presentation provided at a site should be based on how much visitation it receives and how it is used. For a site that is lower in the hierarchy, its interpretation and presentation may not need to be as detailed as the ones at the top.

It is also noteworthy that international and domestic visitors experience heritage differently and want different things from their visitation (Warren & Taylor, 2001). International tourists often have limited prior knowledge (history and cultural background) of the product they experience. What they know is often based on stereotypical images and they will seek experiences that confirm those stereotypes (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Accordingly, effective interpretation needs to be aimed at multiple levels, satisfying the visitors who want only the basics as well as the visitors who seek more complex meaning and understanding (Laing et al., 2007).

The last set of McKercher and du Cros's (2002) underlying principles of tourism suggest that tourists want 'authenticity' in their experience, but not necessarily reality. They argue that 'authenticity is a social construct, determined, in part, by the individual's own knowledge and frame of reference' (McKercher & du Cros, 2002, p. 40). In other words, authenticity lies in the eyes of the tourist. This argument is also supported by Cohen (1988) when he argues that authenticity is negotiable and must be considered from the perspective of tourists and their expectations. To be 'authentic' a tourism product must be perceived as 'real' or 'genuine' by those consuming it. As McKercher and du Cros (2002) suggest, some tourists may be happy to have their stereotype reconfirmed; or to believe what is presented at the attraction is authentic because the actual reality is perhaps too hard to comprehend. That is why the Sovereign Hill gold mining historical theme park in Australia is so popular. Visitors can get a 'real' experience, in the sense that they can experience a number of distinct gold mining eras, while knowing fully they are not visiting a real gold mining settlement (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Accordingly, the authenticity of the experience is rather more important to the visitors rather than the authenticity of the objects.

2.8 Gold field tourism

Gold field tourism is directly related to processes of technological, economic and social change as well as the inevitability of environmental exhaustion which comes with mining. In this way, it has strong links to a variety of industries that have been affected by economic and technological restructuring. As traditional heavy industries and their associated structures and landscapes have been abandoned, these outdated resources have been reinterpreted and marketed as ‘industrial heritage’ as a way of conserving and exploiting the industrial past (Rudd & Davis, 1998; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Urry, 1995). Industry-based heritage tourism can allow places to take advantage of their forgotten pasts and their potential as tourism attractions in the face of widening cultural and recreational interests (Edward & Llurda, 1996). More and more countries and regions are beginning to realise this potential and have put effort into reinventing their place imagery to include centres of industry as tourist destinations (Mansfeld, 1992).

Edward and Llurda (1996, p. 342) define industrial heritage as ‘man-made sites, buildings (e.g. factories), landscapes and machinery that originated with industrial processes from earlier periods’. The primary resource base of industrial heritage includes mines, quarries, factories, harbours, ports, agricultural relics, railroads and railway museums (Balcar & Pearce, 1996). Most of these industrial heritage resources can be divided into four categories, namely productive, processing, transport and socio-cultural attractions (see Table 2) (Edward & Llurda, 1996).

Table 2: A typology of industrial attractions

Productive attractions	Processing attractions	Transport attractions	Socio-cultural attractions
Extraction-based sites (e.g. mines and logging camps)	Places where raw materials are processed (e.g. workshops and factories)	Modes of transport for industrial items and workers (e.g. rails, canals)	Relics of a social nature at industrial sites (e.g. workers’ cottages, community services)

Source: Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 37

According to this classification, gold mining fields lie in the category of 'productive attractions'. Related to these mines are ghost towns, which can be included in the 'socio-cultural' category of industrial heritage. As gold was exhausted, old mining towns were abandoned, but there still remain derelict reminders of miners' lives at that particular time period. Many of these towns, villages, and gold mining fields have reinvented themselves as goldfield tourism destinations; some of them are original and some are constructed. Good examples can be seen in Australia, for example Sovereign Hill and Bendigo (C. A. Evans, 1993; Frost, 2005, 2006; Frost et al., 2007), and New Zealand, such as Arrowtown and Shantytown (C. A. Evans, 1993; Johnson, 2003). These places are managed by for-profit or non-profit organisations and represent various aspects of the gold rush history to visitors. Some of these sites are restored or reconstructed and others are retained as ruins. Some sites are interpreted in the form of open air museums. One of the most common forms of interpretation at these sites is a museum display of 'things' such as old documents and items that were used by the miners for mining and living often excavated during archaeological digs. At these sites the old mining townships are restored or re-created to capture the character of the gold rush period. At some sites visitors can experience the actual underground mine, and/or gold panning.

2.9 'Edgy' interpretation of the gold rushes

Goodman (2001) suggests that the history of gold has been written mainly from a positive perspective, such as the extraordinary figures of population increases, and the role of gold in facilitating the building of cities and civic cultures. He argues that it would be a mistake, however, if the sense of the gold rushes as dangerous, edgy events with unpredictable outcomes, failure and the experiences of destitution by minority groups, such as Chinese, Aborigines and women, were ignored. He suggests that there is a need to recover the forgotten and lost aspects of gold mining and make an 'edgier' history of gold (Goodman, 2001). By 'edgier', Goodman (2001) means two things: one is edgier in the sense of marginal, the other is the sense of unsettling. In response to Goodman's call for making a 'edgier' gold history, the voices of 'others' are being increasingly heard and the 'edgy' aspects of goldfields are being revealed (Frost, 2005; Reeves & Nichols, 2007). The renewed interest among Australian and New Zealand historians in Chinese early settlement associated with

gold mining is a good example (e.g. Bagnall, 2011; Lovejoy, 2011; Ngai, 2011; Reeves & Khoo, 2011; Reeves & Mountford, 2011; Reeves & Nichols, 2007; Schamberger, 2011).

This new approach to the gold rushes presents significant challenges for interpreters who are working at gold rush heritage sites. Although visitors to gold rush sites are generally keen on learning and authenticity (M. Evans, 1991; Frost, 2003; Ham & Weiler, 2004), the ‘edgier’ interpretations need to be carefully incorporated into the information provided for visitors; as issues that associated with interpreting dark and sensitive history are discussed in Section 2.7. Moreover, it has been recently argued that visitors to gold rush sites are more interested in ‘seeing’ than ‘learning’. They may regard the site only as background for general tourist activities such as relaxing, spending time with family and friends, eating in cafes and looking and shopping (Cegielski, Janeczko, Mules, & Wells, 2001). In this case, visitors may not be interested in seeing the stories which are too ‘edgy’ and that may depress them; for example, the suffering of racism by Chinese miners in New Zealand and Australia. This might be particular the case for Chinese tourists. There are some successful examples of ‘edgier’ interpretations of gold rush heritage in Australia, such as Sovereign Hill and the Mount Alexander Diggings. At these sites, stories of Chinese, women, children and the environmental impacts are included in the interpretation provided for visitors (Frost et al., 2007).

2.10 Chapter summary

Whether a heritage is valued by a society at a particular point of time is determined and influenced by many factors, which are reviewed in this chapter. Tourism is increasingly recognised as one of the potential uses of heritage because of the benefits heritage tourism can bring. That is why New Zealand has been putting more efforts in developing heritage tourism. Managing heritage sites is not an easy task; the tourism and conservation oriented management approach can conflict, because each approach may aim at contradictory objectives. A sustainable heritage management approach is, therefore, needed as it provides an opportunity for all parties to work together to achieve mutual benefit. Interpreting heritage for tourism can also be challenging, especially for those elements of heritage that are associated with edgy and dark history, such as the Chinese gold mining heritage in New Zealand and Australia.

Chapter 3

Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly introduces the case study sites, explains the rationale of site selection and provides a description and explanation of the research method used for this study. The interview schedule design process, the sample selection process, the interview process and data analysis process are also described in this chapter.

3.2 Case study sites selection

Three sites were selected as case studies: Shantytown and its Chinatown, Arrowtown Chinese settlement and the Lawrence Chinese Camp (see Appendix 5). These case study sites are described in more detail in later chapters, but in the current chapter a brief discussion of each will be presented.

Shantytown is located ten kilometres south of Greymouth on the West Coast. This is a well established commercial historic theme park. The site re-creates an 1800's gold mining town, and is a popular attraction on the West Coast. It is the only gold mining site on the West Coast that contains Chinese components, and its Chinatown was redeveloped in 2004. Even so, the Chinese heritage is still a relatively minor part of all the material on display at Shantytown.

The Arrowtown Chinese settlement is about 200 metres from the main street of Arrowtown, a popular historical town near Queenstown, Central Otago. The settlement is very well known and welcomes around 100,000 visitors a year (Department of Conservation, n.d.). It is the most complete and accessible of all Chinese mining sites in New Zealand. With the submersion of the Cromwell Chinese camp (1987) under Lake Dunstan, created to generate hydro electricity, the Arrowtown Chinese settlement is now the only one of all the Chinese sites in Otago that has been restored for public viewing and has not been substantially obscured by urban or other development.

The Lawrence Chinese Camp is located about a kilometre from the outskirts of Lawrence, Central Otago. It used to be the largest Chinese settlement in New Zealand, containing 30 to 40 buildings, but only one of these buildings remains today. It was once a vibrant settlement with a special character that played an important role in the emerging identity of Otago (Jacomb et al., 2005a). A reconstruction project has been planned for the site. Once completed, the site will have accommodation, restaurants, a museum, a Chinese garden and other tourist catering facilities. If developed as planned, it will become the largest Chinese heritage attraction in New Zealand. More details on the history, development, management and marketing and visitors of the three sites will be given later in the Chapter Five, Six and Seven respectively.

These three sites were selected for various reasons. Firstly, they differ in terms of location. Shantytown is one of a number of sites, including the Fox and Franz Josef glaciers which attract people to the West Coast. Arrowtown Chinese settlement is located at a popular historical town that is close to major tourism hub, Queenstown. In contrast, Lawrence Chinese Camp is located in between of Dunedin and Queenstown, which is more ‘off the beaten track’ for the majority of tourists. Secondly, the three sites vary in size. Shantytown’s Chinatown is relatively small; after its most recent redevelopment in 2004, it has four buildings and a small vegetable garden. The Arrowtown Chinese settlement is larger. At the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, one restored store, several restored huts and the ruins of two huts lie scattered along the walkway in the settlement area. The Lawrence Chinese Camp is the largest in size, although it is largely only a piece of empty land at this stage.

Thirdly, there are differences with regard to the level of ‘authenticity’ of the sites. Shantytown and its Chinatown is a complete re-creation at a convenient location. There was no actual Chinese settlement on the site. Despite this many tourists hold the perception that there was a mining town on the site, according to site management. It, however, presents a narrative of authentic Chinese gold mining experiences on the West Coast and tells the real stories of Chinese miners. In contrast to Shantytown, the other two sites are genuinely associated with Chinese gold mining history, and are registered by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. On both of these sites original buildings still remain: Ah Lum’s Store at Arrowtown Chinese settlement and the Chinese Empire Hotel at Lawrence Chinese Camp. The Arrowtown Chinese settlement is a very close restoration of the original site at the authentic location. At

the Lawrence Chinese Camp, other tourism catering facilities will be built in addition to the restoration of the original site.

Fourthly, these three sites are managed under different approaches and from different perspectives; they therefore differ in their rationale for preserving Chinese heritage and in their interpretation of it. Shantytown is a commercial tourism attraction, as well as an open air museum. Along with the efforts of trying to present the real history of the West Coast, its management has to be driven by profits. Any new development on the site has to be considered as a tourism product, on the basis of increasing visitor numbers. The Chinese are included because they are part of the West Coast's history. The situation at the Arrowtown Chinese settlement is quite different. It is managed by the Department of Conservation, which is a non-profit government heritage department commissioned to conserve and preserve the natural and built heritage of the country for the enjoyment of general public. The Arrowtown Chinese settlement was restored initially because of its raw intrinsic value. It was later redeveloped as a part of the government apology package. The government intended to express its appreciation of Chinese heritage through the redevelopment of the site. The Lawrence Chinese Camp project is led by a Chinese historian, a descendant of early Chinese settlers. This project is more than merely developing a tourism attraction; it means to reinforce identity and preserve the heritage of a long-standing New Zealand-Chinese community.

Lastly, each of the sites is at a different stage of development. Both Shantytown and Arrowtown Chinese settlement are well established, have a relatively long history of welcoming visitors and have been redeveloped relatively recently. The Chinatown of Shantytown started with one Chinese store on the main street of Shantytown in 1990s. It was then moved and rebuilt at its current location in 2000 and redeveloped in 2004. There are no current plans for the Chinese component at Shantytown to be further developed, but this may occur if there is market demand. The Arrowtown Chinese settlement was first opened to public in the late 1980s and was also redeveloped in 2004. There are no further plans for the site in the near future, apart from maintenance. The Lawrence Chinese Camp is still in the planning stage. Apart from site excavation, there is no actual development yet at the site.

Considering that the three sites differ in the above aspects, comparisons can be made in terms of the value, potential of Chinese heritage and the motives for (re)developing it.

3.3 Qualitative research approach

Considering the exploratory nature of this research, I employed a qualitative research method to address my research questions. This method focuses on capturing an understanding of the meaning of aspects of the social world for which it is difficult to develop precise measures expressed as numbers (Babbie, 2010; Sarantakos, 2005). It tends to produce a large amount of detailed information about a specific context using a smaller number of participants, which increases the understanding of a specific context (Patton, 2002). Qualitative research method is based on an interpretative approach designed to uncover people's thoughts, feelings and perceptions (Neuman, 1997), in this case those associated with the value of New Zealand's Chinese heritage assets, and to explore why these assets are currently undergoing (re)development, how it is being managed and (re)developed and what tourism potential they have. Adopting this method not only allowed me to gain an insider's perspective by having a direct and personal contact with the people involved in managing, developing, promoting and selling Chinese heritage sites (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Riley, 1990), but also enabled me to gain a relatively deep understanding about the current development of Chinese heritage from a supply side point-of-view within a limited time frame.

Specifically, I used semi-structured interview and field observation techniques within the three selected case study sites. It was decided to use case study as a research strategy, because it enables researchers to understand a social phenomenon through the empirical investigation of particular instances of that phenomenon (Babbie, 2010; Mabry, 2008; Stake, 2003). The in-depth examination of specific cases helps to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization (Stake, 2003). Through the study of the three particular sites I was able to raise comparisons, therefore to generalize the management, development and interpretation issues of New Zealand's Chinese gold mining heritage. The other reason for taking this approach relates to Jennings' (2001) suggestion that the case study research approach has considerable

ability to generate answers to the ‘why’, ‘what’ and ‘how’ questions by using a combination of data collection techniques.

Semi-structured interviews were employed to facilitate the case study research approach because interviews allow participants to respond freely, thus giving the interviewer the opportunity to explore fully their point of view (Patton, 2002). It also has the advantage of allowing the emergence of new information and providing opportunities for validating or clarifying issues raised in the interviews (Creswell, 2003). Having the interviews semi-structured, on one hand, gives the researcher some sense of direction; on the other hand, it allows the interviewee to respond without prescribed answers in a more natural, conversationally setting (Babbie, 2010; Patton, 2002).

To complement the interviews I spent time observing the sites in question, and where there was tourist activity I watched tourists’ activities and their interactions with each other and the artefacts and interpretative material. Data were gathered also by photographing the sites, gathering pamphlets and other promotional materials and examining the planning and design documents produced by the site managers. This combination of methodological tools enabled an alignment with Lofland et al’s (2006, p. 15) goal of collecting ‘rich data’, whereby ‘a wide and diverse range of information [is] collected over a relatively prolonged period of time in a persistent and systematic manner’.

3.4 Sample selection

In order to meet the research objectives I decided to interview mainly two groups of people who supply Chinese heritage tourism products. One group is made up of people who are currently, or have in the past been, directly or indirectly involved in managing or developing the three case study sites. The other group of interviewees is made up of people who are working as Chinese group tour guides at the time of the research. Apart from interviewing the above two groups of people, participants who are involved in other Chinese historical and heritage projects in the region were also interviewed, such as people involved with the Chinese section of Otago Early Settler’s Museum, and the Dunedin Chinese Garden project.

The interviews were conducted between August 2008 and January 2009 with two additional interviews conducted later in 2009. Participants who were involved in managing and developing Chinese heritage sites were firstly found by searching the site web pages. Then a snowball or referral sampling method was used to find other participants. With regard to the Chinese group tour guides, I started with my own personal contacts and then used snowball sampling to find additional guides. In total, 24 in-depth interviews were carried out, including five participants involved in the Lawrence Chinese Camp, three participants involved in Shantytown, six participants involved in the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, two participants involved in other Chinese history and heritage projects, seven Chinese group tour guides and one local West Coast tour operator.

3.5 Interview schedule design

The interview schedule (Appendix 1) had two sections. For the participants involved in the case study sites the first section focused on gaining general information on the specific site (history, development, management, marketing, visitation), an understanding of their involvement in the site, and their view of the tourism potential and potential market of the site. For the Chinese tour guides, the first section focused on obtaining general information about the tours groups, including the itineraries, the profile of tour group members, the responses of the tour group members about the Chinese heritage visited and the tour guides' point of view on three case study sites. The second section is the same for both of the groups, which asked their perception of the tourism potential of Chinese gold mining heritage in general, and the factors that may lead the current increasing interest in Chinese heritage.

3.6 Interview process

Interviews ranged in duration from ten to eighty minutes, with the majority of interviews lasting fifty minutes. Four of the interviews were conducted by telephone and twenty face-to-face. The telephone interviews were generally shorter, normally around twenty minutes. All but one Chinese group tour guide interviews were conducted in Christchurch; the other interview was conducted in Queenstown. Most guides chose to be interviewed in their own homes. Two chose to be interviewed at public libraries. The interviewees who are involved in case study sites and other

Chinese history and heritage projects were interviewed at the site or in their offices. Apart from one interview conducted at Shantytown with two interviewees, the rest of the participants were interviewed individually.

Prior to each interview, I contacted the prospective participant by e-mail or telephone (Appendix 2) to explain what the research was about, how it was to be done and why the individual was contacted. They were then asked questions to make sure they fitted the criteria. A Research Information Sheet (Appendix 3) was always attached to the email or outlined orally over the telephone to the prospective participants. If they were willing to participate, I arranged a date, time and location for face-to-face or phone interviews according to both my and the participant's schedule. None of the prospective participants refused to be interviewed.

Consistent with the Lincoln University human ethics guidelines before the interview started, all respondents were given and asked to sign a Consent Form (Appendix 4). For the phone interviews, the Consent Form was sent to the respondents through e-mail prior to the interview. Respondents were told of their rights as a voluntary participant and advised that they were free to refuse to answer any question with which they felt uncomfortable and they were free to withdraw from the study at any time. They were also informed that their names and roles may be used only with their permission. All interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder with the permission of participants for later transcription and data analysis. I also took notes during the interviews.

3.7 Data analysis

Each interview was transcribed verbatim with as much contextual accuracy as possible upon completion. I also started preliminary data analysis upon the completion of the first interviews and throughout the fieldwork, so the interview schedule could be adjusted to suit the newly revealed themes. Upon the completion of fieldwork, in-depth analysis of interview data was conducted. The interview transcripts were firstly analysed to derive open coding, which presents the initial dominant themes within them according to the research objectives and concepts formed during review of relevant literature (Babbie, 2010; Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006). For the data did not match the initial coding, I altered the coding structure to reveal new themes. Apart from interview data, this research was also

supplemented with the analysis of academic literature, documentary material, such as government report and informational material provide by case study sites, and photographs. A further thematic work was then conducted with these materials. The main themes will be explained in the Chapter Four, Five, Six and Seven.

3.8 Chapter summary

Because of the exploratory nature of this study, the qualitative research method of semi structured in-depth interviews supported by on-site observations and documentary analysis was considered as the most appropriate approach. This method enabled me to explore the participants' perception of the Chinese heritage sites, the current (re)developments, the tourism potential and potential market of the three case study sites; and to gather sufficient information about their history, (re)development process, management and marketing approach and visitation. The consecutive interview transcription and data analysis process enabled me to gain an in-depth understanding to the information I had gathered, so I could identify the main themes that will be presented in following Context Chapter and three result chapters.

Chapter 4

Context

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a contextual background for the results and discussion chapters. The first section describes the historical background of Chinese gold mining in New Zealand while the second and third sections examine the current development of Chinese heritage and the reason for its development. The fourth section gives background information on Chinese tourists to New Zealand.

4.2 The Chinese gold mining history in New Zealand

The Chinese gold rush to New Zealand occurred between 1865 and 1900. The Chinese miners mainly worked in Otago and the West Coast of the South Island. Nearly all miners were male farmers and artisans of Cantonese rural origin from the Zhujiang Delta or nearby (Figure 2). The majority of them came from Panyu but also from Taishan, Zengcheng and a few other localities (Ng, 1993c). The Chinese miners were sojourners who wished to make a fortune and return home; for many of them, this trip home never happened.

Many Chinese gold-seekers experienced hardship in New Zealand, although they were eventually recognised as skilful and hardworking people. Their living conditions were generally poor. They lived in small low-roofed rough shacks which often did not provide enough space for them to stand upright (Figure 3). They were disliked by the Europeans not only because of their distinctive physical appearance (their long hair plait was an object of ridicule), culture, customs and beliefs; but also because of the fear of their competitive potential. The other things held against the Chinese were their gambling and opium smoking, which were an important entertainment for them. Gambling provided excitement and a chance to relax with their friends, while opium smoking offered an escape from hardship and loneliness (Bradshaw, 2009).

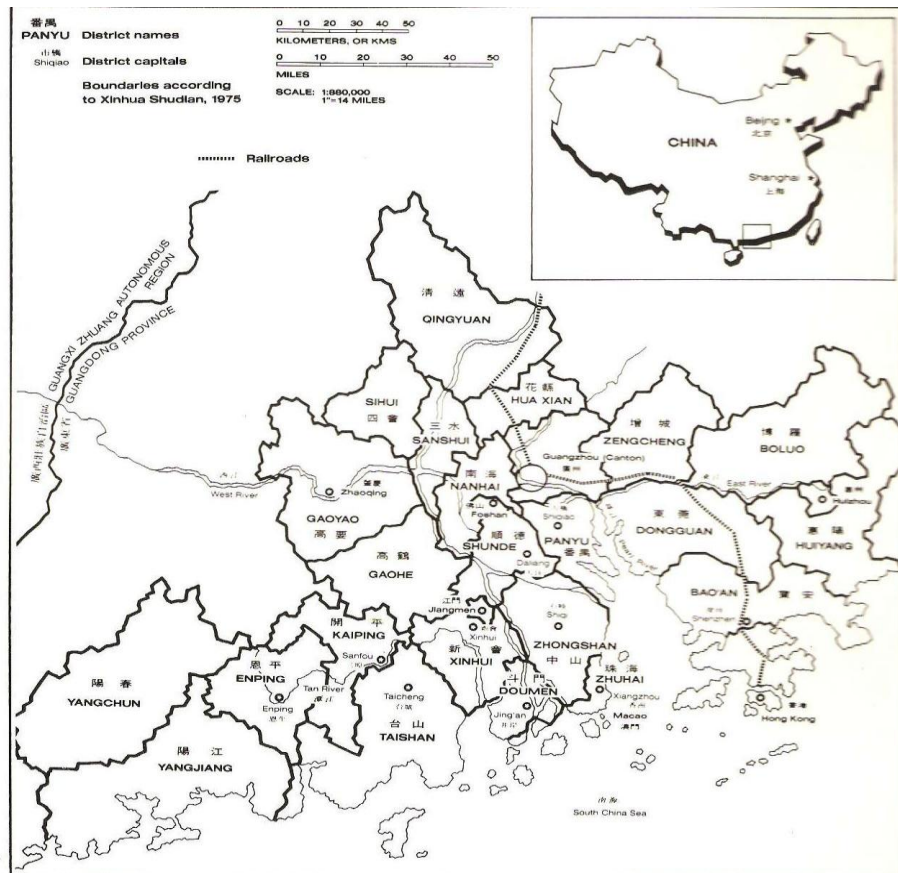


Figure 2: Map of Zhujiang Delta, China

Source: Ng, 2003, p. 10



Figure 3: Chinese miners and their hut

Source: Lake District Museum

Most of the Chinese miners spoke very little English, and had a hard time communicating with Europeans. For this reason they chose to stick together. In doing so they formed the strongest cooperative groups in the goldfields. This, however, reinforced their separateness from the Europeans. The Chinese miners were excluded from New Zealand society and were banned from living in towns or being buried in local graveyards. In response, they formed small Chinese communities and established their own camps, which were near, but outside, the towns. During the 1870s, there were about 25 Chinese communities established in Central Otago and the West Coast (Ng, 1993c). The remains of Chinese buildings (Figure 4) and headstones (Figure 5) can still be seen today, especially in the Otago region. The two largest Chinese camps were Lawrence (about 120 residents) and Round Hill (around 40 residents) (Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, 2004). Lawrence, the largest Chinese Camp, had Chinese doctors, shops, hotels, joss houses and opium and gambling houses (Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, 2004). Even in such a harsh environment, some of the Chinese managed to be successful and earned respect from the Europeans. Amongst the best known of them was Choie Sew Hoy (Figure 6), the key pioneer of the New Zealand Gold Dredge, and Chew Chong who left Otago for Taranaki where he became the pioneer in the use of refrigeration in butter factories (Ng, 2002).



Figure 4: Remain of Chinese Empire Hotel, Lawrence

Source: author



Figure 5: Chinese headstone, Lawrence cemetery

Source: author



Figure 6: Chioe Sew Hoy in his mandarin's robes

Source: Chioe Sew Hoy Family Tree¹

¹ Retrieved March 11, 2011 from <http://www.choiesewhoy.com/family/p-sh.php>

The first group of Chinese miners arrived New Zealand in 1865. They were invited from the Victoria goldfields in Australia by the authorities and the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce. They were a quickly available source of labour to expand the population and rework the Otago goldfields as European miners left for the richer West Coast goldfields. There were particular reasons for choosing Chinese people: they were thought to be hardworking, inoffensive, willing to rework abandoned claims and they preferred to return eventually to their homeland (Ng, 1993c). By 1869 the Chinese gold seekers were coming direct from China as well and soon this flow from China became the main source of Chinese arrivals (Ng, 2001). The highest recorded number of all Chinese miners was 5004, in 1881 (Ng, 2003a). The number of Chinese in Otago reached a peak of 4,200 in 1871, before spilling over to the goldfields on the West Coast of the South Island. From 1874 to 1885, the Chinese made up some 40 per cent of Otago's gold miners and produced about 30 per cent of the province's gold. The spillover to the West Coast reached its own peak of around 1500 by the mid 1870s (Bradshaw, 2009; Ng 2003a). The Chinese miners were about 18 per cent of the total number of miners and became the largest minority group on some of the West Coast goldfields (Bradshaw, 2009). The Chinese were not only miners but entered other employment in the goldfields, from agricultural pursuits like farm labouring, market gardening and laundering to railroad and road-building. Some managed to establish their own small businesses, especially in market gardening and laundering. These were also the industries they went into when gold was exhausted (Bradshaw, 2009; Ng 2003a). The numbers of Chinese immigrants started to fall after 1881, as the easily won gold approached exhaustion, and also because of the change in immigration policy toward the Chinese (Ng, 2002).

Encouraging the migration of Chinese miners to New Zealand was controversial at the time. The Chinese aroused jealous antagonism among many European miners on the goldfields (Ng, 2003b). Since the number of Chinese miners increased quite quickly in the 1870s, a serious concern over the Chinese influx first started in the goldfields and then spread throughout the province of Otago. Later, the concern spread out to the West Coast when the Chinese were moving there (Bradshaw, 2009). The Chinese were labelled 'the Yellow Peril' and were seen as an economic and social threat to the European community (Ip, n.d.; Ng, 2001). From 1881, antagonism against the Chinese gradually grew stronger, due in a large part to the economic depression

(1879-1896) and the influence of anti-Chinese agitation in North America and Australia (Ng, 2001). The antagonism against the Chinese started to focus increasingly on race. From the European perspective, the Chinese were seen as an inferior race. Correspondingly, the main anti-Chinese political objective changed from limitation to exclusion (Ng, 2001). The immigration of Chinese was then very much restricted, particularly for women. There were also policies to disenfranchise the Chinese men who were already in the country and to circumscribe their work and jobs opportunities (Ng, 2003b). The New Zealand Government had introduced an Old Age Pension in 1898, which the Chinese were specifically excluded from receiving until 1936 (Ng, 2003a). Two main parliamentary acts were passed to stop Chinese immigration; the Chinese Immigrants Act in 1881, and the Chinese Immigrants Act Amendment Act in 1896. Both imposed a Poll Tax on the entry of new Chinese immigrants, the latter Act raising the Poll Tax from £10 to £100. This Poll Tax was levied on people of no other nationality than the Chinese (Ip, n.d.; Ng, 2001). There was also an English reading test added for a short period to ensure the Chinese would stop coming. This Poll Tax remained in place until 1944 (Ng, 1993a).

4.3 The (re)development of Chinese heritage sites

The history of these Chinese early settlers has recently received a good deal of attention (Conway, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c; Jacomb et al., 2005a, 2005b; Titus, 2003a, 2003b; Williams, 2008). This has resulted in a stronger interest throughout the country in questions of Chinese cultural heritage and identity. Cultural heritage plays an important role in shaping New Zealanders' national identity. Hall and McArthur (1996, p. 5) state that it is through the development of heritage that '...a wide range of groups and communities can assert their identity within broader national cultures to fashion a collective national identity'. The renaissance of Maori culture, migration from continental Europe, the Pacific Islands and Asia has altered perceptions of 'our' national heritage (Hall & McArthur, 1996; Trapezink & Mclean, 2000). In relation to this, there is increasing interest in the histories of New Zealand's non-British early settlers.

The Chinese were the largest non-European and non-Polynesian immigrant group to arrive New Zealand during the Gold Rush era of the 1800s (Jacomb et al., 2005a; Ng, 2001). Like much pioneering history, the story of New Zealand's Chinese prospectors

is remarkable. Many resources about the Chinese early settlers can be found, such as the public policy and immigration policy about the Chinese, and European New Zealanders' attitudes and reaction toward the Chinese (Murphy, 2003). The stories of the 'Chinese New Zealand history from the inside, or from the bottom up' (Murphy, 2003) were, however, long ignored as the mainstream of New Zealand history emerged out of the confluence of European and Polynesian experience and interests in this country (Jacomb et al., 2005a; Murphy, 2003). Until recent decades, the Chinese contribution to New Zealand's development was largely unknown and unacknowledged (Murphy, 2003; Titus, 2003b). Understanding the role the Chinese miners and their descendents played in the development of New Zealand society is an important areas of current research interest in New Zealand history (Jacomb et al., 2005a).

To the descendants of Chinese gold miners, referred to as the long-standing Chinese families in New Zealand, this Chinese heritage has special meaning; it is a part of their personal heritage as it carries the footprints and stories of their ancestors. As James Ng, a descendant of Chinese miners said in his interview with me:

It (the Chinese heritage) means a lot, because as we grew up in this country everybody has asked the question of whether you are Chinese or not. Everybody has asked the question who am I...that we are loyalists as New Zealanders, people still want to know where they came from, where are their origins. Chinese heritage means a lot to each one of us. You've got to know if you have Chinese blood, to understand yourself .

These Chinese New Zealanders have always desired that their ancestors' contribution to the development of New Zealand be recognised. They have also tried to reinforce their identity, to tell their history and to preserve their heritage. In the last ten to fifteen years, the Chinese New Zealander have been writing about themselves or been written about by others. Influential Chinese historian James Ng has written four volumes about the Chinese history in a series called *Windows on a Chinese Past*, with the first volume published in 1993. In these books, the full Chinese history from the gold mining era right through to the end of the 20th century is recorded. The books tell the origins of Chinese miners, their lives on and beyond the gold fields, their contributions to various industries, and the discriminatory legislation against them. The books have transformed the knowledge of Chinese early settlers in New Zealand.

Manying Ip is other influential researcher of New Zealand Chinese history. She has been living in New Zealand since 1974 and is a respected advocate for New Zealand's Chinese communities. Dr. Ip is Associate Professor in Asian Studies at the University of Auckland and the author of several critically acclaimed books on Chinese in New Zealand including *Unfolding history, evolving identity: the Chinese in New Zealand*, which provides the history, the development of the Chinese community from the early colonial period to modern times including their identity formation, their settlement and adaptation as a visible minority in a largely 'white' dominated nation (Ip, 2003).

The Chinese community in the Otago region, especially in Dunedin, has actively kept the fire of New Zealand Chinese history burning, as they have strong associations with the early Chinese settlers (many of them are the descendants of Chinese miners). The Otago Settlers' Museum has a permanent display on the history of these Chinese, which is based on James Ng's books, also called 'Windows on a Chinese Past'. The Chinese section is considered a significant part of the Museum. The curator of Early Settler's Museum said in the interview:

They (the Chinese) made quite a distinguished group within the settlement from the 1860s on, and they have always been a part of the community ever since. So I think it is very important for the Museum to recognise that, and the Chinese part of our heritage is quite widely recognised and appreciated here in Otago.

The Chinese display was first developed in 1990 at the request of the local Chinese community. It was then redeveloped in 1998 as part of Otago's 150 anniversary celebration, with the local Chinese community playing a significant role in initiating and upgrading the display. They worked closely with the Museum, for example, in collecting photographs and artefacts. The curator recalled how the local Chinese community took a big part in the celebration and a whole week of celebrations was called 'China Week'. The current display tells the story of Otago's Chinese community from their first arrivals in Dunedin in 1865 up until the present, including their life on the Otago Goldfields, the move into towns and cities and the eventual assimilation into the New Zealand way of life. This display is illustrated with an array of artefacts and with short biographies of Chinese families such as Choie Sew Hoy, the merchant who pioneered gold dredging in Otago in the late 19th century.

According to the curator of the Museum, the Chinese section is among the most popular displays of the Museum.

The interest in telling New Zealand's Chinese history and preserving the Chinese heritage had not gone very far beyond the long-standing Chinese community themselves until recent years. Chinese gold-rush history and heritage seems to have received more attention in New Zealand from the Government and the wider general public, particularly since former Prime Minister Helen Clark made a public apology in 2002 for the Poll Tax and other discriminatory laws imposed in Chinese immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Titus, 2003a). In 2003, it was proposed that ten Chinese gold rush-era sites should be included on the Register of Historic Places Trust to make up for the shortfall in the number of publicly recognised Chinese sites (Titus, 2003b). Prior to 2003 there had been only three Chinese sites on the Register and seven have been added since the apology. As part of the apology, the Government has supported the establishment of the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust and, in 2005, paid the Trust five million dollars as a gesture of reconciliation in support of the formal apology. The aims of the Trust are to strengthen the unique identity of Chinese New Zealanders and their communities in New Zealand in recognition of poll-tax payers, to promote the preservation of Chinese-New Zealand history, to develop an awareness of the contributions of early Chinese settlers, and to provide tangible support for Chinese New Zealand history, language and culture, particularly that of the early settler Chinese community (Department of Internal Affairs, n.d.).

Chinese gold mining heritage can also be seen at Arrowtown, Otago. After the last Chinese settler, Ah Lum, died in 1927 little happened on the site of Arrowtown Chinese settlement until 1983, when it was partially restored following an archaeological excavation undertaken by Otago University for the Lands and Survey Department, now known as the Department of Conservation. The excavation project was in compensation for the loss of Cromwell's Chinatown, one of the most important Chinese settlements in Central Otago, which was flooded by Lake Dunstan after the construction of the Clyde Dam on the Mata Au/Clutha River. In 1985-86 conservation work was completed on Ah Lum's store and the whole former residential area was opened to visitors along with five other restored huts. Artefacts, information and a photographic display relating to the development, decline and excavation of the site

was displayed in the Chinese section at Lake District Museum (Department of Conservation, 1990). There was then no further redevelopment until 2003 when funds made available from the government apology package enabled the Department of Conservation to redevelop the settlement. The site was restored and upgraded with new interpretation and then reopened by former Prime Minister Helen Clarke in May, 2004. The new interpretation at the site tells a more complete story of not just the Chinese who were in Arrowtown, but also their presence in the wider region. The site is well known and attracts around 100,000 visitors a year (Department of Conservation, n.d.). More information about the Arrowtown Chinese settlement will be given in Chapter Six.

Another current development is occurring elsewhere in Otago. With support from the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust a big excavation and reconstruction project to turn the Lawrence Chinese Camp from a ruin to a tourist destination is underway. The completed site will have a reconstructed Chinese Camp, a Chinese garden, a museum and facilities catering for tourists (see also Chapter Seven). The Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust also has funded research on the history of Chinese on the West Coast, which was undertaken by the researcher based at Shantytown. As the result of this research, the first book that tells full stories of Chinese gold miners' lives on the Coast has been published (see Chapter Five).

There have been other recent efforts to promote Chinese culture and heritage for tourism purposes and to celebrate the connection between China and New Zealand. An authentic Chinese Garden in Dunedin, the historic gateway to the Otago goldfields, was opened in September 2008. This garden is an emblem of recognition of the contribution Chinese people made to the formation and history of Otago. It also acknowledges the sister city connection between Dunedin and Shanghai. This project was led by Dunedin city Mayor at the time, Peter Chin, who is a descendant of the early Chinese migrants to New Zealand. The idea of having a Chinese garden in Dunedin was born at the time of Otago's 150th anniversary celebration, with the Chinese community's request for something permanent that commemorates their ancestors' contribution. With ten years continuous efforts by Peter Chin and the Chinese community, and generous help from Shanghai Museum, the garden was eventually opened to the public. Mr. Chin described the garden to me thus:

It (the Garden) is a celebration of our past...I think Dunedin people are already and will continue to be very proud of it... they will recognise it is another reason why people might want to come and visit Dunedin.

It is worth mentioning that even in this project, inspired by the local Chinese community to recognise and celebrate their heritage, there is an eye to the tourism potential.

Most recently, a Chinese heritage trail in Otago has been proposed, as the Chinese presence reaches across the whole region and has notable historic relics that are relatively well preserved and accessible. The trail would start from Dunedin and link all the Chinese historic areas and places along State Highway 8, through to Queenstown. At the Queenstown end, there is the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, which is already a well known site. At the Dunedin end, there is the newly built Chinese garden. In between, travellers can visit Kawarau Gorge's mining centre and the Lawrence Chinese Camp, when it is completed. There is also the advantage of an international airport at each end of the proposed trail.

The concept of a Chinese heritage trail in Otago was initiated by James Ng, who was inspired by the Chinese heritage trail in Victoria, Australia when he was invited there to give a talk about the Lawrence Chinese Camp in 2004. This concept grew as the Lawrence Chinese Camp project got underway and the Dunedin Chinese garden was built. James Ng later approached a tourism consultant with the concept, and since then they have been working together with the former Director of the *Otago Daily Times* to evaluate Chinese sites along the trail and conduct the tourism development feasibility studies. The trail aims to enhance the identification, protection and interpretation of Chinese history in the region; and provide a specific focus for the development of Chinese tourist market in the Otago region. The trail, however, will not solely focus on the Chinese tourist market. Dr. Ng suggested the trail can be packaged with other tourist resources within the region, such as ski fields and vineyards. By doing so, the trail will possibly become a 'champion' to help boost the economy of the region, and could attract the general visitor to the region (Conway, 2008a; Williams, 2008). For more detail of this project see Grubb, Ng and Charteris (2009a, 2009b).

4.4 Reasons for the increasing interest in Chinese heritage

It became clear in my interviews that the majority of the interviewees perceived that Chinese heritage in New Zealand is generally receiving more attention and increased publicity at the current time, compared to earlier decades. There are several interrelated factors that interviewees and other research has identified as leading to this increased interest.

4.4.1 Increasing interest in history and heritage

One factor that was frequently mentioned, regardless of the area in which the participants work, was that people in New Zealand are becoming more interested in heritage in general. This supports the literature on the growth of heritage tourism, as a number of academics suggest that travellers have been increasingly interested in viewing preserved heritage and reliving the past (e.g. Bonn et al., 2007; Boyd, 2002; Warren & Taylor, 2001). As a member of the Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust said, 'it is just the progression of our time'. He explained that in the early settlers' time, the value of heritage was not recognised. People wanted to develop the land and be settled. Nowadays, people are starting to realise the importance of heritage and history, and are trying to hold onto the heritage of the past and preserve it. The General Manager of Shantytown suggested that New Zealanders are in general starting to examine their history more. The Chairman of the Arrowtown Business and Promotion Association agreed with this point of view. He suggested that it is a sign of New Zealand's maturity as a country that it wants to recognise all aspects of its heritage, including the Chinese part. The researcher at Shantytown commented in the same light, stating:

People started to realise that apart from Dr. James Ng's work there is little known about the Chinese part of the history. It is a sort of an awakening to a greater appreciation of the role the Chinese played in New Zealand's early settlement.

4.4.2 Strong voice of Chinese New Zealander's

The strong voice of Chinese New Zealanders was frequently suggested by participants as one of the factors for increasing interest in Chinese heritage. They pointed out that the descendants of the Chinese early settlers have been quite strong in terms of identifying and preserving their culture and their heritage in New Zealand. The

descendants of Chinese early settlers such as Peter Chin and James Ng confirmed this point of view and said that they always had a great awareness of the Chinese history in New Zealand and are far more inclined to recognize its significance, because it is a part of their own personal heritage. The Lawrence Chinese Camp project and the Dunedin Chinese garden, led by these influential individuals, have increased the general awareness of Chinese heritage in New Zealand.

4.4.3 Increasing number of Chinese migrants

Another factor underlying the increasing interest in Chinese heritage is the growth in the number of Chinese migrants in New Zealand. Some participants suggested that the increasing Chinese population in New Zealand has made the Chinese community strong and the Chinese culture more noticeable. Since the early 1990s, along with the arrival of the 'new Asian wave' new Chinese migrants have been coming to New Zealand to settle, unlike the Chinese miners who came to New Zealand as sojourners and wished to make a fortune and return home. According to the data released by Statistics New Zealand (2007), the number of Chinese migrants has increased 40.5 per cent from 105,057 in 2001 to 147,570 in 2006; and has become the largest ethnicity among Asian migrants in New Zealand. Interestingly, none of my interviewees mentioned that the new Chinese migrants have directly contributed to developing and preserving Chinese heritage in New Zealand. It is uncertain how much the new Chinese migrants are interested in the Chinese heritage. A Chinese tour guide mentioned that he would not have known much about the Chinese history and heritage if he was not a tour guide. He also said that most of his friends had very little idea about it. My personal experience also supports this point of view. The Chinese heritage in New Zealand is not as important to the new migrants as to the long-standing Chinese community. The new Chinese migrants rather feel unconnected to the Chinese gold mining heritage, because it does not relate to them personally.

4.4.4 The 2002 government apology

The government apology, including the funding and the establishment of the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust, is also suggested as one of the factors associated with the increased interest in Chinese heritage. Manying Ip suggests that this apology from the government had a political flavour (Ip, n.d.). The apology was made before a national election. The increasing number of Chinese immigrants has made the Chinese

community stronger and more influential as voters. The government realised that a formal acknowledgement of past wrongs might capture the hearts, and votes, of the Chinese community (Ip, n.d.). No matter what the motives were for this apology, the results helped to ensure a better understanding of ethnic minorities and heightened public awareness of past mistakes (Ip, n.d.). As the Department of Conservation staff member said:

This apology package was a big step forward for the New Zealand government in terms of acknowledging what the Chinese early settlers meant for the gold mining era and what it has meant further on.

4.4.5 Free trade agreement

Many participants pointed out that the free trade agreement between New Zealand and China is another factor that is increasing interest in Chinese heritage; because of the closer relationship between China and New Zealand things which are associated with China and the Chinese now receive more attention in New Zealand. Since the free trade agreement was signed in 2008, China has become New Zealand's third largest trading partner overall, the second largest source of imports, and fourth largest export market (Key, 2009). In some areas, China is already New Zealand's largest international customer, for example, in sales of milk powder, wool and education (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2009). The two-way trade between China and New Zealand grew by 19 per cent to over \$NZ9 billion in the year to February 2009, and the mutual benefits both countries gain from the agreement is expected to grow (Key, 2009). The Prime Minister, John Key, stated that the free trade agreement has provided a framework for future growth by forging cooperation in goods, services and investment between New Zealand and China (Key, 2009).

4.4.6 Increasing numbers of the Chinese visitors

Increasing numbers of Chinese tourists to New Zealand was mentioned as a major factor in the growing interest in Chinese heritage especially by people working directly in the tourism industry. It has been suggested, however, that there is a dearth of 'Chinese-specific tourism products' which could lead to the development of Chinese tourist orientated products in New Zealand over the next decade (Conway, 2008b). As the managers of Shantytown suggested 'this rings a bell for tourism people to think how they can attract the Chinese visitor and what would appeal to

them'. James Ng said that Chinese visitors are looking for places to go. In the North Island, Rotorua is famous for its Maori culture and he believes that if the Chinese heritage can be developed, Otago may have the opportunity to become another major destination for Chinese visitors. This is why one of the objectives for creating a Chinese heritage trail in Otago is to provide a specific focus for the development of the Chinese tourist market to the region. Similarly, the Manager of Destination Queenstown said during his interview:

New Zealand sees the Chinese market as having huge potential for growth...I think the potential for growth of Chinese visitors is a part of it which inherently raises the awareness of Chinese heritage in New Zealand.

The Chinese tourist market to New Zealand is an important element of this thesis and the topic is pursued further below.

4.5 The Chinese Tourist Market to New Zealand

The Chinese visitor market has recently become very important to New Zealand tourism and it is now New Zealand's fourth largest international market. From 1999 to 2008 the number of Chinese visitors annually has increased from just over 20,000 to around 110,000 (Ministry of Tourism, 2009). The key drivers of this rapid growth are the fast growing Chinese economy, rising middle class incomes and, most importantly, the freeing up of travel restrictions by the Chinese government (Arlt, 2006; Ministry of Tourism, 2009; Tourism New Zealand, 2010b). Since the late 1990s, the Chinese government has been encouraging outbound tourism by expanding the number of authorised travel companies, simplifying the passport application process, granting Approved Destination Status (ADS) to more than 100 destinations and allowing outbound passengers to carry more foreign currency. New Zealand was one of the first western countries to benefit from fewer travel restrictions with ADS granted in 1999 (Ministry of Tourism, 2009; Sparks & Pan, 2008), and it is since this approval that most tourism by mainland Chinese to New Zealand has occurred. By the end of November 2010, the number of Chinese visitors to New Zealand had reached 120,222 (Ministry of Tourism, 2009; Tourism New Zealand, 2010b) and it is forecasted to reach 180,000 by 2016 with average annual growth of 8.4 per cent (Ministry of Tourism, 2010). At the end of November 2010, 66 per cent of Chinese visitors were travelling for a holiday, 16 per cent were Visiting Friend and Relatives

(VFR) and 10 per cent were on business trips (Tourism New Zealand, 2010b). Seventy one per cent of holiday visitors from China in 2010 travelled to New Zealand as part of organised group tours, down from 89 per cent in 2008 (Ministry of Tourism, 2009; Tourism New Zealand, 2010b). The most recent data show that there is increasing interest from families and small groups pursuing self-drive and campervan itineraries. At present, only 23 per cent of Chinese visitors travel beyond New Zealand's main visitor centres (Tourism New Zealand, 2010b). According to the Ministry of Tourism (2009), walking/trekking, volcanic/geothermal attractions, natural attractions, land-based sightseeing activities, cultural or heritage attractions and gardens each attract more than 40 per cent of all visitors from China. This reflects existing research which suggests that for Chinese visitors the natural landscape has an important influence over the decision to travel to New Zealand (Chan, 2009; Fountain, Espiner, & Xie, 2010; Zhao, 2006).

The Chinese market is predominantly dual-destination. In 2008, more than 90 per cent of all holiday visitors and three quarters of all Chinese arrivals visited Australia as well as New Zealand in one trip (Ministry of Tourism, 2009). This figure has now dropped to just over 70 per cent and there is a growing trend toward New Zealand-only holidays but Chinese tourists still mainly stay for a very short time (Tourism New Zealand, 2010b). Ninety one per cent of holiday visitors from China stayed for a week or less in 2007, with 55 per cent of these staying for three days (Statistics New Zealand, 2008). The average stay for holiday visitors was just 5.1 days in 2008 (Ministry of Tourism, 2009). This figure has increased 20 per cent to 6.2 days in 2010 (Tourism New Zealand, 2010b).

There was a perception by New Zealand tourism stakeholders that the Chinese market is low yield and New Zealand is not sold at its optimum to Chinese tourists (Rowan, 2005; Tourism New Zealand, 2005a, 2005b). It had been noted by Chinese visitors that there are quality issues with tour group arrangements such as non-compliance with the law and extreme cost cutting with ground components suppliers, such as accommodation and meal providers (Tourism New Zealand, n.d.). In this case, Chinese tourists stayed in low-quality accommodation, did not have the chance to travel widely within New Zealand (mainly from Auckland to Rotorua, and Christchurch to Milford Sound) and experienced few tourism activities other than sightseeing.

The other problem associated with Chinese group tours is excessive commission-based shopping. In the current research, Chinese tour guides reported that some large inbound tour operators in Australia sometimes pay travel agencies in China to get clients, and then make money by taking clients shopping at the souvenir stores they themselves own. They told me that the situation in New Zealand is not as bad, but suggested that some North Island tour operators sell their tour programmes at very low prices, or even below cost, to get more business and then make profit through including as much shopping as they can in the itinerary so they get commissions from the storeowners. Sometimes, in order to keep the cost low, the travel company does not pay the tour guides who have to make a living from shopping commissions. This is hated by the most of the South Island Chinese tour guides whom I interviewed. Many of them have been working as tour guides for many years. They have sound knowledge of New Zealand, especially the South Island. They are passionate about introducing New Zealand to their clients and providing them with a good experience. They told me that the market is tainted by some careless and dishonest tour operators and guides, especially in the North Island. They particularly object to the excessive emphasis on shopping. One of them said:

It is ok to take them shopping a little bit. Most of them (clients) would like to bring some souvenirs home. Also, it is the Chinese tradition to bring some gifts home for family and friends. Actually, they often ask me where the souvenir shops are, and what they should buy. I never try to convince them to buy a lot of things. If they buy things of course it is good for me, because I can get a commission. If they do not buy anything I do not mind at all [Translated].

Fortunately, the situation has improved since the launch of the China Group Tour Approved Destination Status (ADS) system in 2007. The problems associated with low-quality ground components suppliers and excessive commission-based shopping has been solved to some degree. The ADS system was established pursuant to an agreement signed between the governments of New Zealand and the People's Republic of China. It allows Chinese nationals to travel to New Zealand for leisure tourism (Tourism New Zealand, n.d.). This system is being administered by the China Monitoring Unit, which was established by Tourism New Zealand in September 2007. The code of the system was drafted by the Ministry of Tourism and Tourism New

Zealand, in consultation with the Inbound Tour Operators Council (ITOC) and a group of inbound operators.

The ADS system involves approving New Zealand-based Inbound Tour Operators to work within the China ADS system and monitoring their conduct, performance and quality standards, so the quality of Chinese visitors' experience while they are in New Zealand can be ensured. ADS approved operators owe a duty of care to the visitors on each ADS tour. This means they must ensure that the visitors are treated well, kept safe, accommodated in hotels of at least 3-star standard, are not exploited for financial gain and are provided satisfactory travel arrangement for the entire visit. The coaches used must meet certain minimum standards that is specified in the Code. The driver and guide employed must meet a minimum standard for language skills, geographical and tourism operational knowledge, immigration status and guiding experience. The itineraries must be approved by the relative government officials and lodged by Chinese travel companies when submitting ADS visa application with Immigration New Zealand. Even though, the Chinese tourist market still has problems with intensive travel schedule, and low level variety of activities involved. It has consistently shown a lower satisfaction level with their New Zealand visit compared with other markets (Tourism New Zealand, 2010b).

4.5.1 The Chinese tour groups

The Chinese tour guides whom I interviewed suggested that the number of the Chinese who come to New Zealand for a holiday has increased rapidly over the last few years. They explained that there are two types of Chinese group tours visitors, namely local and overseas. What the guides mean by 'local' is the tour groups made up with Chinese who are already in New Zealand; they either live in New Zealand as citizens or permanent residents (approximately 50% of clients on these tours) or have come to visit their friends and families and then decided to take a tour (50% of tour clients). 'Overseas' refers to the tour groups that come directly from China. Normally, the local tour groups comprise twenty to twenty-five people. In this case the guide will be driving as well. In the Christmas period groups are often larger, comprising forty to fifty people; and there would be a driver and a guide. Most of the clients for this type of tour are from Auckland, as it has the largest Chinese population. Occasionally, people from Australia will join the local tour groups, especially around

Christmas time. These tours are normally arranged between the Chinese tour operators in Australia and New Zealand. According to the guides, the Chinese visitors from Australia are often in their 40s and 50s. The percentage of young people is generally low, but during the school holidays there are families with young children. The peak seasons for the local tour groups are May and June, and from late October to early February, which are the university holiday periods. During these periods many parents come to visit their children who are studying in New Zealand. The Chinese students book a tour for their parents while they are in New Zealand and some accompany their parents. The tour guides report that the Chinese tertiary students and their parents make up a large percentage of the local tour groups. Since the number of Chinese students has declined in the last couple of years, the number of local tour groups has decreased slightly.

The local tour is normally of five or six days duration, depending on whether they spend a day in Christchurch. There are two main itineraries for the local tour groups. One is called the 'west route' (Appendix 6), which goes to the West Coast (Greymouth or Hokitika) via Arthur's Pass, and stays a night at either Fox Glacier or Franz Josef Glacier. If the tour goes to Greymouth, the guide will take the clients to Shantytown for about two hours, including lunch, a ride on the steam train and gold panning. If the tour goes to Hokitika, the lunch is normally at a Chinese restaurant. After lunch, the clients have some free time to wander in the shops, especially the Jade shop and the Glass shop. From the glacier, the tour group goes to Queenstown via Lake Wanaka and stays at Queenstown for a night. The next morning the tour goes to Milford Sound to catch a cruise in the Fiord and stay at Lake Te Anau. Then it goes through Dunedin to Oamaru to see the blue penguins and stay the night. On the last day, the tour group comes back to Christchurch then flies back to Auckland. The other itinerary is called the 'middle route', which omits the West Coast. It goes to Queenstown via Lake Tekapo, and either stays a night at Mt Cook or Lake Tekapo. The rest of the itinerary is the same as the 'west route'. Occasionally, the tour goes the reverse direction, which means to Oamaru first. Only one third of the local tours take the 'west route', because the cost for the tour company is higher than taking the 'middle route'. Also, the road conditions on the 'west route' can be difficult in winter. According to the tour guides, the local tour groups are interested in activities such as bungee jumping, jet boating and scenic flights; seeing the scenery they cannot

see in the North Island, such as lakes, mountains and glaciers; and do not spend much time or money shopping for souvenirs.

The overseas tour groups can be divided into two categories. The first category is business people and government officials; they often come to New Zealand with a business visa and are counted as business travellers. These people are normally over thirty years old and are travelling with their work colleagues. The second category is made up of individual visitors who come to New Zealand purely for a holiday. They can be in any age group and are travelling with friends and families. The size of the business and government official groups is normally small, around six to ten people. The size of holiday visitors groups is larger, normally around twenty to thirty people, with up to forty people during high season. Both categories have their tour pre-arranged by the travel agencies in China before they travel to New Zealand. The travel agencies in China then contact New Zealand travel agencies, usually based in Auckland, to arrange vehicles, drivers and guides.

The guides said that there were more business and government official groups than holiday visitor groups before 2007. However, since then the number of business and government official groups has begun to decline and the number of the holiday visitor groups has grown. The tour guides suggest that this is related to the introduction of the Tourism New Zealand China Group Tour Approved Destination Status (ADS) system in November, 2007. Under this system Chinese holiday visitors can get a visitor visa much more easily and quickly if they travel to New Zealand with group tours.

The tour guides reported that for overseas tour groups, their trips to New Zealand are often combined with Australia within ten to twelve days. The tight time frame allows most of the overseas groups to travel only to Auckland and Rotorua. The guides believe that only around 10 per cent of all overseas tour groups travel to the South Island. This is consistent with the data released by Ministry of Tourism (2009) that in 2008 the northern regions of Auckland, Rotorua and Waikato are the area most visited by Chinese visitors, no other region attracts more than ten per cent of the Chinese market. For the overseas tour groups that do travel to South Island, typically they are in the South Island for three to four days, which normally only allows them to travel from Christchurch to Queenstown via Lake Tekapo, then to Milford Sound. Some of

them leave New Zealand from Queenstown and some travel back to Christchurch and then leave for China. Apart from a few business and government official groups hardly any overseas groups travel to the West Coast (Appendix 6).

In contrast to the local tour groups, the overseas groups are always very impressed by the natural scenery and the green, clean, and fresh environment of New Zealand. They are all very interested in seeing the farms and large herds of cows and flocks of sheep. The visitors from southern China are especially interested in seeing mountains covered with snow, and glaciers. The tour guides suggest that they do not seem to be willing to spend extra money on taking any activities and acknowledge that this could be because they do not have enough time for it. However, they are very interested in shopping for souvenirs, such as health products, wool products, lanolin and sheep skins, to take home for friends and families.

4.5.2 Semi-independent and fully-independent Chinese travellers

The guides mentioned that there is a small percentage of semi-independent travellers from China. This type of visitor contacts the guides in New Zealand directly using personal connections. One guide told a story about his experience of guiding three young couples from Shanghai around the South Island. He said that the couples read his travel journal on his blog on the internet and then contacted him to ask if he could arrange a tour for them based on their requirements. They travelled to New Zealand independently, the tour guide picked them up from the airport upon their arrival. Several other tour guides also reported their experience of arranging and guiding these type of semi-independent traveller from China. According to these tour guides, the semi-independent visitors are either in their thirties or retired, wealthy and well travelled. They normally travel with their friends or families in relatively small groups that varies from four to eleven people. These visitors are willing to spend more money, take more activities and to relax a lot more during their trip in New Zealand. They do not necessarily follow the mass tourist route and go to the places that are most visited by Chinese group tourists. For example, they like to visit Kaikoura for the whale watch, experience a farm stay for one or couple of nights and they would rather go to Doubtful Sound instead of Milford Sound. They also like to have more contact with the local people and go the places local people go, such as, local supermarkets.

The fully-independent Chinese travellers are often young people who are more confident about the language and driving themselves. They normally travel in pairs or small groups of three or four people. While they generally travel independently, they sometimes join local tours as well. A West Coast tour operator suggested that this type of Chinese visitor is an important part of his business. The Ministry of Tourism (2009) also reported on the semi-independent travellers (SIT) and the fully-independent travellers (FIT) from China. According to the Ministry of Tourism's definition, the SITs are visitors who made and paid for at least one travel arrangement before arrival in New Zealand, the FITs are visitors who made and paid for all travel arrangements after arrival in New Zealand. In 2008, FIT and SIT comprised just 12 per cent of the holiday market and 30 per cent of all arrivals from China. It is noteworthy that a significant number of these FIT travellers are VFR visitors (Ministry of Tourism, 2009). According to the most recent data, in 2010 the FIT and SIT makes 28 per cent of holiday market, which has increased a lot compared to 2008 (Tourism New Zealand, 2010b).

4.5.3 Gold mining heritage components of Chinese group tours

The tour guides report that the itineraries of Chinese group tours generally include visiting one of the gold mining sites (Arrowtown, Kawarau Gorge mining Centre, Shantytown or Ross mining Centre) and gold panning. The guides said that they believe it is because gold mining is an important part of New Zealand history, especially for the South Island, and many towns on the West Coast and in the Otago region were developed because of the discovery of gold. More importantly, the tour guides said that the travel agencies think that these sites are on or very close to the travel route and visiting gold mining sites and gold panning is a fun activity. For local Chinese tours groups, they are more often taken to visit the Kawarau Gorge mining Centre or Shantytown. The guides explained that this is because these two places charge entrance fees. The local tour group members have better local knowledge. They may complain if they are taken to too many places that are free of charge. The overseas Chinese tour groups generally only have three to four days to spend in the South Island, which only allows them time to visit Christchurch and Queenstown. For this reason they are more often taken to Arrowtown that is only 20 minutes drive from Queenstown. Also, Arrowtown is free of charge, taking tour groups there gives travel agencies the advantage of adding one more activity to the itinerary without any extra

cost, although a trip to the Chinese settlement will attract a concession charge for the tour group. More details of this issue will be discussed in Chapter Six.

4.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter has briefly introduced the Chinese gold mining history of New Zealand, and outlined the past and current development of Chinese gold mining history and heritage sites and related projects. The research has found that most of the participants believe the Chinese history and heritage are receiving more attention, and discovered that there are several interrelated factors that are leading to this increasing interest. This chapter has also provided some background information about the Chinese tourist market to New Zealand, especially that associated with Chinese tour groups

Chapter 5

Results – Shantytown's Chinatown

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings on Shantytown and its Chinatown. The chapter starts with a brief introduction to Shantytown and its history, then moves on to introducing the Chinatown section of Shantytown, the redevelopment of the Chinatown and discusses why the Chinatown was redeveloped. The next section looks at the approach used to manage Shantytown and its Chinatown; followed by an outline of the visitor numbers, their characteristics and experiences at Shantytown and Chinatown. The target markets of Shantytown and the marketing approach used to reach these markets are also discussed. Lastly, the Chinese group tourists' responses to the Chinatown are examined.

5.2 Shantytown description

Shantytown is located 10 kilometers south of the West Coast's major town, Greymouth, and three kilometers off the main highway, Highway 6 (Appendix 5). It is a leading New Zealand cultural and heritage attraction, which re-creates a 1800s West Coast gold mining town. Shantytown comprises over 30 historical and reconstructed buildings, artefacts and old industrial machinery, a steam train ride, gold panning, a bush walk and a Chinatown (see Figure 7 for the map guide of Shantytown).

Shantytown describes itself as a 'peaceful setting amongst regenerating native forest giving visitors the opportunity to step back in time, experience a range of activities and view fascinating relics from days gone by' (Shantytown, n.d. b). Apart from offering visitors an opportunity to experience 'how it was' in the gold rush days, the General Manager of Shantytown said that they also attempt to tell the history of the West Coast, the stories of the West Coast people, and how they have contributed to the development of the province as it is today. Shantytown also provides facilities for catering functions and events, such as weddings, conferences and educational programmes for schools.

The idea of Shantytown was developed out of a group meeting of railway and vintage car enthusiasts, who were keen to preserve West Coast heritage and to create a tourist attraction (Shantytown, n.d. a). Shantytown's researcher said it was felt that developing Shantytown as a tourist attraction would benefit the community through creating employment and providing economic returns for other sectors of the West Coast at a time of economic downturn. Soon after the initial establishment meeting, the West Coast Historical and Mechanical Society was formed to take responsibility for developing and managing Shantytown. With the help of voluntary workers, Shantytown was officially opened in January 1971 (Shantytown, n.d. a). According to the General Manager of Shantytown, initially, there were six buildings, a couple of horses and some carriages. Over the years, more buildings have been constructed or shifted to Shantytown.

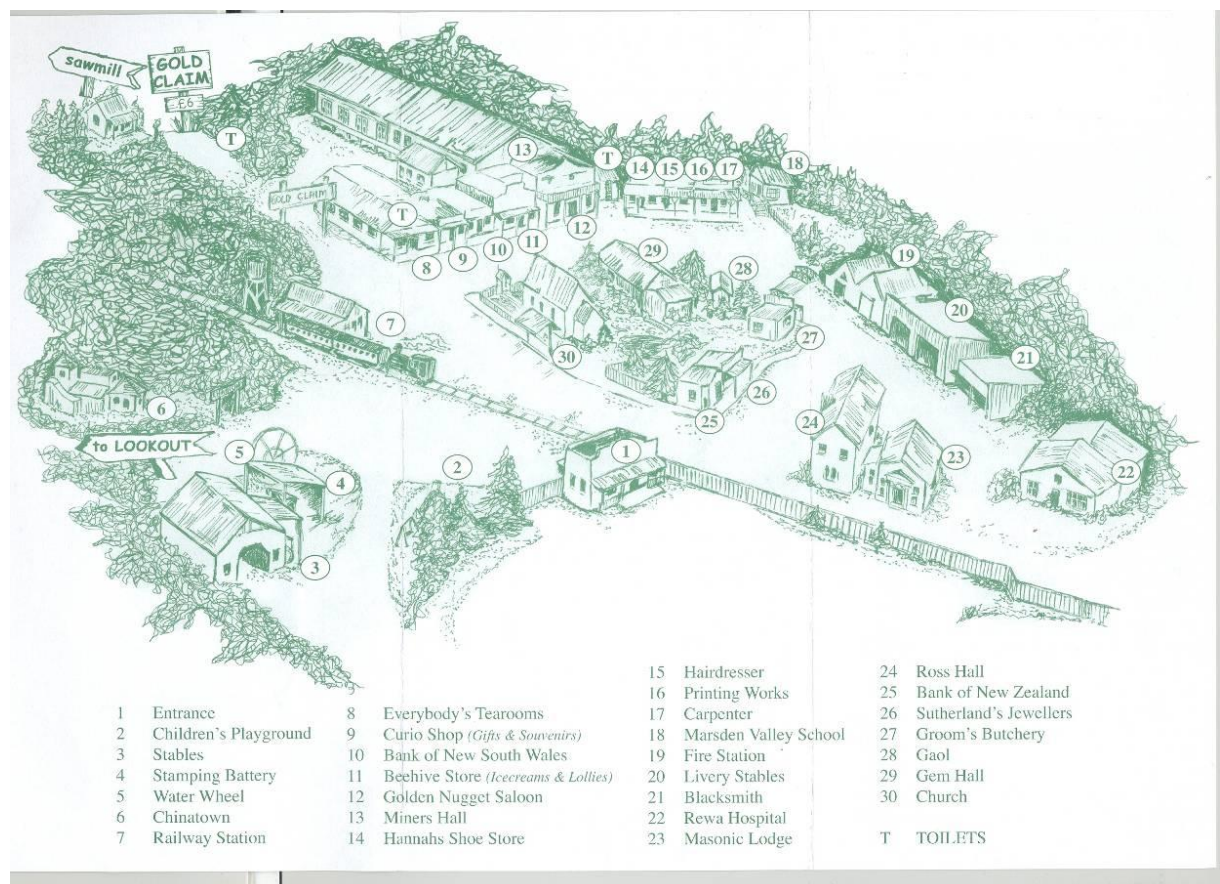


Figure 7: Shantytown map guide

Source: Shantytown

5.3 Shantytown Chinatown

Shantytown is the only gold mining heritage site on the West Coast that contains a Chinese component. Shantytown's Chinatown is isolated from the main street of. The whole Chinatown area is hidden behind bushes and covers a relatively small area by a stream. From outside the entrance, only a small red wooden gate with the word 'Chinatown' in both English and Chinese can be seen (Figure 8). After several steps through the bushes and a walk past a brass book-like Chinese display panel, the Chinatown is revealed. It contains four buildings, including the main building (Chinese Den), the small display building, a general store, a miner's hut and a vegetable garden. At the edge of the area, there is some gold mining machinery and a fake entrance to an underground mine (see Figure 9 and Figure 10 for an over view of Chinatown). The Chinese Den, which is the largest of the buildings, is used as the main display room. Inside this building, there is a glass display cabinet with several clay and china jars and containers in it (Figure 11). On the other side of the room, there is a fireplace with couple of cooking pots hanging above it. Display panels with pictures, photographs and text on the walls introduce the Chinese miners and their lives to the visitors. In the general store, artificial vegetables and fruits are on display underneath a glass counter (Figure 12). On the shelf behind the counter, Chinese spices and medicines are displayed inside large glass jars along with some Chinese cookware and dinner ware. A display panel on the wall introduces Chinese miners' eating habits and cooking style. It includes information about the important role of shops and shopkeepers in the Chinese community. During the gold mining era, the Chinese stores acted as a meeting place where news could be exchanged and the storekeepers often acted as interpreters as they usually read and wrote both Chinese and English. There is not much to see in the other small building, apart from a small amount of furniture and display panels on the walls. In the miner's hut (Figure 13), there is only a broken bed. On the wall, there is a picture of a Chinese miner named Kai and a quotation of how he is remembered by a local shopkeeper (see Appendix 7, panel 14 for details).



Figure 8: Entrance of Chinatown, Shantytown

Source: author



Figure 9: Buildings and vegetable garden of Chinatown, Shantytown

Source: author



Figure 10: Gold mining machinery of Chinatown, Shantytown

Source: author



Figure 11: Glass display cabinet inside Chinnese Den, Shantytown

Source: author



Figure 12: Inside view of General Store, Shantytown Chinatown

Source: author



Figure 13: Miner's hut of Chinatown, Shantytown

Source: author

The information given to the visitors on the display panels (see Figure 14 as an example) is brief but clear and interesting. It covers the miners' origins, why they left China, why they come to the West Coast, how they were disliked by the Europeans, their life style on the mining fields, their gambling and opium smoking habits, their

market gardening, their mining techniques, what happened to them after the gold mining and their beliefs, traditions and customs. The Chinese miners are referred to as hard working men who received unfair treatment. Many photographs and pictures are used along with maps, graphs, copies of historical documents and quotations from old local newspapers and local people. Several brief stories of individual Chinese miners are told as well. However, while, the information provided is well organised, has a good coverage and is easy for the visitors to relate to it seems to reflect a sanitised version of reality. On the panels there is little mention of the institutional racism the Chinese miners faced, although the fact that the Chinese were excluded from receiving the Old Age Pension is raised (see Appendix 7, panel 11). The impression visitors might get from reading these panels is that on the West Coast, the Europeans were initially suspicious about the Chinese and some individuals disliked the Chinese but that this was a relatively isolated occurrence (see Appendix 7 for details of all panels).



Figure 14: Wall display panel of Chinatown, Shantytown

Source: author

5.3.1 Development of Chinatown

According to the researcher at Shantytown, the Chinese Den was built in the 1990s, and was originally sited next to the Marsden Valley School. The General Manager of Shantytown believed that the purpose of having a Chinese component was to

acknowledge the Chinese influence in terms of the gold mining on the West Coast; so the visitor is aware that the West Coast was not all about the European immigrants. The researcher at Shantytown agreed with this assessment, pointing out that Shantytown aims to tell all aspects of the stories of the West Coast, the industry and the people, and, undeniably, the Chinese immigrants were an important part of this. As mentioned in Chapter Four, there used to be a large Chinese population living in the township of Greymouth. Shantytown's researcher said that remains of the Chinese graves can still be seen at Greymouth cemetery.

In about 2000, the Chinese Den was shifted to its present location. A couple of huts and sheds were added to form a small Chinese village. The researcher at Shantytown suggested that the Chinese Den was shifted because the management wanted to tell more Chinese stories and have a larger space to display more items. Unfortunately, at that time the information available on the Chinese was very limited. Due also to a lack of expertise in terms of display techniques the Chinese display was not accurate or complete. In 2003, by the time the current researcher of Shantytown took over, the old Chinatown was already getting run-down. The researcher, therefore, decided to revamp it. The renovation began in 2003, and was finished late the following year. During the renovations, previous tents and sheds were taken down and rebuilt, and a small vegetable garden was added. The interpretation was upgraded with more information.

Shantytown's researcher stated that they attempted to interpret the Chinese miners as a collection of individuals who coped with the West Coast in different ways rather than consider them as a homogenous group. They attempt to dispel the stereotypes that *all* Chinese miners were isolated from the mainstream, experienced hard times and were not treated well. To do this, they tell the stories of how the Chinese adapted to their lives in New Zealand differently; outlining how some of them were successful and owned land and houses; some married European women and stayed on; some became Christians; some had gambling and drug problems; and some saved hard and went back to China. For this reason, the new Chinatown display includes more information and pictures of individual Chinese and some Chinese families who lived and worked on the Coast, for example, Charlie Chang Ling, who mined successfully on the West Coast for about five years when he was young, then returned home. After he had a son, he returned to New Zealand and settled in the North Island as a

laundryman. He eventually returned to China. The story is told also of Young Saye and his family, who ran the Kwong Lai Yun store in Greymouth.

Since 2004, the only additions made to the Chinatown have been the installation of the brass book-like panels, which contains a Chinese version of all the panels displayed on the walls inside the buildings (see Figures 15 and 16). The researcher said that the use of these panels has back-fired at Shantytown because some of the English speaking people think they are missing out on information, not realising that the panels inside the buildings have exactly the same information.



Figure 15: The brass book-like Chinese panel, Shantytown

Source: author



Figure 16: The English version of the panel, Shantytown

Source: author

The Shantytown researcher hopes to further develop the Chinatown display at some stage by adding more buildings and information since they now know much more about the Chinese than they did when they redeveloped the Chinatown in 2003. She also wished to add more ‘life’ to Chinatown, such as sound recording, visual images and real characters dressed up in Chinese costumes. It is hoped that an additional Chinese store may be added to the main street so the Chinese presence can be more integrated in the township.

5.3.2 Rationale for the redevelopment of Chinatown

According to the Shantytown researcher, the redevelopment of the Chinatown in 2003 was driven by the fact that the existing display did not accurately and fully portray the Chinese story on the West Coast. The information given to the visitors were photocopies of pages from a chapter of a local history book and photocopies of information about the Chinese in Otago. As has been mentioned in the previous section, Shantytown aims at including all aspects of the West Coast’s mining history, and the Chinese part was obviously a weak point of Shantytown at that time requiring serious improvement. The researcher worked previously for the Lake District Museum at Arrowtown. She has studied the Chinese gold mining history in the Otago region, and has been involved in a successful exhibition about the Chinese on the gold fields in the Queenstown district. At Shantytown, her job is to provide new and interesting materials, stories, and characters to enable the constant redevelopment of the attraction. Redeveloping the Chinatown is one part of her job. During the process of trying to improve the Chinatown display, she realised that in comparison with the information available at Arrowtown, very little is known about the Chinese mining history on the West coast. She believed there was a need for intensive research and so with funding from the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust, she undertook considerable research, culminating in 2009 in the publication of her book entitled *Golden prospects: Chinese on the West Coast of New Zealand*. This book opens the door on a poorly documented, but significant part of the West Coast’s history through telling colourful and rich stories of Chinese as miners, merchants and market gardeners, and the unique contribution they made to the West Coast’s history and development (see Bradshaw, 2009).

The staff involved with Shantytown see different motives for the Chinatown site's redevelopment. The researcher's motive for redeveloping the Chinatown in 2003 had its basis in historical interpretation. As a researcher, her focus was on the way the Chinatown can best tell the real stories of the Chinese miners, and here research has focused on trying to add to existing knowledge about the Chinese miners on the West Coast. In contrast, the Marketing Manager and General Manager of Shantytown have to have as their primary objective the increase in financial return from the attraction, so they can keep the business running. From their perspective, the redevelopment of Chinatown was part of the long term plan for Shantytown. According to the managers of Shantytown, there is also no specific redevelopment plan for Chinatown in the near future as it has been recently upgraded. The managers explained that they will not try to emphasise the Chinese components of Shantytown unless they know to what degree visitors are interested in Chinatown. It is still unclear whether an increase in the number of the Chinese gold mining stories will be as profitable. From the managers' perspective, Shantytown cannot afford to invest money and effort into a project with such uncertain outcomes, even if to do so would provide a more accurate or complete account of the history of gold mining on the West Coast. The General Manager said 'if Chinatown only has attraction to a very small percentage of our visitors, then we may not see that there is a dollar value of doing it'.

5.4 Management of Shantytown

Shantytown's General Manager and researcher both indicated that Shantytown is run as a tourism business but it is owned by a cooperative non-profit society. It is both a business and a museum, telling the history of the West Coast and its people, and taking good care of the protected historical items under its responsibility. The General Manager pointed out that there has always been a tension between 'Shantytown the museum' and 'Shantytown the tourist attraction'. It is a challenge for Shantytown to protect its historical assets, but at the same time make them accessible to visitors.

Being a museum does not necessarily bring profits. As a tourism attraction, the site must be maintained in a good condition and redeveloped on a regular basis, so that it remains attractive to fee-paying visitors. Shantytown has been profitable to date and has been almost entirely self supporting and has received no operational funding from central or local government (Shantytown, n.d. a). This explains why the managers of

Shantytown have to focus on increasing financial return and are cautious about further development of the Chinatown and adding more to its Chinese components.

5.5 Overview of visitors to Shantytown

Shantytown receives between 70,000 and 80,000 visitors per annum, around 50 per cent of them are domestic visitors and 50 per cent are international visitors. At the moment, the largest international market is Australia, followed by the UK, Asian regions and Germany (Shantytown's Marketing Manager, pers. Comm.). In 2007, there were 75,761 visitors in total, 78.1 per cent of whom were free and independent travellers (FIT) and 21.9 per cent came with coach tours (Shantytown's General Manager, pers. Comm.). The managers of Shantytown suggested that most of the Asian visitors come with tours groups. Recently, they have noticed that most of the Asian visitors are from Taiwan, with a small number from China and Korea. According to the observation of the managers there are few Asian FIT visitors from outside New Zealand, and those that do visit independently are mostly younger people, predominantly under 40 years of age.

A visitor survey conducted by the Shantytown Marketing Manager in October 2007 (Monachan, 2007) showed that 73 per cent of visitors did think Shantytown is good value for money when compare to other attractions. The majority of visitors (59%) spend one and a half to two and half hours at Shantytown. Twenty nine per cent of the visitors spend up to one and a half hours and only 12 per cent spend more than two and a half hours. It is interesting that 79 per cent of visitors stayed about the same amount of time at Shantytown as anticipated prior to their arrival. It means that most of the visitors have decided on the amount of time they would spend at Shantytown before their visit. This finding reflects the problem that Shantytown is an add-on rather than a primary destination for many visitors and that visitors have a short visit to Shantytown because it is a convenient stop point to break up their journey.

5.5.1 Visitors to Chinatown

The same visitor survey (Monachan, 2007) shows also that among all the areas and buildings, the most popular attractions of Shantytown are the hospital, the train, gold panning and Chinatown, with the Chinatown the fourth most popular area to visitors.

Visitor Solutions Ltd conducted marketing research for Shantytown in 2008 (Visitor Solutions Ltd, 2008), and had a section devoted to the Chinatown. This research found that 82 per cent of all visitors had visited the Chinatown, with similar participation rates for domestic (83%) and international visitors (81%). Forty four per cent of domestic visitors rated the Chinatown 'excellent' and 42 per cent rated it 'good'. For the international visitors, only 31 per cent rated the Chinatown 'excellent', but 50 per cent rated it 'good', suggesting that both international and domestic visitors are generally satisfied with the Chinatown. With regard to the group size, larger groups (6+) of visitors seemed more impressed with the experience than smaller groups (less than six) visitors. However larger groups (6+) were less likely to visit Chinatown than smaller groups of visitors.

Comments from visitors suggest that the Chinatown is educational, interesting and has a sense of authenticity. There were comments such as 'interesting to learn Chinese influence in New Zealand', 'great to see living conditions and mine' and 'great history'. Some others, however, suggested that the site is rather small and has an 'unfinished' feel. They expected the Chinatown to be larger in size and have more to offer, especially the Chinese group tour guides. Visitors' comments of this nature included 'seems like work in progress', 'bit under done and staged', 'expansion would be nice' and 'more personal information on the people would be good'. Shantytown does not hold any records on visitors' responses to Chinatown broken down by nationality, so whether people from different nations or regions, including Chinese visitors, respond differently toward the Chinatown is unknown, and the fact that all the visitor surveys were conducted in English may have limited the involvement of Chinese visitors in this survey. According to the observation of the site managers, there are some Chinese tour groups who visit Chinatown, however they do not tend to gather around the interpretation panels because of their group size. The Shantytown researcher has the impression that Chinese people would want to see the positive side of the Chinese experience in New Zealand rather than about discrimination and hardship the Chinese miners experienced.

5.6 Marketing of Shantytown

The Marketing Manager of Shantytown stated that the primary marketing goals for the attraction are to reinforce its market position and increase visitor numbers. To

increase the number of the international visitors is the goal that they are especially working to achieve at the moment. This is because while the number of domestic visitors has been steady over the past years, due to the global economic downturn, Shantytown has experienced a decline in the number of its international visitors and this has led to a decrease in their total visitor numbers. Marketing research conducted in July 2007 showed that 5.7 per cent of international visitors to the West Coast visited Shantytown in 2001. By 2007, that market share had declined to 3.6 per cent (Development West Coast & Shantytown, 2007).

Shantytown also has a number of competitors for the visitor market, particularly related to attractions allowing opportunities to view spectacular West Coast natural landscapes, such as the Punakaiki pancake rocks and the glaciers. As the Shantytown managers admitted, if time and money is precious, Shantytown is probably one of the first things to drop off a visitor's itinerary. The Marketing Manager pointed out that Shantytown has four target markets, which are the local and South Island market, wider New Zealand and the Australian market, the Asia market and the European markets. The Asia market mainly refers to Korea, Taiwan and China, and is regarded as an important market because of the number of tour groups visiting and the growing potential of the Chinese market. Each market requires different marketing techniques. For the local and South Island market, Shantytown is in their 'neighbourhood', and these people in these areas are more aware of Shantytown. To reach this market, Shantytown relies on placing brochures at local accommodation providers and information centres and advertising their upcoming events in local publications.

For other target markets, Shantytown pays to be included in travel guides; uses electronic media, such as Facebook and blogs and a web site; publishes brochures; improves road signage; gets involved with national tourism and heritage support and promotion organisations, such as Tourism New Zealand; communicates with Regional Tourism Organizations (RTOs); and cooperates with tour operators. For international markets specifically, Shantytown attends tourism fairs, conferences within New Zealand and overseas, such as Tourism Rendezvous New Zealand (TRENZ); and works with overseas wholesalers. For the Asian markets, Shantytown maintains good relationship with inbound tour operators. Shantytown has also created a specific package for these group tours, which includes the entry fee, a train ride, gold panning

and optional lunch. On the site, Shantytown provides its map guide in different languages (such as Korean and Chinese) to cater for visitors from different countries.

There is no particular marketing strategy for specially promoting the Chinatown at the moment, apart from including Chinatown as one of the 'highlights' on its brochure and having a brief introduction of 'Chinese history on the West Coast' on its web site. Shantytown's researcher mentioned that when Shantytown finished revamping the Chinatown it was marketed locally and an information sheet about the new development was distributed to tour group leaders.

5.7 Chinese tour groups at Shantytown

As indicated above, the Chinese market is considered as an opportunity for Shantytown. The report prepared by Development West Coast and Shantytown (2007) found that 20 per cent of Shantytown's international visitors were from China in 2006. The managers of Shantytown are, however, concerned Chinese tour groups visit Shantytown for the wrong reason, and they are not getting a high quality experience on site. The General Manager said that:

I think in some cases we are a stop-off point for lunch, a convenient place for food...their destination is not Shantytown. Their destination is the glaciers...I believe rather than them coming to Shantytown to look at the buildings or pan for gold, ride on the train or Chinatown they only come to Shantytown because it is going to be their lunch stop; because their actual purpose to travelling on that day is to get to the glaciers.

This assessment found some support among the Chinese tour guides. As is discussed in Chapter Four there are two types of Chinese tour groups: one made up of local people, the other with overseas visitors. Normally, only the local Chinese tour groups visit Shantytown as a lunch stop. Shantytown is rarely included in the itinerary for overseas Chinese tour groups, because their stay in the South Island is too short. The tour guides reported that there were fewer Chinese tour groups visiting and having lunch at Shantytown in the last couple of years.

For the tour groups that do visit Shantytown, they spend no more than two hours on the site, including at least half an hour for lunch. These groups then ride on the steam train and do some gold panning. These are the 'must do' activities, as they are written

in the itinerary. The tour guides said that their clients seem to like spending more time on taking photos with the train, panning for gold and taking photos while they do so and visiting the souvenir shop, rather than walking around other parts of Shantytown, including the Chinatown. Some groups that have a very tight schedule do not have much time to spend at Shantytown after they have lunch. The destination for them on that day is the glaciers further to the south. They have to be at the glaciers at approximately four in the afternoon so they can see the glacier and take a scenic flight if they wish. I have personally experienced Shantytown with a Chinese overseas tour group. During that visit, there was just enough time to have lunch, ride on the train and pan for gold.

The tour guides suggested that having a lunch stop at Shantytown not only breaks the long boring journey for their clients but also allows them to have some fun. Therefore, most of the Chinese visitors are generally satisfied with their Shantytown visit no matter how much time they spend there; and gold panning is the most enjoyable and exciting activity for these Chinese visitors.

5.8 Chinese tour groups' responses to Chinatown

From the Chinese tour guide's perspective, the Chinese visitors do not seem to be very interested in the Chinese gold mining history on the West Coast, because it is not what they come to the West Coast to see. To this end, the Chinese tour guides suggested that the existing Chinatown is probably good enough for the Chinese market and they do not see a reason or much potential for further development.

The tour guides said that they had the impression that the Chinatown is probably one of the least attractive parts of Shantytown to Chinese visitors. The Chinese tour guides have confirmed the Shantytown researcher's concern that Chinese visitors may feel depressed with the interpretation of Chinatown. They said that for some of the Chinese visitors, they feel uncomfortable about the dark history of Chinese miners. For some others, they rather think these miners and their stories are not related to them in any way.

The Chinese guides reported that the Chinese writing at the entrance of Chinatown often draws their clients' attention. It is somewhat exciting for them to see Chinese writing in a foreign country. Many of them go and have a quick look at the Chinatown

to satisfy their curiosity. Some of the guides take their clients to see Chinatown if they have spare time. Most of the guides introduce the Chinese history briefly, telling them something about when the Chinese miners came and how hard their lives were, even though this is not the focus of Shantytown's Chinatown display. The tour guide felt that the Chinese visitors do not seem to be keen to discover more about the Chinese history in New Zealand. They are happy with only knowing the fact that Chinese miners used to mine and live in the region. Hardly any of them want a discussion or to ask more questions about it. The guides reported that their clients often comment that the display is too small and there is not much to see compared with the heritage sites in China.

5.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reported research findings about Shantytown and in particular its Chinatown, in terms of its history, development, management, marketing and visitors. The Chinese aspect is presented in the form of a Chinatown display as an important part of the West Coast history; however, whether it should be further developed is unclear. The Shantytown researcher hopes to further develop the Chinese components with her motivation based on historical interpretation, while the Shantytown managers have to take the potential financial return into consideration. From the Chinese tour guides' perspective, there is probably no need for further development of the Chinatown for the Chinese tour group market, because they believe this market is not likely to be interested in visiting a Chinese heritage site on the West Coast.

Chapter 6

Results – Arrowtown Chinese settlement

6.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the research results for the Arrowtown Chinese settlement. The chapter begins with an introduction to Arrowtown, the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, history of the settlement, the Chinese gold mining display at the local Lake District Museum and the redevelopment of the site which took place in 2003. The management and marketing of the site is discussed in the following two sections, followed by an outline of the visitors to the settlement and the Museum. Lastly, the views of the stakeholders and the Chinese tour guides of the site's tourism potential is discussed.

6.2 Site description

6.2.1 Brief introduction to Arrowtown

Arrowtown is a historic gold mining town in the Otago region of the South Island. It is located on the banks of the Arrow River approximately five kilometres from State Highway 6. There is also road access directly to Queenstown, which is 20 minutes drive away (Appendix 5). At the height of the gold rush, Arrowtown's population was over 7000. After the initial goldrush passed, Arrowtown developed from a mining town into a solid permanent community, with facilities such as a bank, post office, gaol, school, hospital and several hotels. Today, more than 50 buildings from the 1800s and early 1900s still remain in the township (Arrowtown Promotion & Business Association, n.d.; New Zealand's Otago Goldfields Heritage brochure, n.d.). The historical character and relaxing atmosphere has made the town a popular tourist destination. Arrowtown is also one of the many gold mining historical towns and sites that are on the Otago Goldfields Heritage Trail, which is promoted to provide a year-round attraction for people to appreciate the heritage of gold in the Otago region (New Zealand's Otago Goldfields Heritage brochure, n.d.).

6.2.2 Arrowtown Chinese settlement

The Chinese settlement is one of the most well known attractions of Arrowtown. It is situated by Bush Creek, at the top end of the town's main street, Buckingham Street (see Figure 17 for a map of Arrowtown). At the site entrance, there is a sign reading 'Arrowtown Chinese settlement' (see Figure 18). On the site, Ah Lum's store (an original building) (see Figure 19), a toilet, five restored huts (Figure 20) and the remains of several other Chinese miners' huts lie scattered along a walkway, as well as eight panels with text, pictures and photographs introducing the settlement and its residents to the visitors. Beside the site, there is a good sized parking area, which allows buses and coaches to drop visitors off easily. The site is managed by the Department of Conservation, with the Queenstown office having direct responsibility for it. The surrounding area of the site and the car park are managed separately by the Queenstown Lakes District Council.

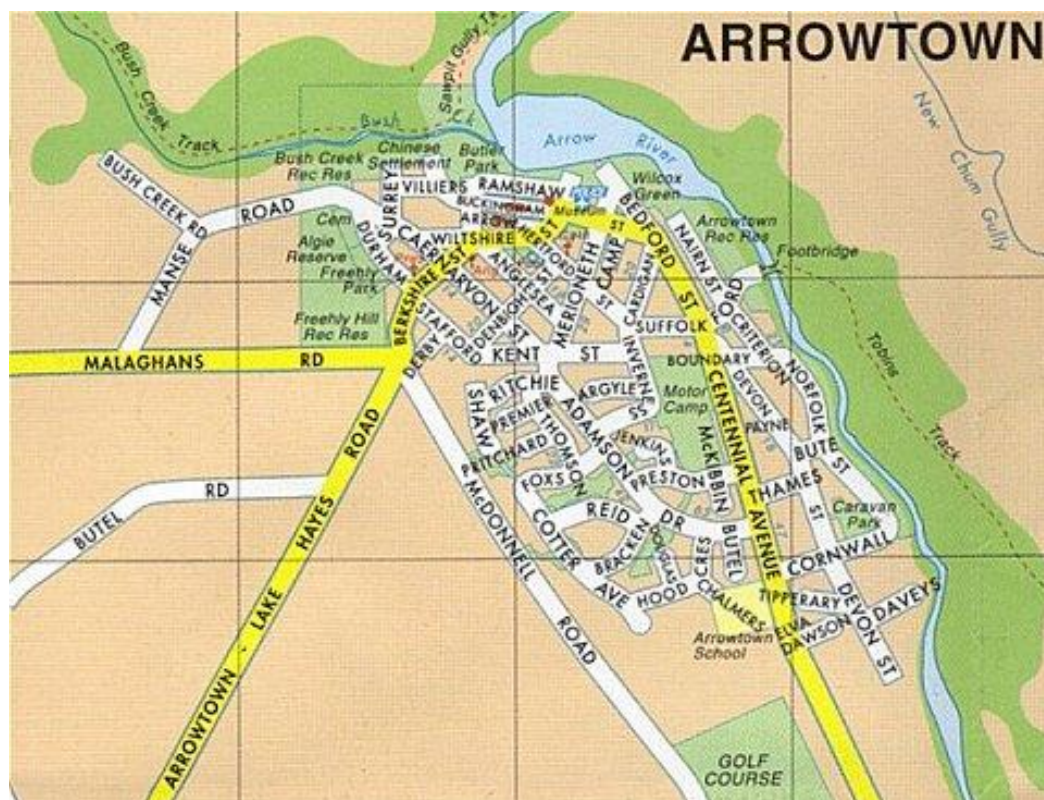


Figure 17: Street map of Arrowtown

Source: Arrowtown, New Zealand²

² Retrieved March 11, 2011 from <http://www.mapofnewzealand.com/information/arrowtown-new-zealand-map.html>



Figure 18: Entrance signage of Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Source: author



Figure 19: Ah Lum's Store, Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Source: author



Figure 20: Restored huts, Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Source: author

The history of Arrowtown Chinese settlement can be traced back to 1869 when larger numbers of Chinese began to reside in the Arrow district and establish their settlements. Most of them were working in the Shotover and Arrow Gorges (Department of Conservation, 1990). As happened in other goldfield towns, the Chinese miners at Arrowtown were pushed away from the main town and were often the victims of discrimination. While the physical location of the Chinese settlement was only about 200 metres away from the main street, the settlement and its occupants, however, were socially quite separate from the rest of town (Ritchie, 1983). By 1885, the settlement had grown to about ten huts, a large social hall and at least two stores, as well as an extensive garden area (New Zealand Historic Places Trust, n.d.). By 1888, the population of the settlement may have reached as high as 60 men. Then, as the profitability of gold mining declined, many Chinese men returned to China or moved to other areas. The residential area was virtually abandoned by 1923, when only Ah Lum and his boarder, Ah He, lived there, and Ah Lum died in 1927 (New Zealand Historic Places Trust, n.d.). Ah Lum's store remained in a reasonably good condition since it was used as a residential garden shed by a local family. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the site was excavated by the Department of Lands and Surveys (now Department of Conservation) and partly restored in early 1980s, and then redeveloped in 2004.

In contrast with Shantytown, the Chinese settlement of Arrowtown is a genuine historical site; that is, there is physical evidence of past habitation. The site is the last remaining Chinese settlement in a relatively intact state in Otago and it is a significant reminder of the Chinese presence on the Central Otago goldfields. For this reason, the settlement area and Ah Lum's store were listed in the register of New Zealand Historic Places in 1985 and 1987 respectively (New Zealand Historic Places Trust, n.d.). The site is also the most accessible of all Chinese mining sites in New Zealand (Department of Conservation, n.d.; New Zealand Historic Places Trust, n.d.).

An Otago Goldfields Park has been established to protect and promote the gold mining history of Otago and the government, through the Department of Conservation, has been progressively preserving and managing a cross-section of historical sites (Department of Conservation, 1990). As the best remaining example of a Chinese goldfields settlement in New Zealand, and in light of recognition of the need to highlight the contribution of the New Zealand Chinese to Otago gold mining heritage, the Arrowtown Chinese settlement has been incorporated into the Otago Goldfields Park.

6.2.3 2003 redevelopment project of the site

The current look of the site was given by a redevelopment project that was carried out by the Department of Conservation between 2003 and 2004. The redeveloped site was officially reopened by former Prime Minister Helen Clarke in May 2004. According to Department of Conservation staff, visitor numbers have increased since the 2003 restoration. This redevelopment was a part of the government apology package to the early Chinese settlers and their descendants. The funding made available from this apology package was the main driving force for the redevelopment to take place and without this funding there is doubt that any redevelopment would have occurred. As one of the Department of Conservation staff explained: 'we are guided by finance, so by budget, and that is a big player in what gets done at all on our site'. Both of the Department of Conservation staff members who participated in the current research have stated that the government attempted, through the Department of Conservation, to acknowledge to local and overseas tourists that the Chinese miners' contribution to New Zealand during the gold mining era is recognised. As one of the staff members

stated: ‘the government was putting pride back in that site, looking after that site, and recognizing the importance of the Chinese involvement in the gold mining history’.

The Department of Conservation staff member responsible for the site’s maintenance said the funding from the government provided an opportunity for the site to be upgraded with a better overall presentation and interpretation. Physically, many parts of the buildings were damaged and some buildings needed to be rebuilt; some of the material that had been used for restoring the buildings in the 1980s was not historically accurate. For example, the original Ah Lum’s store was built with lime plaster but it had been restored with cement plaster. Furthermore the interpretation added in the 1980s was brief, visually dull and had become dated. It focused only on the site itself and the individuals who lived at the settlement, such as Ah Lum and his store, with little information about the wider historical context. For example, Chinese miners’ experiences in Otago in general was not included and there was no background information on why the Chinese came to Otago and where they came from (Department of Conservation, n.d.).

During the redevelopment, the site was further cleared and the inauthentic material on the buildings was replaced. In order to ensure the accuracy of the information that was going to be provided at the site, the draft material was reviewed by James Ng. The new interpretation at the site aimed to be more appealing and more interesting to visitors, so they would be more willing to read and learn more (Department of Conservation, n.d.). The new interpretation on site used a mixture of graphics, photographs and text; the information covered on the panels is shown below:

Welcome to the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, and the story of remarkable people: an introduction to the site, shows a map of the site area, tells visitors how long the walk through the settlement will take and what to expect. It also briefly tells when the Chinese miners came, how many of them were in Otago, and how much gold they produced; and discusses who they were, why they came and why they were isolated.

Ah Lum’s store, heart of the Chinese community: tells briefly about the history of the store, what was sold in the store and the important role Ah Lum and his store played in the Chinese community. .

Peasant farmers, seeking wealth and honour: explains that most of Chinese miners were from Guangdong province of

China. They were ill-educated young men and had to leave the wives and children behind. They came for gold and hoped to return home rich.

Invited but unwelcomed, the harsh reality of goldfield life: introduces the fact that the Chinese were firstly invited to rework Otago's gold field but as their number increased anti-Chinese attitudes developed; the Government introduced unfair laws to discourage Chinese immigration, such as the Poll Tax. It also briefly tells of the birth of the Arrowtown Chinese community and their sufferings.

A life apart, made bearable by kinship: explains how the Chinese miners kept their culture, traditions, and beliefs and how they formed a strong sense of community and supported each other during their difficult times.

Chinese gardens, feeding the community: tells about the Chinese miners' gardening and construction skills and how market gardening brought them extra income.

The passing years, what became of the goldseekers? tells that when gold was exhausted in Otago by 1890, many Chinese miners returned home, some went to the West Coast and some found new work. A small group married European women and successfully integrated into European society. The ageing Chinese miners had to rely on each other for support as they were excluded from the old age pension. At Arrowtown, the ones who stayed were elderly men with limited means, eventually. In retrospect these people are now seen as kind and hard working men.

Physical remains, reconstructing the past: tells about the bad living conditions of the Chinese miners and the mobile population of the Arrowtown Chinese settlement. It also tells visitors about the excavation and restoration of the site, and informs visitors that more information and historical items can be seen at the Lake District Museum (see Appendix 8 for the full text of panels).

The title of each panel is also in Chinese, but the contents are in English only. The on-site interpretation seems on the whole to portray a rather sad story of the Chinese and no specific stories of successful Chinese miners are told. The discriminatory quotation: '*Almond eyed leprosy tainted filthy Chinaman*' from the *Tuapeka Times*, 1885, and the caricature entitled '*The yellow peril*' on one of the panels will for many observers be depressing (see Figure 21 below). The person who was responsible for preparing the on-site interpretation suggested that the Department of Conservation was trying to

represent the history of the Chinese truthfully and to open the eyes of the visitors. This person hoped that Chinese visitors feel satisfied that their stories are being told well. It is interesting to see that the dark side of the story, the hardship the Chinese experienced, was not specifically what Department of Conservation wanted to present to the visitors. However, when one of the Department of Conservation staff members interviewed was asked about the theme of the new interpretation he said it focused on:

the hard life that the Chinese had. I think that is what impressed people the most...how they were pushed to this end of the town...It is the hardship that people mostly connect with.



Figure 21: Interpretation panels, Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Source: author

6.2.4 The Lake District Museum: Chinese display

According to the current Director of the Lake District Museum, until the excavations in early 1980s the Lake District Museum had very little information about the Chinese settlement at Arrowtown. There seemed to be little public interest in the Chinese history and few remaining artefacts, therefore, the previous directors did not see the need for having a proper Chinese interpretation or display at the Museum. The Chinese section was expanded after the archaeological dig on the site, since there was a need to display and interpret the artefacts found there. The stories of the Chinese in the region had not really been told until the Museum held an exhibition on the Chinese miners called 'New Gold Hill' around 1992. According to the current

Director, the exhibition was very successful and was well received by the public, who seemed very interested in the content. The Museum Director suggests that the general public's interest in the Chinese history of the region probably started with that exhibition.

Over the years, the Museum has been trying to improve its Chinese display. Staff have moved around the display items and expanded the section. To this day, however, it is still relatively small – a point admitted by the Museum Director – and there is potential for further development and interpretation; he currently describes the display as ‘just a bunch of items’ (see Figures 22 and 23). Through the current display, the Museum attempts to do three things: give the visitors a brief, general picture of life of the Chinese, tell the story of the excavation of 1983, and display items found during the excavation. The Director hopes to further improve the Chinese section, by upgrading the display and including better interpretation on how the Chinese lived, the tools they used, the food they ate and the shelter they had. The Director would like to make some connections for the visitors between the displayed items they see and what life was like for the Chinese miners and to tell some stories about individuals and families. The Director would also like to see the Chinese display as an adjunct to the site, which it is not currently, so if people visiting the Chinese settlement want to know more about the site and the Chinese miners they could come to the Museum. There is, however, no particular time frame for these developments.



Figure 22: Chinese display, Lake District Museum

Source: author



Figure 23: Chinese display, Lake District Museum

Source: author

The Museum provides a Department of Conservation booklet for a small charge, entitled 'Otago Goldfield Park – The Arrowtown Chinese settlement'. This booklet briefly introduces the site, the residents who used to live on the site and the general Chinese mining history of New Zealand. A map of the site and some historic photographs are also included in this booklet. Very often, visitors to the Museum ask staff about the location of the site after seeing the section in the Museum. The staff members normally recommend the visitor take the booklet with them. The Museum is often contacted by schools and individuals doing projects on the Chinese history and the staff is always are willing to provide information, including this booklet.

The Chinese history of the area has been included in the Museum's education programmes for 15 years and according to the Museum Director it is very popular. Many students visit the site as part of the school curriculum and seem interested in learning about the Chinese history. As part of the education programme, the Museum staff give the students an hour-long tour through the site and talk about all sorts of issues faced by the Chinese, including the racism faced, the building materials used and their diets. The staff also sometimes take visiting media groups to visit the site and will arrange guided tours for general visitors as well if required. Normally, a Museum staff member will dress up in period costume to take tour groups around the site. The Department of Conservation tried to charge the Museum a concession for guiding people through the site, as is required of other commercial operations,

however to date the Museum has refused to pay because they believe it is a part of their education programme rather than a commercial endeavour. More of these issues will be discussed later in this chapter.

6.3 Management of the site

As stated above, the Arrowtown Chinese settlement site is managed by Department of Conservation, who manage it in a way reflecting their overall mission which is to keep the balance between conservation and public enjoyment. On one hand, the Department of Conservation has to make sure the site is protected properly for its historical significance. In this regard, Arrowtown Chinese settlement is managed by Department of Conservation as ‘front country’ area. This type of area is easily accessible by motorised vehicles and capable of hosting large groups of visitors. The site is on public conservation land and is, therefore, free for the general public to visit. Any commercial activities on the site, however, have to apply for a concession; such as guided tours by tour companies. Because of the historical significance of the site, it is managed carefully with strict criteria for anyone who applies for commercial activity. Considerations include the group size, their activity on site, and the frequency of their visitation. The Department of Conservation has run a monitoring programme over the summer to ensure that there is no illegal activity been carried out. At the same time, the Department of Conservation has to make sure the site is maintained and well interpreted to a degree that the public can enjoy and have a meaningful experience so over the summer season, there are Department of Conservation staff members working on the site almost every day to keep the buildings and area in good condition.

The Department of Conservation has no specific plans for any further development at the site unless someone comes along with an appropriate commercial activity plan and wants to develop it. Partially it is because they are not able to maintain any more buildings than those already on the site with the limited resources that is allocated. The other reason is that the Arrowtown Chinese settlement is a conserved historical site; the sorts of activity and development that would be acceptable and appropriate at the site is bound by legislation to a degree. From the Department of Conservation’s point of view, it would be preferable to not see any large-scale commercial tourism activity on the site, but they are willing to work with the tourism sector as associates

and partners and tend to support them. A staff member further explained: ‘It will depend on the actual details of the project, determined by what their needs are and what our needs are and the resources we have available at the time.’

6.4 Marketing of the site

The Arrowtown Chinese settlement is classed as a short stay traveller’s site. It is a popular site that can be found on many travel websites, as well as the official website of Department of Conservation. This section looks at the different ways various stakeholders market the Arrowtown Chinese settlement.

6.4.1 Department of Conservation

According to one of my interviewees, the Department of Conservation’s role is to not actively promote the sites or land under its management but rather to inform people about its potential for a range of activities. She reported that the Department of Conservation informs people about the opportunities to visit Arrowtown Chinese settlement through its website, the local visitor centre, brochures and publications. In these ways the Department of Conservation informs people about where the site is, what it is about and why it is worth visiting. The ‘Otago Goldfields Park - The Arrowtown Chinese settlement’ booklet, available at the Lake District Museum is an example of how the Department of Conservation informs visitors and potential visitors about the Chinese settlement.

The Department of Conservation staff members interviewed also seemed somewhat ambivalent about their role as a tourism provider, revealing very limited marketing activity:

We work with tourism, but would not look at the intricacies of tourism. We do not look at why they (tourists) came here, what they (tourists) want to see. We provide recreational opportunities. We look at it from the other perspective, which is what is available for people to appreciate, and learn about...and trying to provide a variety of recreation activities for all sorts of people.

The same Department of Conservation staff member acknowledged that perhaps one of the limitations of their management of the site to date is that they have not done any evaluation on the appeal of the new interpretation of the site. The other

Department of Conservation staff member, however, mentioned that the staff member on site during the summer counts the number of visitors and talks with them about their experiences; it seems, however, that the information gained from these visitors is not reported in a formal way. These comments suggest an inconsistency or uncertainty about the role of the Department of Conservation in the marketing of the site, however in general it is clear that marketing the Chinese settlement as a tourist attraction has little priority in the Department of Conservation's management of the site.

6.4.2 Destination Queenstown

As a regional tourism organisation, Destination Queenstown's role is to market Queenstown and the district to international and domestic visitors. Arrowtown is a subset of its responsibility; therefore, the components of the Arrowtown experience are included in all of Destination Queenstown's marketing materials. Arrowtown is considered by Destination Queenstown as an important part of the experience of visitors to the region. Its peaceful historical village feeling is a complement to Queenstown as a bustling resort town. On the official website of Destination Queenstown, Arrowtown's gold mining history, relaxing environment and outstanding autumn scenery is emphasised. The Chinese settlement is mentioned in the description of Arrowtown but not given any priority. When the General Manager of Destination Queenstown was asked about the emphasis in the organisation's promotion of Arrowtown he responded that they promote Arrowtown as a whole experience, rather than emphasising any individual components of that experience.

Another explanation for this approach might be that Destination Queenstown has focused on positioning the region as an 'Adventure Capital', rather than a historical and heritage destination, and in this regard they have been very successful. According to a visitor survey conducted in 2008, the most important expectation for visitors to Queenstown after beautiful scenery (67%) is adventure and excitement (33%); only three per cent of visitors are expecting a unique history and heritage site (Angus & Associates Ltd, 2008). According to the General Manager, history and heritage is a product area that Destination Queenstown is trying to emphasise more. Even so, from Destination Queenstown's point of view the Chinese heritage is not an area to focus on because it is too specific and only a small part of New Zealand's gold mining

story. In this regard, Destination Queenstown rather promotes gold mining history and heritage of the region in a general context. The General Manager pointed out that the Chinese aspect is not something they specifically down play but he felt it is hard for his organisation to promote Chinese heritage as a tourism product when the Arrowtown Chinese settlement is the only developed Chinese site in the region. If they had a more complete and developed package like the proposed Chinese heritage trail (see Chapter Four) then he felt this heritage could become a focus in itself.

6.4.3 Arrowtown Promotion and Business Association (APBA)

The Arrowtown Promotion and Business Association is a voluntary organisation funded by the Lake District Council on an annual basis and any operator in Arrowtown who pays commercial rates is automatically a member. The Association has a management committee with about 10 members who are nominated and elected by the business community of Arrowtown. The Association works closely with Destination Queenstown to promote Arrowtown and it is also responsible for taking care of the business community, developing events and protecting the town's heritage. It has developed a new web site which focuses on promoting Arrowtown and communicating to people the recreational opportunities at Arrowtown. On the home page of the web site Arrowtown is described as a:

...former gold mining town...a living, historic holiday destination. Spectacular scenery, four very distinct seasons and a tranquil atmosphere... [Arrowtown] is the home of unique attractions. Visitors can enjoy gold panning, tours around historic buildings, the Chinese Miners Settlement, the district's Museum, a boutique cinema and numerous walking trails. Arrowtown is central to the region's best in wineries, artist galleries, golf courses, fishing and ski areas [Arrowtown website].

It can be seen from this description that gold and gold-related history are aspects of the tourism product that this organisation is trying to emphasise and the Chinese settlement is mentioned in the town's promotional material as one of the main attractions of the town. The Chairman of the ABPA agrees on the importance of the town's Chinese heritage:

the Chinese settlement is an important part of Arrowtown. It is one of the most important parts of the town's history in its connection to gold. The Chinese village is important to our

history for telling the story of gold. Gold is what started Arrowtown.

While the Association has no direct responsibility for maintaining or presenting the site, they try to promote it as an attraction to all visitors through informing them about its location and contents and encouraging them to visit the settlement and the Museum. The Association also encourages the business operators in the town to learn some of the town's history, so they can inform visitors about the Chinese settlement and the Chinese display at the Museum. The Chair of the Association believes the combination of visiting the Chinese settlement and the Museum is good for people who want to understand the history of Arrowtown.

The Association hopes to enhance and promote the Chinese gold mining story even more in the future. One idea they have is to establish some sort of event or festival to acknowledge this Chinese heritage, with ideas including a Chinese New Year celebration. One of the difficulties, however, is that at present there is no local Chinese community in the town. The Chairman is concerned that without local Chinese community, the event would not seem authentic.

6.4.4 The Lake District Museum

As explained earlier, the Lake District Museum has always had a close relationship with the Chinese settlement and the Museum staff try to inform and encourage its visitors to visit the site. In talking with him it was clear that the Museum Director is passionate about the site and the Chinese gold mining history of the district. In the early days, he set up a voluntary organisation called 'The Friends of the Chinese Village' to look after the site and helped the Department of Conservation to keep the site in a good condition. The organisation's members always report back to the Department of Conservation if they see any problems and as the Director said act as the 'watch dog' for the site.

The Museum Director would like to see better management and more development of the Chinese settlement, however the problem is that the museum has no role in the official management of the site. He is concerned that the Department of Conservation does not maintain the site as much as it could, giving the example of the faded interpretation panels which he sees as needing replacement. Furthermore, there is a sense that perhaps the expertise and opinions of the Museum's Director and staff

aren't being utilised to the extent they might in the development of the site. For example, the Museum was asked by the Department of Conservation for suggestions on how the site should be interpreted when the site was upgraded in 2003. The Museum Director suggested having a panel in front of each hut to tell some interesting personal stories about the resident, because he had noticed that the visitors they guided through wanted to know stories rather than figures and facts. The Department of Conservation, however, did not take the Museum's advice. For example at Tin Pan's hut there is nothing to be seen or read but a sign stating 'Tin Pan's hut' (Figure 24). On the panel entitled '*Chinese gardens, feeding the community*' there are several sentences saying 'Tin Pan called regularly at houses in the Arrowtown area, selling fresh vegetables from baskets slung on a bamboo shoulder pole', with a photo of him (Figure 25). It would probably be easier for visitors to relate to this material if this description and photo of Tin Pan was placed at his hut. Also, at Ah Gum's hut, there is no other information other than a sign saying 'Ah Gum's hut' (Figure 26). According to the Museum Director, the Department of Conservation was not even planning to put up a sign; the Director had to convince them to do so. The Director said that the Museum is disappointed that many interesting stories are not told by the interpretation on site.



Figure 24: Tin Pan's hut, Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Source: author



Figure 25: On-site panel, Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Source: author



Figure 26: Ah Gum's Hut, Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Source: author

6.4.5 Section summary: a historical site versus a tourist site

This section has reported the marketing approach of several organisations that are involved with Arrowtown Chinese settlement. It is obvious that the Department of Conservation has a different point of view on marketing from other more tourism

oriented organisations. The Department of Conservation values the site for its intrinsic quality; therefore conserving the Arrowtown Chinese settlement for its historical significance is a priority. For the Department of Conservation, the Arrowtown Chinese settlement is not more important than any other sites that are under its management. It is understandable that the Department of Conservation will not put extra effort and resource into the site unless there is a specific reason, such as that which emerged as part of the apology package. In contrast, the other local stakeholders are more enthusiastic about looking after the site, because it is their local heritage and in their interests. Furthermore, other stakeholder see the site as more of a tourist product; on top of its historical value, these organisations add its touristic value. In this way, they look at how the site can be better marketed and promoted, so it will enhance a visitor's whole Arrowtown experience. These issues will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

6.5 Visitors to Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Finding data about visitors to the Chinese settlement proved particularly difficult, largely because this is an open site with no entry fee. Furthermore, as has been mentioned above, the lack of marketing focus of the Department of Conservation managers means they haven't seen the gathering of data regarding visitation numbers as a priority. However, according to a Department of Conservation staff member from the Queenstown Office around 100,000 visitors visit the site each year. There is no clear indication of the types of visitors to site, with the Director of the Lake District Museum suggesting that visitors to the site are 'everyone and anyone'. The Department of Conservation staff member who works on the site during the summer season agreed, saying:

We have Asians, English, German, French...Americans...if you look to what nationalities came to New Zealand in the summer, just about every nationality would have come through here.

This staff member suggested also that the number of Asian visitors is probably higher than visitors from other regions, although he was unable to tell what country they were from, and thought that the Asian visitors' distinct look and group size may have made them more noticeable. He reported also that fewer of these Asian visitors are willing to make contact with him, compared with the English speaking visitors,

suggesting this is probably due to the language barrier. The Asian visitors tend to interact with each other, point at or touching items and displays and take a lot of photos. The other thing he has noticed is that these visitors normally do not spend time standing in front of the panels reading all the interpretation, perhaps due to language difficulties and their tight schedule of visitation. This staff member has noticed also that most of the Asian visitors come with tour groups, unlike the non-Asian visitors.

The Chairman of the Arrowtown Promotion and Business Association suggested that many Australian visitors visit the site. He believed that it is because Australian visitors especially like short walks and they appreciate the opportunity to learn about local Chinese history while having a walk around the Chinese settlement. The Museum Director reported that many of the visitors they guide around the site free of charge are from the United States and during the summer season they can have up to four American groups per week. He felt that the site is also popular among the domestic market. As is mentioned earlier, many school groups visit the site through the education programme of the Lake District Museum as well.

It is suggested by all participants involved in Arrowtown Chinese settlement that the site is popular with both free independent travellers (FIT) and tour groups. The Department of Conservation staff member who works on the site in summer reports that the visitors who come with tour groups normally go through the site with their interpreters. He reported that some visitors show their interest in this site through communicating with him about their experiences. Most often, people comment on how hard life was for the Chinese miners and some want more details about the building materials and the miners' life style and eating habits.

6.5.1 Visitors to the Museum

While details of the visitors to the Chinese settlement are clearly anecdotal at best, the characteristics of visitors to the Museum are better known. The Museum Director reported that about 45000 people visit the Museum each year. In the past, the number of international visitors was substantially more than domestic visitors, however domestic visitor numbers have increased and international visitors have decreased so that each group makes about 50 per cent of the total number of visitors. According to the Director, the international visitors are mainly from Australia, the United States,

Europe and Asian countries such as Japan, Singapore and Hong Kong. He suggested that American and Australian visitors are probably more interested in seeing the gold mining history from the Museum, because they had a similar history in their own countries. The Museum receives visits from tour companies that market themselves as being heritage and educationally oriented, such as the tour company called 'Grand Pacific'.

Interestingly, hardly any Chinese visitors visit the Museum, although there are many Chinese tour groups that come through Arrowtown. The Director noticed that sometimes the tour guides of Chinese tour groups take their groups to the foyer of the Museum to have a quick look, but they do not pay the admission fee to go in. The Director suggested that it may be because the Museum does not pay 'a commission' to the tour companies, and he has said he may consider doing that in the future. The Museum Director admitted that knowing how these Chinese tour companies market their tours could be helpful for the Museum.

6.5.2 Chinese group tour visitors at Arrowtown

The tour guides reported that Arrowtown is often included in the itinerary of Chinese group tours because it is very close to Queenstown, the major destination for Chinese group tours. For many travel agencies, it is a cost free add-on rather than a major destination. The tour guides said that the travel agency believe that the more things they can include without putting the price up, the more their itineraries appeal to potential clients. The problem is that putting too many activities in the itinerary makes a very tight schedule for many tour groups. This leaves no choice for the guides but to rush through everything on the list in order to keep the customers satisfied, as they complain about the guides and the tour company if any activity on the itinerary is missed out. Some travel agencies have realised the problem of such a tight tour schedule, so they exclude Arrowtown from their itinerary altogether and the decision of whether to make a stop in Arrowtown is left to the discretion of the guides, who will take clients there if they have spare time.

The tour guides said that Chinese tour groups normally spend around one hour if they have the time to visit Arrowtown properly. The guides introduce Arrowtown to clients as a beautiful, relaxing historical town. They normally highlight the outstanding autumn scenery, the gold mining history, the gold shop (Figure 27) and the jade shop

(Figure 28) on the main street, the Chinese settlement and the Museum. Some guides like to show clients around the township and some prefer to let clients experience Arrowtown freely. Some guides take their clients for a walk to the Chinese settlement and briefly introduce the Chinese history while they are walking through the site. Whether or not the guides escort their client through the Chinese village seems to be dependent on the group size. If the group size is less than ten people, the guides are more likely to go down to the Chinese settlement with their clients. For larger groups, the guides would rather not go to the site with their clients, as they are not willing to pay the necessary commercial concession to the Department of Conservation to visit. Some guides also take their clients to the foyer of the Museum to have a quick look although the guides reported that hardly any of their clients willing to visit the Museum because of the administration fee; an observation supported by comments from the Museum Director.



Figure 27: Gold Shop, Arrowtown

Source: author



Figure 28: Jade shop, Arrowtown

Source: author

The guides reported that their clients seem to be interested in the gold shop, and they are normally excited about the gold nuggets displayed. Some are interested in the Chinese letters displayed here as well. The Chinese visitors also enjoy the jade shop, and many clients buy souvenirs from these two shops. The Chinese settlement, however, does not receive as much interest from Chinese group tour visitors according to the guides and not everyone goes to the Chinese settlement if they are not escorted by the guides. One guide said:

I think the Chinese settlement has the advantage of being close to the main street of the town, so my clients can just easily wander down to the site. If it is too far away from the main street, I don't think they would be bothered [Translated].

When asked why their groups were not interested in the Chinese settlement, the guides felt it was because their clients do not seem to be very interested in seeing Chinese-related attractions in New Zealand, and they would rather spend their time shopping on the main street. Guides reported that some of their clients had told them after visiting the settlement that there was nothing really to see except some ragged little huts. One of the guides who regularly takes clients for a walk through the Chinese settlement reported:

They (clients) are generally happy if I tell them what this is all about. Some of them go into the huts to have a look. But I would not say they are very interested. I would not say they have any emotional connection with the site either. They are happy just to hear what I tell them. They would not really ask me any questions...[Translated]

All seven Chinese group tour guides participating in this research said they tell their clients about the Chinese gold mining in New Zealand and the Arrowtown Chinese settlement when they enter Queenstown region, no matter if they visit Arrowtown or not. The hard life and the discrimination are the aspects that all seven tour guides tell when they talk about Chinese gold miners. One tour guide said that:

I tell them (clients) the Chinese miners were not welcome and were treated unfairly... their life condition was very bad... Europeans did not understand the Chinese culture and traditions, so the Chinese miners were isolated...[Translated]

Apart from this information, when and where the Chinese miners came to New Zealand, how they mined and lived and what happened to them after the gold was exhausted is also explained to the Chinese tour groups by their guides. Some guides also talk about the official apology made by the New Zealand government while others talk about the excavation of the site and the Chinese display at the Lake District Museum. Regardless of what the guides tell their tour groups about the Chinese miners, they always try to talk about Chinese gold mining history in a relaxed way as they understand it may depress their clients. They focus on telling their clients that the Chinese came to New Zealand in the very early days and their countrymen have made a contribution to the establishment of the country they are visiting. Some guides explained that they just want to make the clients feel related to New Zealand.

The tour guides suggested that many tour groups in fact do not have enough time to fully experience Arrowtown because of their intense schedule. According to the tour guides, in several situations the Chinese tour groups pass through Arrowtown with either a short stop or none at all. This occurs on tours travelling south to Queenstown from Christchurch on a 4 to 6 day South Island tour. Given the long distances covered in the day, sometimes the tour group is running late by the time they get to Arrowtown. The guides will still stop here because it is written in the itinerary but their visit to Arrowtown may be as short as fifteen minutes. Obviously, this leaves no chance for the tour group members for any in-depth experience of Arrowtown. In

some situations the tour guides will tell their clients that they are running late and ask if they want to stop at all in the town. Often the clients are tired from the long drive and perhaps hungry, if they are late for a scheduled dinner break in Queenstown, so they may express little interest in stopping; in this case the tour group will drive straight through. In the other situation, the tour groups pass through Arrowtown in the early morning on their way to Milford Sound from Queenstown on a 4 to 6 day South Island tour. These tour groups cannot stop for long either because they have to be at Milford Sound to have their lunch on the cruise.

For the tour groups that have a more relaxed itinerary, such as overseas tour groups only visiting Christchurch, Queenstown and Milford Sound within 3 or 4 days, Arrowtown is a 'must visit' destination. These tour groups often leave for home from Queenstown airport around lunch time and they appreciate the opportunity to visit Arrowtown for a couple of hours before their flight, otherwise it would be boring morning for them just waiting for the flight.

6.6 The future development of the site: stakeholders' view

The Arrowtown local stakeholders believe that the site plays a big part in the whole Arrowtown experience. They acknowledge that seeing the Chinese settlement probably would not be the initial intention for most of the visitors who come to Arrowtown, however, it adds flavour to people's overall Arrowtown experience.

It is agreed by all stakeholders who are involved in managing and promoting the Chinese settlement to some extent that the Chinese settlement has the potential to be better known and have greater visitation levels, with some improvements on the presentation and interpretation at the site. The Manager of Destination Queenstown suggested that more signage indicating the location of the site would help raise visitors' awareness while they are visiting Arrowtown as the current entrance is not very eye catching. He also said that a better presented entrance with some introductory information about the site would provide more of a greeting for visitors. With regards to the interpretation, the Destination Queenstown Manager felt that the information given on site seems to be piecemeal; offering a well-connected story with better organised information would help visitors get a full picture of Chinese gold mining history. However, the Museum Director suggested adding more stories about the Chinese miners as individuals would make the site more interesting for visitors.

He said if the interpretation panels are not going to be replaced in the near future, having self guiding pamphlets to the settlement available at the entrance could be an alternative, so visitors can take one with them when they enter and then return it when they leave. Both the Destination Queenstown Manager and Museum Director pointed out that the site is disconnected from the Chinese display at the Museum. Visitors could be more informed about the Museum while they are on site, and the Museum could be more related to the site by providing complementary information to interpretation on site. The other aspect that was agreed on by the Chairman of Arrowtown Promotion and Business Association, the Museum Director and Destination Queenstown Manager is that there would be potential for the site to be utilised in conjunction with other projects or events, such as being a part of a Chinese heritage trail project. It is interesting to see that the staff members from Department of Conservation do not seem to be as eager as other stakeholders for the site to be further developed; while they suggest that the Department of Conservation would be open to any tourism development plans for the site, they tend to take a more cautious approach.

It is interesting that all these stakeholders like the way the Chinese settlement sits quietly at one end of Arrowtown and they suggest that the non-touristy feeling of the site should be maintained. They pointed out that since Arrowtown has become a well developed tourist town the low-profile feeling of the site is probably a nice contrast to the town. These stakeholders also believe the visitors appreciate it for what it is - simple, original, with a little wild flavour and not over-developed like many major tourist attractions. They suggested if there is further development it has to be considered very carefully in the context of the whole experience on site.

These stakeholders voiced a desire to know more about which market the Chinese history and the Chinese settlement appeals to, as this is currently an unknown. In terms of nationalities, they doubt if those visitors with a Chinese background, such as those from China, Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Taiwan would be especially interested in the site, believing it would appeal equally to visitors from any countries or region who want to learn some history about New Zealand and the site they are visiting. In relation to the travel style of visitors, they want to know if the Chinese settlement appeals more to FIT or group tours as they are unclear about this distinction. The local stakeholders have noticed that many group tours have an issue

with tight schedules, not just the Chinese groups. The stakeholders are worried these tour groups are not spending enough time on the site to have a worthwhile learning experience; either the tour groups could be encouraged to stay longer, or, if this is not possible, the site may be more suitable for FIT's.

China seems to be the market that stakeholders are most conscious about because they believe China is an important developing market for New Zealand tourism. Whether this Chinese market would be interested in the site and Chinese gold mining history, and to what extent, remains unclear to these stakeholders, such as the Museum Director, who said 'it's going to be interesting to see. I mean everyone says our salvation is going to be in Chinese visitors but I am just not sure how that is going to play out.' Similarly, the Chairman of Arrowtown Business and Promotion Association said:

We are thinking hard about the Chinese market at this stage, developing the Chinese market, and we would like to have a event or attraction that will be good for Chinese visitors, but we are unsure what yet.

It is interesting to note that some participants felt that the Chinese history and the heritage of New Zealand was the heritage of international Chinese visitors. For example, the person who was responsible for preparing the on-site interpretation for the Chinese village in 2003 said: 'it was also hoped that Chinese visitors would feel satisfied that *their* stories are being told well'. The Director of the Lakes District Museum also said during his interview: 'I don't know how many would know of *their* (the Chinese visitors') heritage in New Zealand'. This view of the potential appeal of the site to Chinese tourists is disputed by the Chinese tour guides, and their perspective on the future of the site is discussed briefly in the next section.

6.7 Chinese tour guides' perspective

It is interesting to see that the Chinese tour guides held an opposing view from the majority of the stakeholders regarding the appeal of Chinese heritage to Chinese visitor. They suggested that many Chinese visitors think New Zealand's Chinese history and heritage has nothing to do with them and do not feel related to it at all (see also Chapter Five). For this reason, the Chinese tour guides do not see much potential for the site in attracting the international Chinese market. They think, in general, that

Chinese heritage is not what Chinese tourists want to see in New Zealand. Their clients are more interested in the life of Chinese people in New Zealand nowadays and current immigration policies than in the early Chinese settlers and the Poll Tax.

Some guides mentioned that they think the interpretation at the Chinese settlement could be a problem. As explained above, there are only Chinese headings to the panels; the contents are all in English, without understanding the contents, the headings and pictures can give the Chinese visitors a negative perception (more detail of this issue will be discussed in Chapter Eight). They think the clients cannot understand what the site is about unless the guides accompany them and provide explanation. Some guides said it is a shame that the Department of Conservation does not allow them to walk with clients through the settlement without paying a concession, as they believe it could be an interesting experience for their clients. Some guides also mentioned that they do not like the focus of the current interpretation on the site, because they think it is not very nice to tell their clients that their countrymen used to be discriminated against in New Zealand.

Some Chinese guides admit that the Arrowtown Chinese settlement is a more complete Chinese gold mining site than other Chinese gold mining sites. Therefore, there is more things for visitors to see than at the other sites, even so their clients still often comment that the site is under developed and there is nothing much of interest. Some other guides think the site is just not quite good enough for them to recommend to their clients. One guide said:

There are only several little huts. I don't even think there is much to be seen myself, how could I tell my clients to go and have a look around [Translated].

To become more appealing to the Chinese market, the guides suggested that the site has to be redeveloped with more buildings, more display items inside the building, more positive stories and some Chinese interpretation. Even so, the site is unlikely to become the reason for Chinese visitors to visit Arrowtown.

6.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, Arrowtown itself, and the Chinese display related to the site at the Lake District Museum. Also, this chapter reviewed the redevelopment of Arrowtown Chinese settlement and explained the

reasons for this redevelopment. The approach the Department of Conservation takes to manage the site and how differently Department of Conservation market the site from other organisations involved is discussed as well. The visitors, and particularly the Chinese group tours, to the site and the Chinese display at the Museum is outlined to provides a basis for the discussion of its tourism potential and the potential market. It was discovered that participants who are involved in managing and promoting the site believe it to have the potential to be better known and have greater visitation with appropriate improvement to its interpretation and presentation. There is a great uncertainty in terms of the potential market of the site. According to the Chinese tour guides, visitors from China are less likely to be a potential market.

Chapter 7

Results – Lawrence Chinese Camp

7.1 Introduction

This chapter tells the story of the Lawrence Chinese Camp. It is structured a little differently than the previous two chapters because of the way that Chinese heritage tourism is configured in the township of Lawrence. The story starts by introducing Lawrence, where the Camp is located, and then describes the current situation of the Camp. Next, the chapter goes back in time to outline the history of the Chinese Camp. The following section discusses the current development plan for the site, including its underlying rationale and the concepts upon which it is built. This is followed by a discussion of the role of the Lawrence Information Centre and Museum in order to outline how Lawrence promotes the area's Chinese mining history, the Chinese Camp and its development plan. After this, the characteristics and interests of current visitors to Lawrence and the Chinese Camp are outlined, and the chapter concludes by discussing stakeholders' and Chinese tour guides' view of the potential markets of the Camp.

7.2 Site description

The Lawrence Chinese Camp is located a kilometre north of the township of Lawrence, which is situated on State Highway 8, between Dunedin and Queenstown, 92km south-west of Dunedin (Appendix 5). Lawrence is a peaceful small town nestled in the rolling green hills of the Tuapeka countryside with a population of approximately 550. It has a long history of welcoming people; beginning in 1861 when significant quantities of gold was first found in Otago in nearby Gabriel's Gully. As gold seekers rushed to the area from around the world, the population of Lawrence increased rapidly to over 11,000 in its heyday, making it one of the largest communities in the country at that time. Today's Lawrence, full of historical character, is an ideal place to have a stop or stay for a couple of nights to enjoy the relaxing atmosphere and explore the rich gold mining history of the area. Being on the highway between two major destinations, Queenstown and Dunedin, gives Lawrence

the advantage of getting many visitors passing through. The local participants in this study, however, believe that for most of the visitors, Lawrence is not their primary destination. It is rather a convenient stop on their way to other places and it has always been a challenge for the people of Lawrence to make visitors stay longer (see Figure 29 for a map of Lawrence township).

The Chinese Camp at the outskirts of Lawrence occupies approximately one hectare. It was once the largest Chinese settlement in New Zealand during the gold mining era, hosting a thriving community of approximately one hundred people. All that remains today is a grassed paddock, a restored pig oven, three dry wells and substantial parts of two buildings: the former Chinese Empire Hotel and its stables (see Figure 30). A wooden hotel was first built in the Camp in 1870 but in 1884, the hotel was rebuilt in brick, and then became known as the ‘best wayside hostelry’ in Central Otago. After the owner, Sam Chew Lain, died in 1903, the hotel passed into European hands and was later converted into a three bedroom house, ensuring the hotel remained in relatively good order. The other reminder of the Chinese Camp, a Chinese joss house built in 1869, in good condition, was relocated to Maryprot Street in Lawrence township in 1947 (see Figure 31). All that is known is the joss house was saved by a woman who worked at the University of Otago, shifted to its current site by a local contractor (Trustee, LCCCT, pers. Comm.), and then used as a holiday house for many years. Who this woman is and why she saved the joss house is unknown (Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, 2004).

Lawrence is listed as a destination in the brochure of the Otago Goldfield Heritage Trail but the Chinese Camp is not mentioned in the description of Lawrence, unlike the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, which is prominent in the Arrowtown description (see Chapter Six). The reason for this is probably because to date the Lawrence Chinese Camp has not been developed as a tourist attraction and therefore is not as well known. Despite this, the Lawrence Chinese Camp is on the route of a local heritage trail - the Lawrence Districts Heritage Trail. This trail starts at the Lawrence Information Centre and Museum, takes visitors around the historical sites within Lawrence and its outer boundaries. There is signage on the side of the highway near the Chinese Empire Hotel which gives a brief introduction to the Chinese Camp (Figure 32). Along with a short history and a description of the Camp and its hotel and joss house, a street photo of the Camp taken in 1904 is also included. Any further

information about the history of the area must be acquired from the Lawrence Information Centre and Museum.

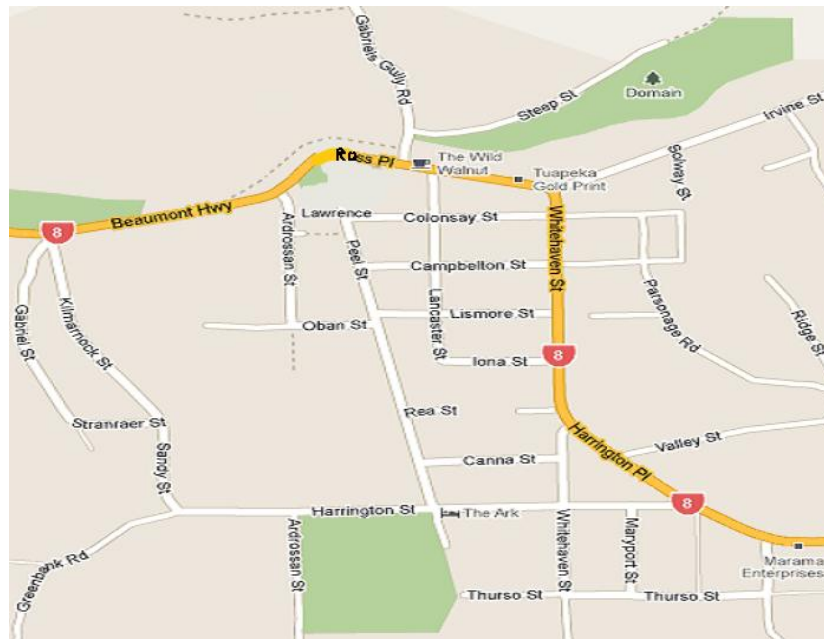


Figure 29: Street map of Lawrence

Source: Google Maps³



Figure 30: Camp area and the Chinese Empire Hotel, Lawrence

Source: author

³ Retrieved March 11, 2011 from <http://maps.google.co.nz/>



Figure 31: Chinese joss house, Lawrence

Source: The Lawrence Chinese Camp Concept Plan, May 2004



Figure 32: Sign of 'The Chinese Camp', Lawrence

Source: author

7.3 History of Lawrence Chinese Camp site

Lawrence was the main service town for the Tuapeka goldfields. It was the gateway for those Chinese travelling to Central Otago, especially after the road was improved in 1872 and the railway reached Lawrence in 1877 (Ng, 1993b).

The first Chinese arrived in the Tuapeka area from Australia in 1866, and between this year and 1872 several thousand Chinese sojourners migrated directly to this area from China. A concern at the growing number of Chinese in the Tuapeka area led to a by-law banning the Chinese from residing or doing business within the township of Lawrence. The Lawrence Chinese Camp was therefore established on the outskirts of Lawrence township in 1867. It gradually developed in the 1870s and was the heart of Chinese settlements at Tuapeka (Ng, 1993b). Most of the occupants made their living servicing the goldfields, with few being miners themselves. The Camp had between 30 and 40 buildings, including a hotel (Chinese Empire Hotel), two joss houses (Poon-Fa and Naam-Shun), six stores (for eating and drinking), butchers, boarding houses, and gambling and opium dens (Jacomb & Walter, 2006) (see Figure 33). The Camp also had the best Chinese doctors in Otago and supported a range of tradesmen. During the Camp's most prosperous days, goings on at the Camp were frequently the subject of newspaper articles of the day. The Camp was also one of the major sights for visitors to Otago with its Imperial Dragon flags flying along the highway. The Camp's Chinese New Year celebrations attracted many European visitors as well as the Otago Chinese.

The Camp had a difficult time during the latter part of the 1870s, during a period of intense persecution by the European establishment. The local newspaper, the "Tuapeka Times", branded the Camp 'a nest of Chinese putrefaction' and its inhabitants 'a filth-begrimed, opium-besotted horde of Mongolian monstrosities' (The press, 2007). The Camp, however, survived and by 1891, it had grown to its peak with a resident population of 123, comprising 101 males and 22 females (Jacomb & Walter, 2006).

The Camp was outside the jurisdiction of the Lawrence township council. No single authority was legally responsible for the Camp until the Tuapeka County Council surveyed the area in 1882. The Council then started taking responsibility for the Camp and later agreed to help solve the Camp's problem of wet ground by subsidising a drain in 1883, at which time the Camp had 60-70 residents (Ng 1993). This work by the Council made the Lawrence Chinese Camp the only Chinese camp to be surveyed in New Zealand.

The Camp started to decline in prosperity from the mid 1890s, as there were no newcomers to replace those that left or died. The last resident of the Camp died in 1945, and from this time it was essentially abandoned (see Figure 34). The old-timers remember the Camp about then as an abandoned cluster of decaying wooden buildings. By the 1970s, all signs of the Camp, except the brick Empire Hotel, had vanished (The Press, 2007).



Figure 33: 'Street Scene of Chinese Camp in 1911', Lawrence

Source: Lawrence Museum



Figure 34: 'The Chinese Camp in the late 1930's', Lawrence

Source: Lawrence Museum

Unlike the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, which has been restored and developed and has become a well known tourist attraction, the abandoned Lawrence Chinese Camp received little attention until early in the twenty-first century. Only in 2003 was the significance of the Camp's connection with the early history of Chinese immigration into New Zealand and the history of Otago gold mining widely recognised. After the government apology in 2002, the Historic Places Trust was set the task of enhancing public awareness of the history of Chinese in New Zealand further by proposing to register 10 key Chinese gold mining heritage sites; the Lawrence Chinese Camp was one of the sites that were registered as a Historic Area at this time.

In the same year, James Ng formed the Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust (LCCCT), with the view to developing a Chinese heritage interpretation centre and to find funds for a major heritage development project at the site. To this end, a concept plan for the site has been developed in 2004. Apart from James Ng, the Chairman, the LCCCT has six other voluntary trustees, including three local farmers (two of them are also members of local community boards), a Dunedin engineer, the CEO of Clutha District Council (the district Council under whose jurisdiction Lawrence is administered) and a staff member of the Department of Conservation.

James Ng, the principal driver of the project, is dedicated to developing the site. As a descendant of a Chinese miner, he sees the Camp as part of his own personal heritage, while as an influential Chinese historian, he sees the Camp as the most significant Chinese heritage site in New Zealand. He said that it was the gateway for Chinese miners to go to other gold fields; and most importantly, it was the largest, most well constructed, well documented, and the only Chinese camp that was surveyed. He feels that developing and preserving the site helps add to New Zealand's knowledge of the Chinese as an ethnic minority. He sees the development project as an opportunity for the Camp to be seen as representative of the Chinese heritage to be conserved, reconstructed, and recognised; for him, tourism development is not an important rationale for the project, although he acknowledges that it may be an outcome:

I am not doing it for tourism. I am doing it for heritage, for history. It can be used for heritage tourism, cultural tourism, and that is fine. But my primary aim is to define the history of that site and to preserve our heritage...tourism is just one

aspect of it, to raise money for the maintenance of the site...if it serves tourism, so be it.

According to the project concept plan, the development project includes archaeological investigation at the site, reconstruction of the Camp itself based on the archaeological investigation; a museum of Chinese history to display the artefacts along with the stories of Chinese miners; a Chinese garden and possibly a replica Cantonese village to celebrate the strong connections of New Zealand Chinese to their homeland. The plan also has provision for facilities catering for the needs of tourists, including a car park, restaurant and hotel (see Appendix 9 for a blue print of Lawrence Chinese Camp). There is also a proposed project to restore the Chinese part of the Lawrence cemetery as well as the most imposing Chinese grave in New Zealand, that of the hotelkeeper Sam Chew Lain. In a wider perspective, it is planned that the Camp will be a part of the Chinese gold heritage trail between Dunedin and Arrowtown (Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, 2004). The whole ambitious project will take up to 10 years to complete (Lawrence Information Centre promotional material). The LCCCT believes that the project will ‘provide an opportunity to present not only a worthy historical gesture to the Chinese pioneers, but also to create a “living history” experience in a tourist venture which will act as a partner to Lawrence’s heritage movement’ (Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, 2004).

On January 22, Chinese New Year’s Day, 2004 the LCCCT purchased the site and two hectares of adjoining grassland to the north and another two hectares of adjoining grassland to the south, so the Trust is able to administer the management of the site and adjacent land, preserve, restore, develop, promote and interpret the Camp consistent with heritage conservation and for the enjoyment of visitors (Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, 2004).

From 18th of March to 2nd of April 2005, the first archaeological excavation at the Camp was conducted. It was, for the LCCCT, another major step toward to the implementation of the development plan. A couple of local participants reported that the local community helped clean up the site before the excavation and together with the LCCCT erected four flag poles along the side of the highway, so the dragon flags could be flown during the excavation, as they had at the height of settlement. The research was a partnership between Southern Pacific Archaeological Research

(SPAR), a research and consulting unit within the Anthropology Department at the University of Otago and the Historic Places Trust. This excavation gathered archaeological information to guide in the later reconstruction of the site and discovered many artefacts (some are displayed at Lawrence Information Centre; see below). According to a Trustee of the LCCCT, a greater local and national awareness of the Lawrence Chinese Camp has arisen by the archaeological excavation. Television One News reported the excavation and the development plan for the Camp, and many visitors stopped by wanting to know what was going on. Further excavations were carried out on the site in 2008 and early 2010.

According to the same Trustee, the most current activity of the LCCCT has been the purchase of the Chinese joss house located on Maryport Street, with plans to shift it back to the site. The Trust has also removed a hawthorn hedge along the highway and built a new fence. There is a new fence around the Empire Hotel and stable as well and a general cleanup on the overall site. The pig oven with an overhead gantry has been built and has been used experimentally to cook several pigs and sheep. This Trustee also reported that the Chinese Camp took part in the Gabriel's Gully Goldrush 150th celebration in Lawrence, in March 2011. During this celebration, information boards were set up around the Chinese Camp displaying history and stories. Tents erected on the site housed displays also, with one depicting the life of Sam Chew Lain, and others demonstrating a gambling den and opium den. Stories of mixed race families were also told, and another tent housed information and material from the archaeological digs. The remains of the Chinese Empire Hotel were open for viewing with a continuous slide show with information on the Camp and some of the excavated areas were open to show the early streetscape. There were also fireworks and lion dancing and the pig oven was used for cooking⁴. It is worth mentioning that this Trustee has also reported about a nearly ready Roxborough to Lawrence cycle trail which will run along the back of the Camp. It is another way that Lawrence is trying to raise the awareness for the Camp.

The Camp and the site's development plan seem to be well supported by the local community of Lawrence. The Chinese Camp has special meaning to the local people of Lawrence; they believe the Chinese aspect plays a big part of their local history and

⁴ The Gabriel's Gully Goldrush 150th celebration was held successfully at the Lawrence Chinese Camp from the 18th to 21st of March 2011.

they see the Camp as a significant piece of their local heritage. A local participant said that some of the older generation can still remember having Chinese around when they were young children. A Chinese display and more information can be found at the Lawrence Information Centre and Museum and on the Information Centre's website (see details in the section 7.4). Lawrence's general promotional materials contain a substantial amount of information about the Chinese aspect of the community and the Chinese history, integrated into the local history. It is clear that Lawrence intends to increase the awareness of the Chinese Camp and inform its visitors about the further development of the site.

Despite their support for the recognition of the Chinese heritage of Lawrence, for many local people it seems that support for the development plan is due to the economic benefits it could bring the town, rather than the heritage value alone; in this way their motives differ from James Ng's. As a local businessman said:

The Camp development project is an integral part of the development of the town. Once it is completed, the Camp as well as other unique features of Lawrence, such as Gabriel's Gully will make more of a package and give people a reason to stop and stay in the area for longer.

The local community see the site as a potential tourism attraction and the development as a crucial opportunity for the town to receive more visitors; it just happens to be based on a Chinese gold mining camp.

7.4 Lawrence Information Centre and Museum

The Lawrence Information Centre and the Museum play a big role in promoting the Camp and its development project. The Information Centre and the Museum are in the same building (Figure 35), located on the main street of the town. The front section of the building is used as the Information Centre, while the Museum occupies the back half of the building. According to the current Manager of the Museum, it has always been run by a local voluntary committee, and the Museum relies heavily for funding on grants received from various organisations including the Lottery Commission. According to the current Museum Manager, when it was first established, the Museum only opened for a few hours a day, some days of the week, and charged an entrance fee of five dollars. In about 1990, the Museum became larger in size with an extension added to the back section of the building (Museum Manager, pers. Comm.).

At present, the Lawrence Museum is free to visit. In 2007, it was recognised that the Museum needed to be more professionally managed, and the current Manager was appointed. Prior to this time, the Museum had a small display on the Chinese which was displayed with some text and some artefacts in a large, room-sized display case, which visitors could only look at through a window.



Figure 35: The Lawrence Information Centre and Museum

Source: author

In 2006 the Museum Management Committee successfully applied for \$5,000 from the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust. This funding enabled the Committee to build a new Chinese section in the Museum. The section occupies a small room, inside which there is a self-playing video programme about the history of the site, the archaeological investigation and the redevelopment plans for the site. There is a chair in the front of the TV, so the visitors can sit down and watch the programme. A large poster, entitled ‘Archaeological Investigations at Lawrence Chinese Camp’, is on the wall facing the entrance of the Chinese display room introducing the brief history the Chinese Camp, the archaeological investigation and the establishment of the Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust. Along with the text, there are also historical photos, maps of the Camp and pictures of the artefacts found on the Camp site. There are also display cabinets on each side with some documents (such as the Lawrence Chinese Camp concept plan and James Ng’s books) pictures (about the

archaeological investigation) and artefacts (such as bottles, bows and Chinese coins) inside (Figures 36 and 37).



Figure 36: The Chinese section, Lawrence Museum

Source: author



Figure 37: The Chinese section, Lawrence Museum

Source: author

The Information Centre is managed separately from the Museum, by the Tuapeka Lawrence Community Company (TLCC). The TLCC has a committee of ten people

who are all voluntary workers (Chairperson, TLCC, pers. Comm.). There are two paid staff members working full time for the Information Centre. As well as providing the services of an information centre, the Lawrence Information Centre also keeps a large range of documents on local history and the people who lived and mined in the area. Since no one works in the Museum on a day-to-day basis, the Information Centre staff member has to take care of the Museum as well.

The Chinese aspect is included briefly in a free information sheet about the history of local goldfields, called 'A Brief History of the Goldfields'. There is another free double-sided information sheet specifically about the Chinese Camp, entitled 'Camp Injected Life into the Tuapeka Area' (see Appendix 10 for full text). It provides information about the history, the significance and the development plan of the Camp. The information given is detailed and interesting. The only problem is that both information sheets are in black and white and the pictures are not very clear. This is probably due to the limited resources the Information Centre has.

Tuapeka Lawrence Community Company also has its own website, which includes a brief history of Lawrence and the surrounding area. The Chinese history of the town, the Camp and the development plan are mentioned in particular. The Camp is also included as part of an education programme put together by a local school teacher, mainly for school children. The Chairperson of the Museum Committee helps by playing a role in the programme. The programme aims to tell the school children about the first discovery of gold and how the Chinese lived in Lawrence.

7.5 Current Visitors to Lawrence

There is no specific record of how many visitors go through Lawrence each year, apart from the Lawrence Information Centre's record of how many visitors it receives. According to this record, the number of visitors to the Information Centre increased significantly from 12,384 in 1998 to 32,933 in 2004. Since then the number declined (11,509 in 2007) before rising again slightly (12,704 in 2008). While these figures do not represent actual visitation numbers to Lawrence, it is indicative of the fluctuating visitor numbers through the township. It is interesting to see that there was a significant increase in the visitor numbers in 2004, which was the year that the Camp was purchased by LCCCT which may have arisen due to more awareness for the Camp through reports in the media.

The staff member at the Information Centre said that sometimes people come and ask about the Chinese Camp, because they have read about it in newspapers or heard about it from radio and television. Generally, they want to know where the Camp is and what is happening to it. In that case, the staff members suggest that visitors look at the Chinese section in the Museum and hand them the free print-out entitled ‘Camp Injected Life into the Tuapeka Area’. There are also cases where people learned about the Camp from the Chinese section in the Museum, then wanted to know where it is and see it. Sometimes people are disappointed at the fact that there is not yet much to be seen.

The types of visitors to Lawrence are very varied: ‘all sorts of people’ according to the Manager of Lawrence Museum; a summation supported by the Manager of the Information Centre and the Trustee of LCCCT. The Manager of the Information Centre also runs a lodge, and she suggested that most people just pass through and have a short stop. A minority of visitors stay for one or two nights, because they enjoy the simple, isolated and relaxed atmosphere of Lawrence, as well as the gold mining history. The Manager of the Museum also suggested that there are many people who come to Lawrence particularly for looking for their ‘roots’ and genealogical information about their ancestors. Some of them have a miner’s license that was passed down to them. They come to Lawrence just to see the place, to see where their ancestors used to mine and to learn as much as they can about their family history.

According to the records kept by the Information Centre, a large proportion of visitors come from nearby districts, such as Clutha and Otago. A few visitors come from the Canterbury region, other parts of the South Island, the North Island and overseas, especially Australia and the UK. There are a very few Asian visitors who come to the Information Centre, probably due to the language barriers. All participants from Lawrence have reported that there are not many Chinese visitors coming through Lawrence at present. Occasionally there are Chinese coach tour groups who drive through Lawrence for a toilet stop or to get an ice cream from the local dairy.

7.6 Current visitors to the Chinese Camp

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Camp at this stage is largely a piece of empty farmland. Apart from the Empire Hotel and its stable, there are only three wells

(Figures 38) and a pig oven (Figure 39); that is why the site is not open to the public. The visitor can only view the site over the fence, unless they request a tour around the site. There is no official record of how many people visit the site and many people just have a quick stop. A free tour on site, guided by a local farmer who is also a member of the LCCCT, can be arranged through the Information Centre. He reported that there is not yet a system for marketing and organising group tours to the Camp, and there is no guarantee that a tour can be arranged if it is not requested in advance. The Information Centre is working on having staff members available all the time to do proper tours around the Camp. This farmer Trustee noted that visitors are generally interested while visiting the site, but they would like to see more actual buildings so they can imagine what the site used to be like. The Hotel and the very well constructed Chinese brick well really makes the visitors say ‘wow’. The visitors would like to understand how the Chinese lived and how the Hotel was in the early days. Without anything standing on the site it is hard for the visitors to believe and imagine there used to be well constructed streets with gas lights, joss houses and shops. Obviously once the development project is completed, many of these limitations will be addressed.

Since there has been no market research on the appeal of the site, the types of visitors who might be specifically interested in the Camp is unclear. According to the local Trustee who takes tours of the site, there is no indication of a specific market with an interest in the site: visitors who are interested in seeing it are ‘just general people who want to know about the site’.



Figure 38: The Chinese well, Lawrence Chinese Camp

Source: author



Figure 39: The Chinese pig oven, Lawrence Chinese Camp

Source: author

7.7 Stakeholders' view of potential visitors to the Camp

As stated above, at present little is known about the current or potential markets that would be interested in visiting the Lawrence Chinese Camp once the project is completed. With regard to the potential visitors to the Camp, LCCCT defined the market in terms of overseas visitors to the Otago region, domestic visitors from the rest of New Zealand, Otago residents and schools and polytechnics (Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, 2004). Two local participants in this research suggested that the site might appeal particularly to older visitors who have some understanding and interest in history. It was agreed by all participants that once the site is completed it will not only appeal to visitors who are specifically interested in the Chinese aspect of New Zealand's gold mining history. Many visitors, domestic and international, will find it appealing because it will offer more of a total tourist experience, whereby they can discover the history of Chinese gold mining in New Zealand, experience Chinese culture, relax in a cafe or a Chinese garden, have a meal in a Chinese restaurant and enjoy shopping in souvenir stores. It is also agreed by all of these participants that the Camp probably will not be a primary destination for many visitors, especially the international visitors. They understand that a Chinese gold mining camp is probably not what visitors come to New Zealand to see. The Camp, however, has the advantage of being on the main highway of Queenstown and

Dunedin, both of which are popular destinations. The participants believe that people will be interested in visiting the Camp if it is on their travel route, which will be the case for many visitors.

It was interesting to see that the Chinese market (including mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong) was highlighted as a potential market for the Lawrence Chinese Camp by many of the stakeholders. It is stated in the concept plan prepared by LCCCT that the Camp will be of special interest to Chinese visitors, because there has been a large number of Chinese tourists visiting and a large number of Chinese students study in New Zealand. A member of the LCCCT said:

For the Chinese, I am sure it (the Lawrence Chinese Camp) would become a focal point in the future for Chinese tourism...with the Chinese Camp we could expect a greater share of Chinese tourism in New Zealand.

A local businessman who has been very supportive of the project also agreed with this point of view. He said that if Chinese visitors are aware of the Camp and its history they probably will be interested. He also gave an example of how a Taiwanese friend of his was impressed and felt fascinated when he showed him around at the Chinese part of Lawrence cemetery and the Camp. The other reason he has given to support this point of view is:

...people from New Zealand often go back to UK, to Scotland and England and Ireland to see where their ancestors came from and what they did there...is quite big business for the UK as this is a type of tourism. So, I cannot see why China could not be the same.

The Manager of the Museum, however, doubts if the Camp would be appeal enough to Chinese tourists and bring them to Lawrence. She used to own a souvenir shop elsewhere and had a lot of contacts with Chinese tourists. She said:

Heritage is probably not what the Chinese tourists are interested in seeing in New Zealand, there are probably things in China you can see that are a lot older.

7.8 Chinese tour guides' perspective

Most of the Chinese tour guides do not see the Lawrence Chinese Camp as having significant potential for the Chinese market. They suggested that it is going to be very hard to get Chinese tour groups to visit the Camp even if it is fully developed with

tourist catering facilities. As mentioned in the previous chapter, these tour guides believe that a Chinatown is not going to appeal to Chinese tourists, because it is not what they come to see in New Zealand. Also, it is not on the route of the itinerary for the vast majority of Chinese group tours. Their travel between Queenstown and Dunedin runs via Gore, in Southland, rather than Lawrence (see Appendix 6). The tour guides felt it would be impossible to include Lawrence without adding an additional day to the tour, which would mean extra costs for petrol, meals, accommodation as well as paying for the driver and guide.

Most importantly, the tour guides felt that this additional cost to see Lawrence would not add value to the whole tour experience in the eyes of the consumers and would, in fact, make the travel agencies lose their competitiveness in the market. Some tour guides said that there is the possibility of getting Chinese tour groups to go through Lawrence if the Camp is fully developed and combined with things that the Chinese are interested in, such as gold panning, fruit picking and farm shows. It might be nice for the Chinese tourists to have a look around the gold fields and have a nice Chinese meal at the Camp. Again, they felt to do that the entire itinerary would have to be rearranged; and they doubt if any tour agencies would want to take that risk.

7.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has focused on presenting the research findings about the redevelopment project at Lawrence Chinese Camp. The principal advocate for the project, James Ng argues that developing the site as a tourism attraction would serve the ultimate goal of preserving and presenting Chinese gold mining history and heritage; the locals supporting the project because they believe the development of the site will provide economic benefits to their town. This chapter has also introduced the history and the current status of the Camp and the Lawrence Information Centre and Museum, It has also discussed the visitors to the Camp and the Information Centre and Museum, indicating that it is unclear exactly which type of visitor is especially interested in visiting the Camp. Similar to the other two case study sites, there is a mis-match between stakeholders' and Chinese tour guides' point of view on whether the site will appeal to Chinese visitors. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter Eight.

Chapter 8

Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses my key research findings in light of supporting literature. The current social, political and economic value of Chinese heritage to New Zealand society is examined first, based on the selective and changing nature of heritage. Then, the management of the Chinese heritage sites is discussed in light of the conflicting relationship between a tourism-oriented approach and a conservation-oriented approach to heritage. This section is followed by a discussion of the challenges faced in interpreting Chinese heritage in New Zealand in relation to the heritage interpretation literature, and the tourism potential of Chinese heritage sites is analysed in relation to the suggestions of McKercher and du Cros (2002). Finally, the potential markets for Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand is discussed in relation to heritage tourist typologies.

8.2 The value of Chinese heritage

Chinese gold mining heritage has been present in New Zealand for almost 150 years. It has received little attention from the general public or tourism industry until 2002 when the former Prime Minister Helen Clark made the official apology for past injustices to Chinese residents in New Zealand. Since this time, several Chinese gold mining heritage sites have been registered by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and several major (re)development projects of Chinese heritage sites have been undertaken or proposed. This section discusses the reasons for the current (re)development of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand.

People preserve heritage because of the value it has. Heritage may, for example, have educational, scientific and conservation significance; it may help maintain individual, community and national identity; it may help communicate and construct national belonging; and it is being increasingly recognised that heritage has economic importance as people want to visit and experience what has been preserved from the past (e.g. Bonn et al., 2007; Boyd, 2002; Hall & McArthur, 1996; Park, 2010). As this

research has shown, all these values are reflected in the current interest in preserving and (re)developing New Zealand's Chinese gold mining heritage.

In terms of educational, scientific and conservation value, the results of this research reveal that all three case study sites are significant in terms of representing the Chinese gold mining history and heritage of New Zealand. Even though Shantytown is a re-created theme park, not a genuine historical site, it is still a significant site in terms of preserving and representing the Chinese gold mining history of the West Coast. The Arrowtown Chinese settlement and Lawrence Chinese Camp are two of the most significant Chinese sites in New Zealand because they are original, large in size, well documented (especially the Lawrence Chinese Camp), easy to access and both of the sites still have remaining original structures. That is why conservation organisations in New Zealand, and in particular, the Historic Places Trust and Department of Conservation, have been putting efforts into preserving these sites, and have supported excavations at Arrowtown Chinese settlement and Lawrence Chinese Camp to expand the knowledge about how the Chinese lived and mined on the Otago gold fields.

As presented in the results chapters, participants in this research have generally agreed that the Chinese aspect is an important part of New Zealand history, and the Chinese miners made significant contributions to the development of New Zealand during the gold mining era. Learning about the Chinese past helps in the understanding of New Zealand's past as a whole. One of the questions being asked in the current research is why the significance and value of Chinese gold mining heritage was not recognised and appreciated in previous decades and why it is gaining increasing recognition today. The subjective, selective and changing nature of heritage helps answer this question.

As outlined in Chapter Two, the value of heritage is based on its representative function; the perceptions and beliefs of its users. Heritage, therefore, is a selection of what the users desire to keep from the past (Ashworth, 1995, 2009). Often the heritage selection process is a highly political activity, as what is defined as heritage is always linked with present hierarchies. The voice of those at the top are often the most likely to prevail, and those whose lives were blighted by massacre, torture and discrimination are often overlooked and not represented (Hall & McArthur, 1996;

Timothy & Boyd, 2003). In the European world, heritage has tended to present the cultural symbols of the white, middle-/upper-classes and excludes a range of alternative ways understanding heritage (L. Smith, 2006); this is also the case in New Zealand. During the gold mining era the Chinese were not welcomed and were not treated well; they were considered as an economic and social threat to the European community, and therefore accorded a very lowly social status. In this context it is not a surprise that the Chinese components of the country's gold mining history have, until recently, been 'conveniently forgotten' and under-valued, as it is associated with shame, discomfort and highlights an embarrassing element of New Zealand's past.

There is little doubt, however, that the Chinese heritage of New Zealand has witnessed something of a resurgence in interest over the past decade, reflecting the contemporary nature of heritage (e.g. Fountain & Thorns, 1998; Frost, 2005; Hall & McArthur, 1996; Schouten, 1995; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Whatever element of the past is presented as heritage passes through a complex filtering process, which is affected by the changing needs and expectations of society, as it undergoes substantial self-examination in terms of identity and cultural composition (Harrison, 2005). Not all heritage is valued by society at all times, and as the value system heritage goes through changes over time, the value of a certain heritage may become important at a particular point of time. This argument offers an explanation to why Chinese heritage is more valued in New Zealand at present time than it has been in the past.

8.2.1 Social and political values

New Zealand's societal structure and economic circumstance has changed over time, and these changes have resulted in recognition of the value of Chinese heritage. As Hall and McArthur (1996) suggest, although it is often the people at the top who make the decision of what should be kept, the political process of preserving heritage is influenced by a community's attitudes. When a particular heritage is seen as part of the symbolic property of the wider culture or community, it might become strong enough to put pressure on the decision-makers.

In the New Zealand context, the Chinese community is now the largest minority ethnic group among Asian immigrants. Unlike the early Chinese settlers, the new Chinese immigrants have a middle class background, are better educated, and they

come to New Zealand to invest and settle. According to the research participants, the new Chinese immigrants have had no direct contribution to the current development of Chinese heritage. However their increasing numbers have strengthened the overall presence of the Chinese community in New Zealand. The long-standing Chinese community's willingness of preserving Chinese heritage is therefore more noticeable and influential as the Chinese heritage is perceived to be associated with a larger and stronger community.

The public apology of former Prime Minister Helen Clark in 2002 can be interpreted in this context. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the apology to the Chinese, and the establishment of a Poll Tax fund, had its political flavour. It was made shortly before a national election, with the Government recognising that it was important to capture the Chinese community's heart and votes. Formal acknowledgement of past wrongs, recognising the significance of New Zealand's Chinese history and heritage and the establishment of a fund for preserving Chinese heritage were all helpful for achieving it. In addition, as Park (2010) suggests, developing heritage for tourism can contribute to constructing and communicating a sense of national belonging. Through the (re)development of Chinese heritage in New Zealand, the acceptance of the Chinese community in New Zealand is communicated, and its social, cultural and economic contribution is noted.

In a similar vein, the redevelopment of the Arrowtown Chinese settlement was a more visible reminder of the Government wanting to acknowledge publicly and permanently to New Zealand residents and visitors the importance of the Chinese involvement in the gold mining history of New Zealand. It was first restored in response to the destruction of the Chinese village in Cromwell, then the funding made available from the 2002 official apology package enabled its redevelopment project in 2004. The case of Lawrence Chinese Camp supports this argument, as its development started from the New Zealand Historic Places Trust recognising its significance in the light of the 2002 official apology and adding it to the Register. At Shantytown, while the redevelopment of the Chinatown was not directly related to these events, the research project and subsequent book about Chinese history on the West Coast carried out by the Shantytown researcher was funded by the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust, which was established as a part of the apology. The establishment of the Dunedin Chinese Garden can be seen also in this light, especially since New

Zealand and China signed a free trade agreement with both countries working on keeping a good relationship with each other. Developing Chinese heritage and celebrating Chinese culture in New Zealand provides a showcase of the closer relationship between the two countries. This supports the claim by Norkunas (1993, p. 97) that ‘the ruling class carefully controls the form and content of historical recreations and tourist landscapes, legitimising itself by projecting its own contemporary socio-cultural values upon the past’. Furthermore, as Timothy and Boyd (2003) suggest, revealing uncomfortable pasts may have the potential to bring discomfort and embarrassment to certain groups, however, it can perhaps assist also in the healing process. If the Chinese heritage and history is presented in an appropriate way, it may eventually help bring a better understanding between the Chinese community and the rest of New Zealand society.

8.2.2 Economic values

The recognition of the economic value of Chinese heritage sites is largely what drives their development in the longer term, and this is evident also in the case studies explored in this research. Warren and Taylor (2001) suggest that developing heritage sites helps extend a destination’s product base, diversifies visitors’ routes and potentially creates a tourist market during the low visitation season. This is one of the reasons that the Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand are being developed, especially in the case of Lawrence Chinese Camp and the Chinese heritage trail project in the Otago region. The Lawrence Chinese Camp project is well supported by local residents because of the economic benefits the site may bring to Lawrence. The locals see the project as an opportunity to bring the town’s historical resources together as a more appealing package for visitors and residents, who are proud of the district’s heritage. Once the site is fully developed, it may help solve the town’s problem of being little more than a convenient location for a rest stop and establish the town as a destination, thereby bringing more visitors and giving them a reason to stay longer and spend more. In a similar light, the development of the Chinese heritage trail throughout Otago is also hoped to become a ‘champion’ to boost the economy of the region and attract visitors to the region.

While the Arrowtown Chinese settlement was not developed for economic purposes, there is little doubt that many local participants hoping to further develop the site

believe the combination of visiting the Chinese settlement and the Chinese section at the Lake District Museum adds some special flavour to visitors' overall Arrowtown experience and is a unique point of difference for the destination. In the case of Shantytown, it is a commercial tourism attraction; its primary goal is to increase visitor numbers through providing good experiences. The development of the Chinese component serves this goal because telling visitors about the Chinese influence in the development of the area extends Shantytown's product base, thereby providing visitors with a more complete and interesting West Coast gold mining experience during their visit.

The recognition of the economic value of Chinese heritage is apparent also in the belief in the potential of this heritage to attract Chinese visitors, and to provide a specific focus for the development of Chinese tourism to New Zealand. It could be argued that it is the perceived increasing demand for Chinese heritage which has contributed to its development, somehow reflecting that the increasing number of visitors seeking out heritage experiences is one of the main reasons that heritage sites are preserved and developed (Bonn et al., 2007; Chandler & Costello, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Warren & Taylor, 2001). China is currently the fourth largest market for the New Zealand tourism industry with great potential for further growth. The New Zealand tourism sector is committed to improve the Chinese visitors' experience, including identifying appropriate products that will appeal to the Chinese market. As this research has revealed, many participants believe that the Chinese visitors will be interested in the Chinese heritage sites of New Zealand and these Chinese heritage sites will fulfil the need for a Chinese-specific tourism product.

In addition, apart from the above economic values the Chinese heritage has, developing Chinese heritage for tourism can also capture the economic characteristics of heritage and harness these for conservation by generating funding and public awareness, reflecting that heritage tourism can also be used to boost conservation advocacy and activities by both economically justifying conservation work and providing the revenue to make it possible (Graham, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Warren & Taylor, 2001). The principal advocate for the Lawrence Chinese Camp project, James Ng, sees that developing the site as a tourism attraction will

serve to achieve his ultimate goal of defending the history of the site and preserving the site for future generation.

8.3 Management of Chinese heritage sites

Through studying the case study sites, the differences between a tourism-oriented and a conservation-oriented management approach is revealed; and some conflicts between various stakeholders of Chinese heritage sites have been discovered. For example, the differences between the management approach of Shantytown, a commercial tourist attraction, and the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, a conserved historical site, are obvious. The marketing and interpretation of the two places is therefore focused on different objectives. The primary objective of Shantytown is to be profitable through attracting more visitors and providing them with a quality experience. This gives them the motive to learn about visitor experience through conducting marketing research, constantly extending and renewing their product base and actively promoting all activities available, including the Chinatown. The interpretation of Chinatown also reflects the primary objective of Shantytown as it attempts to provide an easy and interesting experience through focusing on individual stories, with less emphasis on the hardship of the Chinese miners. In contrast, Arrowtown Chinese settlement is managed by the Department of Conservation whose objective is to conserve New Zealand's heritage and protect it from inappropriate usage. This explains why the Department of Conservation does not actively promote any of the sites that it manages. In the case of the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, the Department of Conservation informs visitors about what is available for them, but are rather cautious about visitors' activities on site and have little interest in understanding and improving visitors' experience of the site. This is also reflected in their emphasis in simply informing visitors of some facts about the history of the site in their on-site interpretation, even if some of these facts are dark and depressing (see section 8.4 below).

Appropriately balancing tourism development and heritage conservation is not problematic in the case of Shantytown as its Chinatown is a complete re-creation. There are, however, some contradictions between the Shantytown researcher and managers when it comes to whether to further develop the Chinese component of Shantytown. The managers, from a tourism prospective, have to consider whether

further developing the Chinatown will generate financial return. The researcher, working partly from a 'heritage conservation' point of view and partly also from a 'history conservation' point of view, hopes to extend the Chinese story of the West Coast because she feels these stories should be told. This demonstrates how tourism-oriented professionals differ from historically oriented professionals.

At Arrowtown Chinese settlement, the research results show that there are no serious conflicts between the conservation and tourism development of the site at this stage, because the site is not physically as fragile as some heritage sites can be. It is easily accessible by motorised vehicles and capable of hosting large groups of visitors and the Department of Conservation is willing to work with tourism sectors as partners, as long as the planned activity is not conflicting with the conservation policies.

Furthermore, the site is unlikely to undergo extensive physical redevelopment in the near future; the Department of Conservation has no further plans for development of the site due to limited resources and its conservation focus. This decision is supported by many tourism stakeholders who believe that the site should be kept low key so the wild flavour can remain as it is a nice contrast to the more 'touristy' flavour of Arrowtown's main street. There are, however, some tensions between the Department of Conservation and other local stakeholders in terms of the site's maintenance and interpretation. With regard to interpretation, local stakeholders, such as the Museum and Arrowtown Promotion and Business Association, look at the site from the perspective of the visitor experience. They want the site to be well looked after and well interpreted because their concern is about how visiting the site will positively add on to visitors' overall Arrowtown experience. This conflicts with the Department of Conservation's limited interest in the visitor experience, with protection of the site and faithful preservation of the built artefacts and accurate re-telling of the site's history.

The discussion above highlights the ways that the objectives of tourism development and heritage conservation often conflict, because tourism industry professionals value heritage as products that can generate tourism activity and wealth, and their primary objective is to increase visitor numbers and maximise profit through ensuring a positive experience; while heritage conservation professionals value the same assets for their intrinsic merits and aim at controlling their usage for conservation purposes. These differences in each party's goals lead to differences in how they manage and

interpret a heritage site. When the interests of these two groups clash, often the objectives and activities of one are compromised by the needs of the other (e.g. McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Warren & Taylor, 2001).

The Lawrence Chinese Camp, is being developed as a tourism attraction in order to serve preservation purposes. This gives the site the advantage of being initiated on the basis of 'sustainable heritage management' which sets a common ground for both heritage conservation and tourism development professionals to work as partners for their mutual benefits (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). It is noteworthy that increasingly, it is realised that it is no longer sufficient to manage heritage sites in isolation from the people who come to experience them. The heritage managers and developers need to understand visitor experience, thereby adjust their activities based on visitors' needs and want (Hall & McArthur, 1996).

8.4 Interpretation of Chinese heritage sites

As concluded at the end of the previous section, managing and developing a heritage site needs to take visitors' experience into consideration. The visitor's experience is even more important when it comes to interpretation of heritage, especially for types of heritage that are associated with sensitive and dark history, like the Chinese gold mining heritage. The Chinese heritage in New Zealand generally portrays the hardships of the Chinese miners experienced during the gold mining era, and therefore it is often associated with stories of deprivation and discrimination. Even with careful interpretation visitors might find it depressing, especially the ones who have special connection with New Zealand's Chinese gold mining history and heritage. In order to be interpreted appropriately, the interests and motives of visitors need to be taken into account; this is particularly the case if the heritage is going to be promoted for tourism purposes. This section discusses the issues and challenges that are associated with interpreting the Chinese heritage in New Zealand.

There has been a renewed interest in revealing the forgotten and lost aspects of gold mining history, such as the danger of the activities, the failures of the gold rush and the experiences of destitution of some minority groups. This is referred to as 'edgy interpretation' (Goodman, 2001; Frost 2005). The problem is to what degree this 'edgy' approach should be incorporated into interpreting Chinese heritage in the New Zealand context. On the one hand, individuals may not be interested in presenting or

watching actions taken by ‘one’s tribe’, when such actions evoke feelings of shame (Poria, 2007). On the other hand, not all visitors want an authentic and historically accurate interpretation that may involve knowing about some party’s suffering, as the true story may be too depressing for them, unless they are the ones who consider themselves as having a stake in the matters involving the site (Austin, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

At Arrowtown Chinese settlement, the on-site interpretation aims to truthfully represent the history and to give facts. There are discriminatory quotations and caricatures from old time newspapers, and few of the successful and individual stories of the Chinese miners are told. The focus of the information given to visitors seems to be rather portraying Chinese miners’ unpleasant experiences and hard lives on the gold fields, which was the truth, and this is what is passed on the most to the visitors. The staff member of the Department of Conservation who works on the site during the summer season has confirmed this with his own experience of communicating with visitors. It is questionable how much the visitors enjoy visiting the Chinese settlement if it is the hardship, the discrimination and the suffering that is impressed on them the most, especially as it is suggested in literature that individuals may not be interested in receiving too much information that may negatively overwhelm them (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Schouten, 1995).

The Chinese tour guides also have concerns that what is displayed on the panels may depress their Chinese clients. One guide pointed out that one of the panels is titled “invited but not welcomed” in both English and Chinese, with the picture of a Maori woman dragging an octopus that has an evil looking Chinese face at one corner. For the Chinese visitors who do not speak English, all they can read is ‘Chinese were not welcome’, accompanied by that picture. It is not hard to imagine the Chinese visitors will not be positively impressed after visiting the settlement. These issues reflect the problem of representing truthful history by simply providing facts and the ‘ugly truth’. To avoid this problem, Austin (2002) has suggested that there might be a need to give the visitors a ‘sanitised version’ of the historical reality.

Providing a ‘sanitised version’ does not necessarily mean leaving out the dark truth of the Chinese gold mining history of New Zealand. It rather means to find a more acceptable way of telling the truth so it can be easily consumed by visitors from all

backgrounds. Shantytown has been working toward focusing more on individual Chinese miners, rather than simply giving evidence and facts. They try to blend the unpleasant aspects of the Chinese gold mining history into the stories of individual Chinese miners. Instead of interpreting the Chinese as a big homogenous group who generally experienced hardship and unfair treatment, Shantytown introduces Chinese miners to visitors as a collection of individuals who had experienced their lives on the West Coast in different ways; some successfully stayed on or returned home and some were less successful. Some of the Chinese tour guides have also been applying this theory by trying to provide their clients a 'sanitised version' when they introduce the Chinese gold mining history of New Zealand. As mentioned in the results chapters, the Chinese tour guides also tell about the discrimination toward Chinese miners, but they rather focus on building some connections between their clients and the sites they are visiting by telling them the Chinese had come so far and so early to the country they are visiting and has made some contributions to the early development of the country.

It is very important to understand that when visiting a heritage site visitors are looking for a beneficial and quality experience (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Schouten, 1995). Providing only historical information, telling some stories and displaying artefacts is not enough to generate the desirable experiences that visitors are potentially looking for. While literature stresses the importance of educating visitors about the significance of history, events, objects and people in order to generate greater appreciation and responsibility (e.g. Alderson & Low, 1996; Poria et al., 2009; Tilden, 1977), it needs to be understood that tourism is primarily about entertainment (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Learning opportunities can be created through entertainment, as a 'fun' and enjoyable experience is more likely to generate a definite knowledge gain (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Through studying the existing literature on visitor experiences at gold rush heritage sites it is found that there are, in fact, many visitors who are more interested in 'seeing' than 'learning' (Cegielski et al., 2001; Chen, 1998; M. Evans, 1991; Frost, 2003; Ham & Weiler, 2004; Marcel, 2005; Poria et al., 2004a). They regard the site as a background for general tourist activities, such as relaxing, shopping, enjoying a meal and spending time with family and friends.

Apart from being able to generate emotional involvement and strengthen the links between visitors and the site (Poria et al., 2009), effective heritage interpretation

needs to be standardised, modified and commodified, so visitors can get a guaranteed experience easily and quickly (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). At the same time, it must be aimed at multiple levels, satisfying the visitors who want only the basics as well as the visitors who seek more complex meaning and understanding (Laing et al., 2007; Poria et al., 2009). This is because the visitor experience is affected by the time availability of potential visitors, and their characteristics, personal interests, expectations and motives (Austin, 2002; Bonn et al., 2007; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Warren & Taylor, 2001), and they may therefore look for different benefits or experiences at a heritage site.

At the moment, some of these important features are missing in the interpretation of New Zealand's Chinese heritage. At both Arrowtown and Shantytown, the Chinese settlement is restored or re-created to present how the Chinese miners lived and mined in the area. Re-creation and restoration of the original sites is a good way of helping visitors create a vivid picture of how Chinese miners lived and mined in that particular period of time. The presentation of both Shantytown Chinatown and Arrowtown Chinese settlement is relatively effective in terms of quality of restoration and sense of authenticity. The problem is that both sites are relatively small in size and limited in terms of the variety of interpretation provided; this is the same for the Chinese display at Lake District Museum, Lawrence Museum and Otago Settler's Museum. In general, the current interpretation of Chinese gold mining takes the form of displaying relics and objects, plus brief descriptions of the general history and some individual stories. Visitors can only look at the pictures, maps and read texts from display panels. The only multi-media involved is a self-playing video showed at Lawrence Museum. This form of interpretation is educational, but clearly missing on the point of being entertaining or perhaps engaging. Visitors are not really provided with opportunities to make connections with interpreters or have interaction with the sites. Even though many of the stories told are very interesting, with this sort of interpretation it is probably hard for visitors to have fun and have emotional involvement that helps build links between themselves and the sites, which are considered one of the important factors that generates a memorable and meaningful experience (Foley & Lennon, 1999; Poria et al., 2009).

The interpretation provided at the Chinese heritage places is also fixed, rather than aiming to cater to visitor's need at multiple levels. Visitors are not provided with

opportunities on site to gain any further information if they are especially interested in certain aspects of Chinese gold mining. Participants at all three case study sites reported that many visitors would like to see more demonstrations at the sites and to see more things happening. The research results reveal that current visitors are generally satisfied with what they have gained out of visiting New Zealand Chinese heritage sites, however they are not really getting the quality experience they could potentially get. This situation may change once Lawrence Chinese Camp development project is completed. According to the concept plan, the site will be developed as a large Chinese heritage historical theme park that includes all the facilities that are capable of providing visitors fun and educational experiences.

To improve the current interpretation of Chinese heritage sites is not an easy task, because of the limited resources the Chinese heritage sites have available, but it is still achievable. Some suggestions on how Chinese heritage sites can be better interpreted will be given in the Conclusion Chapter.

8.5 The tourism potential of Chinese heritage sites

It is suggested that not all heritage assets are heritage tourism products. Sites that are locally significant are not necessarily attractive to visitors, because visitors may value a site more for its extrinsic appeal and experiential value rather than its intrinsic value (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004). McKercher and du Cros (2002) point out that heritage places with tourism potential should have the following features: they are known beyond the local heritage community; they provide experiences that can be consumed; they are interesting and unique; they are accessible and most importantly, they provide the tourist with some compelling reason to visit.

The research results showed that the Chinese heritage sites do have, or could potentially have, the above attributes, especially Lawrence Chinese Camp. Through the fieldwork, I found that the Chinese's presence on the West Coast and in Otago in particular is definitely well known beyond the local heritage community. The Chinese heritage in New Zealand is certainly interesting and consumable and can potentially provide quality experience as it presents a unique aspect of New Zealand's history, tells rich and remarkable stories of Chinese early settlers, their lives, their mining techniques, their success and their suffering. The popularity of the Arrowtown

Chinese settlement and participants' comments that many visitors find the Chinese gold mining history interesting and some would like to learn more supports this argument. That is why the majority of participants in this research believe that based on their knowledge about the current visitation and visitors' feedback, Chinese heritage has the potential to be further developed as an appealing tourism product in New Zealand.

Geographical location also contributes greatly to the tourism potential of a heritage site. In order to be viable to potential visitors, a heritage attraction is better to be easily accessible, or /and at a convenient location, or/and clustered with other attractions (Frost et al., 2007; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; McKercher & Ho, 2006). All three case study sites have these advantages to some extent; Shantytown is close to the West Coast's major town, Greymouth, and only three kilometers off State Highway 6 which reaches the glaciers; a very popular attraction for the South Island. Arrowtown Chinese settlement is one the main attractions of a popular historic town that is 20 minutes drive from Queenstown, one of the most famous tourist destinations of New Zealand. Lawrence Chinese Camp is on the highway in between Queenstown and Dunedin, another major tourist destination of the South Island.

McKercher and Ho (2006) point out that small scale and poor setting can cause problems in terms of giving visitors some compelling reason to visit, especially for small cultural and heritage attractions like New Zealand's Chinese gold mining heritage sites. Currently, the fundamental problems associated with Chinese heritage in New Zealand are that there are not many sites available to visitors. Shantytown's Chinatown is the only one on the West Coast, and the Arrowtown Chinese settlement is the only restored and easily accessible site in Otago at the current time. Both of the sites are visited not because visitors are attracted by the Chinese gold mining history and heritage but because they happen to be located at a destination, or on the route to a destination, tourists are visiting already. In this way, Chinese heritage is currently a secondary attraction at best. Moreover, as mentioned in the previous section the scale of these two sites is small, their interpretation is relatively basic and dull, thereby they have experiential deficiencies that make them less appealing than other better known and larger attractions of New Zealand. Also, the potential for the two sites growth is low since the management of both Shantytown and the Arrowtown

Chinese settlement have stated that both these sites are not likely to be further developed in the near future.

As discussed above, the potential of the Chinese heritage is probably limited at the moment until both Lawrence Chinese Camp and the Chinese Heritage Trail project are further developed, at which time the Chinese heritage of Otago may offer a more complete package that gives visitors a compelling reason to visit.

8.6 Potential market of Chinese heritage

Some participants suggested that the Chinese heritage may appeal more to the visitors who are more mature in age and generally more willing to learn about history, which reflects some literature on heritage tourists suggesting that heritage tourists are relatively highly educated and better paid, they are middle aged, the most common age group is between 40 to 59 years (e.g. Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Warren & Taylor, 2001). This, however, depends on the feature of an attraction. Sovereign Hill historical park is an example of a heritage attraction appealing to all visitors, including families with young children and school groups (Frost et al., 2007). Considering the proposed development plan for Lawrence Chinese Camp, it may attract similar groups of visitors as Sovereign Hill once it is complete.

Prentice, Witt and Hamer (1998) argue that socio-demographic characteristic may not be the most appropriate indicators for understanding visitors behaviour; instead, visitor motivation and experiential and benefit segmentations may be more useful. As discussed in Chapter Two, based on motives and depth of experience sought by visiting heritage attractions, the 'incidental' heritage tourist or the 'generalists' increasingly comprise the majority of visitors to these sites. This type of heritage tourists' motive is more likely to be recreational; they are more likely to 'stop in' at the site that is 'on their way' or part of a cluster of attraction; and their consumption of heritage products and experiences may be combined with other activities or attractions (Frost et al., 2007; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Prentice, 1993; Warren & Taylor, 2001).

This is reflected in the research finding that the current visitors to Chinese heritage sites are quite non-specific; as one of the participants suggested that 'they are everyone and anyone'. There is no indication that any group of visitors are especially

interested in seeing the Chinese heritage sites apart from the ones who have special connections with New Zealand's Chinese gold mining history. In addition, as mentioned in the previous section these case study sites are not primary attractions, but rather they are 'add-ons' to the main attractions. Visitors come to Shantytown or Arrowtown not because they have the intention to visit Chinese heritage, the Chinese heritage is just happen to be at the place they are visiting, so they 'stop in'. This suggests that 'heritage enthusiasts' or 'specialists' (Frost et al., 2007; Warren & Taylor, 2001), who have specific interest in the Chinese heritage may only be a relatively small market for the Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand.

China is highlighted by many of the participants as one of the potential markets for Chinese heritage tourism, because they believe the Chinese visitors will feel they can relate to the New Zealand Chinese heritage and this will give them a reason to be interested in visiting these sites. It seems that the Chinese heritage of New Zealand is perceived by these participants as the heritage of Chinese visitors as well, which is not necessarily true. Some participants who are more experienced with the Chinese market, such as the managers of Shantytown, are more cautious about this point of view, as they understand Chinese heritage is not the reason for Chinese visitors to come to New Zealand. This insight is supported in existing market research on the interests and activities of Chinese visitors in this country (Chan, 2009; Fountain et al., 2010; Zhao, 2006).

The Chinese tour guides have confirmed that the Chinese heritage sites are not what the Chinese tourists are expecting to see even though they are generally satisfied with their experience at these sites. They suggest that firstly Chinese visitors come to New Zealand for what they cannot see at home, such as the clean and green environment and Maori culture. Secondly, to the eyes of Chinese tourists the scale and content of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand is no comparison to the more magnificent ones they can see at home. Thirdly, the Chinese visitors do not feel particularly connected to the New Zealand Chinese gold mining history and heritage, and are rather more interested in knowing the current life of Chinese in New Zealand, such as issues associated with immigration policy. Lastly, the tour guides found through their observation that during the visit of Shantytown and Arrowtown, the Chinese tourists show more interest in other attractions and activities than those associated with

Chinese heritage, such as gold panning and the shops. The Chinese visitors, therefore, are not likely to be especially interested in the Chinese heritage.

Beyond their limited interest, this research reveals that Chinese group tourists are unlikely to be a potential market of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand, because of their tight and fixed itineraries. While Shantytown Chinatown and Arrowtown Chinese settlement are currently visited by Chinese visitors, they are not really getting a meaningful experience due to their limited time at the sites. As McKercher and du Cros (2002) suggest, a quality and in-depth experience consumes a considerable amount of time. For the Chinese tour groups, their time is strictly controlled by the tour operators. Arrowtown and Shantytown are included in the itinerary by tour operators not because they see the experiential value in Chinese heritage sites, but because of their convenient location, one is a free add-on, and the other one is as a lunch stop. A similar explanation has also contributed to the popularity of Sovereign Hill Historical Park in Australia among the Chinese group tour market (Weiler & Yu, 2007). The same study also found that very similar to the situation in New Zealand, the Chinese tour groups' visit at Sovereign Hill is limited by their compressed schedule. They miss out on most of the demonstrations and street theatre that provide opportunities for interaction and engagement. The only hands-on activity is the gold mining, which is the highlight of the visit for many Chinese tourists (Weiler & Yu, 2007).

This also explains why the Chinese tour guides spoken to suggest that Lawrence Chinese Camp will not particularly appeal to the Chinese group tour market because it is not on the route of the current itinerary which is believed by the tour operators to be the most efficient profit-making route. The tour guides explained that this fixed itinerary is unlikely to be changed because it would be impossible to include Lawrence Chinese Camp without adding an additional day to the tour, which would mean extra costs for petrol, meals, accommodation, and pay for driver and guide. Most importantly the tour guides felt that this additional cost to see Lawrence would not add value to the whole tour experience in the eyes of the consumers and would in fact make the travel agencies lose their competitiveness in the market.

It is noteworthy that according to the most recent data released by Tourism New Zealand, 58 per cent of Chinese holiday visitors travel to New Zealand as a tour

group; a significant decrease over previous years (Tourism New Zealand, 2010b). The increasing number of Chinese FIT and semi FIT visitors may lead a shift in the current visitation pattern of Chinese visitors. As discussed in this section the Chinese visitors are not going to be especially interested in New Zealand's Chinese heritage sites, they may still 'incidentally stop in' at Chinese heritage sites if they have more relaxed schedule and are in control of their own itinerary.

8.7 Chapter Summary

The subjective, selective and changing nature of heritage means it is a contemporary product, which is why not all heritage is valued by a society at all times. The changes in New Zealand societal structure and economic circumstances have revealed the social, political and economic values of Chinese gold mining heritage to contemporary New Zealand society. There is no real tension at the current stage between the conservation and tourism development of Chinese heritage sites considering their capacity to host visitors is generally quite flexible. There are, however, conflicts between the conservation and tourism professionals in terms of their priorities for management and interpretation. No doubt this problem is difficult to solve, but adopting a sustainable heritage management approach may help minimise the conflicts, thereby giving both parties a opportunities to work as partners to achieve their mutual benefits. The plan for the Lawrence Chinese Camp is a good example in this regard.

The interpretation of New Zealand's Chinese heritage can be challenging as it is associated with a sensitive and embarrassing part of New Zealand's history. The dark nature of Chinese heritage can be overcome through changing the focus from historical realities to interesting individual stories, and adding some fun through more multi-media, hand-on activities and live shows, so visitors can receive a meaningful and enjoyable experience. Shantytown has been relatively successful in this regard. Also, the interpretation of Chinese heritage is relatively basic, and is not capable of catering to visitors' need at multiple levels. Lastly, Chinese heritage has the potential to be further developed as a tourism product; it is, however, constrained by lack of a promotable package. Based on the current visitation of three case study sites and the typology of heritage visitors, the potential visitors for Chinese heritage sites are more likely to be 'incidental heritage visitors' or 'generalists' who regard heritage sites as

recreational background. Also, based on the suggestion of Chinese tour guides the Chinese group tourists are less likely to be the potential market even it is highlighted by many participants.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes this thesis by firstly revisiting the research questions and objectives, then summarising research findings, followed by making recommendations of how the Chinese heritage can possibly be best presented and interpreted for visitors and potential visitors. Lastly, the limitations of this research will be addressed and areas for future research will be suggested.

9.2 Revisiting the research questions and objectives

It is important to revisit the research questions and objectives set out for this study before this thesis is finally concluded to ensure that they have been answered and achieved. The central research question of this study has been:

- Why are Chinese gold-rush heritage sites currently undergoing (re)development in New Zealand and what is their potential for the tourism industry?

The sub-research questions of this study are:

- What is the current state of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand (inventory and historical origin)?
- What form is the (re)development taking and who is involved?
- What are the emphases of the current approaches to management of New Zealand's Chinese heritage sites, and what influence do these management emphases have on the presentation of Chinese heritage sites?
- Is there any potential for Chinese heritage tourism to be expanded in New Zealand?
- Is there any potential for domestic and international tourists?

- Is there any potential in the Chinese market for this type of product?
- How can these resources be best developed to meet the needs of different groups of users?

Based on the above research questions, the following three objectives were set out for this study:

- 1) To explore the reasons for the current (re)development of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand.
- 2) To explore the emphases of current approaches to the management of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand.
- 3) To explore the potential of Chinese heritage in New Zealand in terms of tourism development.
- 4) To formulate appropriate suggestions for interpreting Chinese heritage to meet the needs of different groups of users.

In order to meet these objectives, I have undertaken a review of the relevant literature, then used three Chinese heritage sites, namely Shantytown's Chinatown, the Arrowtown Chinese settlement and the Lawrence Chinese Camp as case studies to collect primary data for this exploratory study. This research has utilised a qualitative research methodology by undertaking 24 semi-structured interviews with a range of Chinese heritage stakeholders.

The next section will provide a summary of the key research findings in relation to the research questions and objectives.

9.3 Summary of research findings

In terms of the current status of Chinese heritage, this research has revealed that the Otago region has a rich inventory of Chinese heritage products. Apart from the two most significant Chinese heritage sites, Arrowtown Chinese settlement and Lawrence Chinese Camp, there are also other Chinese heritage sites and products incorporating Chinese heritage scattered throughout the region. Some of these are quite developed, such as the Kawarau Gold-mining Centre, the Otago Settler's Museum and the Dunedin Chinese garden, while others are not, such as the Chinese graves at

Lawrence. This richness of Chinese heritage has resulted in the proposed Chinese heritage trail project in the Otago region. By comparison, the West Coast, which also had a considerable Chinese population during the gold mining era, has little material evidence of Chinese heritage that could be suitable for development. Shantytown's Chinatown is the only major site where this Chinese gold mining history and heritage is presented.

The (re)development process, the rationale behind the (re)development, and the stakeholders involved in some of the major Chinese heritage sites and places mentioned above are discussed in the Context Chapter and three results chapters (Chapter Four to Seven).

With regard to the first objective, interviews with participants and other documentary research reveals that there are many explanations for the increased interest and attention the Chinese heritage of New Zealand has received over the past two decades. Some of the factors leading to this renewed interest include the following:

People are generally more interested in history and preserving the heritage of New Zealand; the Chinese aspect is a significant part of it.

The continued strong willingness of Chinese New Zealanders to reinforce their identity and preserve their history and heritage, plus the efforts of some influential individuals.

The increased size of the Chinese population resident in New Zealand has strengthened the Chinese community as a whole, and made it more noticeable and influential.

The government's formal apology and the apology package (particularly through the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust) has enabled some (re)development of Chinese heritage sites and projects.

The free trade agreement between China and New Zealand has established a stronger economic partnership between China and New Zealand, and Chinese-related heritage therefore generally receives more attention.

Increasing numbers of Chinese tourists to New Zealand has raised this market's profile and led to the identification of a lack of tourism product that may appeal particularly to this market.

Relating these observations to existing heritage literature, it can be concluded that Chinese heritage is being developed because its social, political and economic value is recognised in the current context. As suggested by the heritage literature, its selective nature makes heritage a contemporary product. That is, whether a heritage is valued by a society at a particular point of time depends on the needs of that society at that time (e.g. Fountain & Thorns, 1998; Frost, 2005; Hall & McArthur, 1996; Schouten, 1995; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). This research has found also that the recognition of the social and political value of the Chinese heritage initiated its current (re)development, and the ongoing recognition of the potential economic value of Chinese heritage sites is largely what drives their development in the longer term.

The Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand are managed by organisations which have different emphases and perspectives; some are tourism orientated and some are preservation/conservation orientated. That is why the second objective was set to explore the impact that the emphases and perspectives of the specific organisations had on the management of the Chinese heritage sites under their control. For example, Arrowtown Chinese settlement is managed as a conserved historical site by Department of Conservation, whose objective is to conserve New Zealand's heritage and protect it from inappropriate usage. With this emphasis, tourism development and promotion, and understanding and improving visitor's experience has little priority in Department of Conservation's management. They rather focus on keeping the site as original and faithfully present the historical facts of the site, even if some of these facts are dark and depressing. The management approach of the Department of Conservation has caused some conflicts with the interests of other local stakeholders of the settlement in terms of the site's maintenance and interpretation. The Lake District Museum and Arrowtown Promotion and Business Association, look at the settlement from a tourism perspective, with an emphasis on the visitor experience. They want the site to be well looked after and well interpreted so visiting the site can positively add on to visitors' overall Arrowtown experience. Similarly, Shantytown manages its Chinatown as a tourism attraction with the management emphasis of increasing visitor numbers through providing them a quality experience. This motivates them to focus on interesting individual stories, with less emphasis on the hardship of the Chinese miners.

The Lawrence Chinese Camp is managed under the Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, an organisation that focuses on both tourism development and heritage preservation. This combined management emphasis gives the site the advantage of being initiated on the basis of 'sustainable heritage management'. However, whether the heritage conservation and tourism development professionals can work as partners for their mutual benefits can only be found out when the site is further developed.

In relation to the third objective, the research results reveal that Chinese heritage has the potential to be better known and further developed as an appealing cultural and heritage tourism product because it presents an interesting and unique aspect of New Zealand's history, however it is not likely to be a primary attraction for most visitors. The potential of Chinese heritage as a tourism product is probably currently limited due to lack of large scale Chinese heritage attractions. This situation may change if the Lawrence Chinese Camp construction project and the Otago Chinese heritage trail project are completed.

In terms of the potential market for these Chinese heritage products, the research has found that the current visitors to Chinese heritage sites are quite non-specific and heterogeneous. There is no indication that any group of visitors are especially interested in seeing the Chinese heritage sites apart from very few visitors with personal connections or special interests. Based on these findings and the literature on heritage tourists (e.g. Frost et al., 2007; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Prentice, 1993; Warren & Taylor, 2001), the potential visitors are more likely to be 'generalists' or 'incidental heritage visitors' who regard heritage sites as a recreational backdrop to their holiday and who would 'stop in' if they are in the area but may not make a specific effort to go out of their way to visit.

This research has found also that the Chinese market is probably not the best market to target, especially to Chinese tourists on group tours. This finding is interesting, as the Chinese market has been highlighted by many of the participants as one of the potential important markets for Chinese heritage tourism, due to the belief that they will feel related to the New Zealand Chinese heritage and will be interested in visiting these sites. This research has indicated that many participants have the wrong perception about the motivations and interests of Chinese visitors. The Chinese tour

guides revealed that their clients feel the Chinese heritage in New Zealand is irrelevant to them and are rather interested in knowing the current life of Chinese in New Zealand. The tour guides suggest also that New Zealand Chinese heritage is not what their clients come to New Zealand to see, and the current scale of these heritage sites is not large enough to attract visitors from China. Also, the dark nature of the Chinese heritage may be depressing for Chinese visitors. Another problem uncovered with the Chinese visitors on group tours is that majority of them visit New Zealand with a packaged tour, with tight and fixed itineraries. Arrowtown and Shantytown are included in the itinerary by tour operators not because they see the experiential value in Chinese heritage sites, but because of their convenient location. This reveals a potential limitation of the Lawrence Chinese camp, which is not currently included on the itinerary of Chinese group tours and seems unlikely to be included in future. The Chinese FITs and semi FITs, which is a growing segment of the New Zealand market (Ministry of Tourism, 2009; Tourism New Zealand, 2010b) may be more likely to 'stop in' at the Chinese heritage site as they travel more freely, however further research will be needed to investigate their interest (see section 9.5).

The fourth objective of this research was to offer recommendations and formulate suggestions for the interpretation and presentation of New Zealand's Chinese heritage. Through the fieldwork, it has been found that the current interpretation of Chinese gold mining heritage is relatively basic and visually dull. It normally takes the form of displaying relics and objects, plus brief descriptions of the general history and some individual stories. There is little use of multi-media and it is not capable of catering to visitors' need at multiple levels. In order to be more appealing to a wider range of visitors, some improvements might be suggested. These issues are further discussed in the next section.

Through summarising the research findings in relation to the research questions and objectives, it is shown that all these questions and objectives are answered and achieved. It needs to be acknowledged, however, that the conclusions regarding the potential market for Chinese heritage are drawn largely from a supply side analysis, which may lead to some limitations in this research. This issue will be further discussed in section 9.5.

9.4 Implications for the tourism industry

9.4.1 Interpretation of Chinese heritage sites

The interpretation and presentation of New Zealand's Chinese heritage needs to aim at providing visitors with a quality experience. Based on the findings of this research and literature on heritage interpretation, particularly on heritage that are associated with sensitive and dark history, the following suggestions about interpretation and presentation of Chinese heritage have been formulated. Firstly, the research findings have shown that many visitors would like to see the Chinese heritage sites being presented in more active ways. Re-creation of the original sites is a good way of helping visitors create a vivid picture of how Chinese miners lived and mined in that particular period of time. Without seeing actual things it is hard for visitors to imagine what it was like. Shantytown's Chinatown is re-created, while the Arrowtown Chinese settlement is a restoration of the original site. Both these site are successful in terms of providing visitors a visually 'authentic' Chinese site. The success of gold mining theme parks such as Sovereign Hill in Australia suggest that visitors enjoy historical theme parks, because they provide a fulfilment of their educational and recreational needs at a number of levels (Frost et al., 2007). The proposals for the redevelopment of the Lawrence Chinese Camp is on the right track in this regard, with plans to restore the original site and re-create a Cantonese village. If any other Chinese heritage site is going to be developed, restoration and re-creation should also be considered.

Secondly, heritage sites need to tell stories. Visitors to heritage sites are looking for experience rather than facts and harsh realities (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Schouten, 1995). While visiting heritage sites, visitors cannot necessarily construct a meaningful and enjoyable experience through looking at relics and historical information alone (Schouten, 1995), and that is why existing interpretation of Chinese heritage at the case study sites could be improved. In addition, the dark nature of Chinese heritage needs to be taken into consideration sensitively in any interpretation efforts, as the hardship the Chinese miners experienced may be too overwhelming and depressing for some visitors. To this extent, a 'sanitised version' of this history may be required for the interpretation of Chinese heritage. Telling individual stories of Chinese miners is a good example of a way of providing a 'sanitised version' of

history, as the dark facts can be blended into these interesting stories so it will be easier for visitor to consume. Shantytown has been somewhat successful in this regard.

Similarly, the interpretation of Chinese heritage should include more stories of successful Chinese early settlers such as the family story of Choie Sew Hoy, the merchant who pioneered gold dredging in Otago in the late 19th century. Some stories about how Chinese miners moved into towns and cities and were eventually assimilated over later generations into a New Zealand way of life could be incorporated also. The Chinese section at Otago Early Settler's Museum can be used as a good example in this case, as it tells the story of Otago's Chinese community from the first Chinese arrivals in Dunedin in 1865 right up to the present, and includes many stories of successful longstanding Chinese families, as well as the story of modern day Chinese students. In this way, the Chinese community and their heritage is fully interpreted in a continuous sense, not just limited to the gold mining days.

Using more multi-media should be also taken into consideration, including sound, audio images, hands-on activities and shows, so visitors are provided with opportunities to make contact with the interpreters and feel more involved and have more fun. Sovereign Hill's famous sound-and-light show, 'Blood in the Southern Cross', is a good example of use multi-media. With no involvement of actors, just voices, dazzling sound and light effects and a stunning open-air set, the story of the Eureka Rebellion, a dramatic battle between gold miners and Government forces at Ballarat in 1854, is retold to the visitors in a spectacular way. Sovereign Hill also has craftsmen at work in traditional 1850s trades as well as regular demonstrations and street theatre performances by staff and actors. In a Chinese joss house at its Chinese camp, visitors are provided with opportunities to sit down and watch a self-played video about the Chinese miners. In one of the stores, visitors can hear recordings of Chinese miners talking in English with a Chinese accent.

Sovereign Hill's new stage show is a good example of telling a story through the use of multi-media. The show starts with a European woman coming to court for her husband, because the gold he found was taken away from him and he was beaten. The officers of the court are shocked when they realise this lady's husband is Chinese. This leads to a discussion on whether a law banning Chinese miners from the

township should be passed. One of the officers states that the Chinese should be considered as an inferior race, and that the European's land is in danger of being taken over by this inferior race. A gentleman from the audience comes up to the stage to argue against the officer by arguing that the Chinese are good residents, and they should have equal rights as all other races. After the argument the audiences are asked to vote. The law was not passed at the end of the show. In this show, the Chinese were described in nasty words by the officers. Some of the language used is racist by modern day standards, but it was reproduced verbatim to illustrate the attitudes of the day. Even though, the characters are not necessarily real; how the Chinese were treated was truly presented to the audience. In discussion with others in the audience after the show, I came to the conclusion that the show has successfully told the truth to the audiences and was very successful in making the audience feel emotionally involved. Being able to generate emotional connection is considered as an important factor that leads to a meaningful and memorable experience for visitors. More importantly, the show has passed the message that it was a historical wrong to treat the Chinese unfairly.

A third issue in interpreting these sites is the need to cater to different interest levels. Visitors to heritage sites are not all alike (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). For those who have special interests in Chinese heritage, they may want to experience the sites deeply. There may also be some visitors who develop more and deeper interests while they are visiting the sites. To this end, the on-site interpretation should also be able to cater to visitors' needs at different levels. An example is the touch screens used throughout Sovereign Hill's Chinese camp. A touch screen in a medicine store allows visitors to find more information by clicking on the topic they are interested in. In this way, the interpretation is set at multiple levels. It satisfies visitors who want only the basics and are happy to have a quick look around as well as visitors who seek more complex meaning and understanding.

Another suggestion is for Chinese heritage products to be packaged with other tourism attractions and facilities. Considering that there may not be large numbers of visitors who are especially interested in New Zealand's Chinese gold mining history and heritage, as a product alone it may not be attractive enough to draw a large numbers of visitors. It was suggested by a number of research participants that Chinese heritage could be packaged with other tourism products to overcome this

disadvantage. For the case of Lawrence Chinese Camp, it is suggested to be packaged with 'Gabriel's Gully' gold field, where gold was first discovered in New Zealand. It is proposed in the Camp's development plan that a Chinese garden and Chinese restaurants will be added to the original site, which means to combine the Chinese gold mining history with living Chinese culture. Cafes and shops will also be built at the site, which will combine general recreation activities, such as spending time with family and friends, having a nice day out, and enjoying a meal and shopping, with Chinese heritage products. Fruit picking, and a farm show were specifically suggested by Chinese tour guides as activities which would cater for the interests of Chinese group tourists, as they believe that Chinese visitors are interested in these types of nature-based activities. In the case of the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, the site could be promoted as a combination with many other tourism options in the nearby area, such as adventure activities and relaxation activities.

Having suggested that options exist for more high quality interpretation at Chinese heritage sites, it is acknowledged that not all heritage attractions have equal demand-generation potential, even when based on the same type of product (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). A clear hierarchy of tourist attractions can be defined according to the degree of consumption. Primary attractions will draw people who specifically want see the asset and are therefore more likely be knowledgeable about it. For this type of attraction more effort may need to be put into the interpretation and presentation. For a lower order attraction, high quality interpretation and presentation may not be as necessary. The visitors to this type of site may merely look for a lighter experience or discretionary activities to round out their trip. In this case they may be less familiar with the asset and less likely to spend large amount of time or invest substantial emotional energy.

It is important to be aware of where an attraction sits in this hierarchy as this indicates how much visitation a site will receive and how the site will be used. Each of the three case study sites has different demand-generation potential, even though they are all based on Chinese gold mining heritage. Shantytown Chinatown is only one aspect of what Shantytown is trying to present, visitors are less likely to spend too much time and effort on Shantytown's Chinatown. Since Shantytown's Chinatown has been redeveloped relatively recently, and it has already taken a new approach in terms of its interpretation, the existing presentation and interpretation may be enough for now.

The Arrowtown Chinese settlement is relatively well known. The high visitation to the site does not necessarily mean the site is a primary attraction; it is more of an add-on to visitor's Arrowtown experience. In this case, similar to Shantytown Chinatown, not much more improvement is actually needed. In comparison, Lawrence Chinese Camp is more likely to become a large tourist attraction in its own right; visitors may, therefore, have higher expectations about what they will experience. To this end, this site may require a high quality interpretation and presentation, which need to consider the suggestions made above.

9.4.2 Management of Chinese heritage sites

In terms of the management of New Zealand's Chinese heritage sites, at the current stage there are no serious conflicts between heritage preservation/conservation and tourism development at any of the three case study sites. This is because Shantytown's Chinatown is a re-creation, Arrowtown Chinese settlement is a quite capable of welcoming large number of visitors, and Lawrence Chinese Camp is being developed as a tourism attraction in order to serve preservation purposes. There are, however, tensions in terms of the presentation and interpretation of Arrowtown Chinese settlement between Department of Conservation and other stakeholders as one looks at the site from a conservation perspective and the others from more of a tourism perspective. The problem is certainly not easy to solve, but the 'sustainable heritage management' approach, which brings both conservation and tourism development perspectives together, is definitely the direction for the management of New Zealand's Chinese heritage. It is also important to remember that it is not sufficient to manage the physical heritage resource in isolation from the people who come to experience it (Hall & McArthur, 1996). To this end, in order to appropriately manage the Chinese heritage it is important to understand what visitors are expecting from their visit.

9.5 Research limitations and further research

Tourism is both a supply and demand-drive activity (McKercher & du Cros, 2002); the analysis of the potential of any tourism product has to be based on the perspective of both the demand and supply sides. Due to the limitations of time and available resources, this research focused on a supply side perspective. Without studying the visitors, this research is only able to provide indirect information about the demand

for Chinese heritage product through interviewing the suppliers, and the potential of each possible market still remains largely unknown. It is, therefore, important to understand why potential visitors chose to visit (or not) Chinese heritage sites, what they are expecting and what they gain from consuming a Chinese heritage product in New Zealand. Future research of Chinese heritage products from demand perspective will be needed to further answer these questions. Researchers might consider the following aspects that are beyond the scope of this study:

- Interview of survey with visitors (including Chinese visitors) to find out their actual experiences of Chinese heritage sites.
- Intensive visitor survey with international and domestic visitors to find out about the actual demand for Chinese heritage tourism products. These surveys will need to be conducted at several locations to ensure a good coverage of visitors with different interests.
- Visitor surveys and interviews with Chinese tourists (tour groups, FITs and semi FITs) to find out the direct information about whether they are interested in visiting Chinese heritage tourism product; and what sort of development are more likely to draw their interests.
- Interviews with a greater number and range of New Zealand's Chinese tour operators to find out about their perception about the tourism potential of Chinese heritage sites, and the likelihood of including Chinese heritage tourism attractions in their itineraries.

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has revisited the research questions and objectives of this study to ensure that they have been answered and achieved. This study concluded that the Chinese heritage is developing because its social, political and economic value are recognised by New Zealand society today. It is concluded also that the Chinese heritage sites are managed under organisations that perceive Chinese heritage differently; and the difference in their management emphases causes some tensions in terms of the presentation and interpretation. Chinese heritage has the potential to be further developed as a tourism product, however, this potential is currently constrained by a lack of large scaled Chinese heritage products to form compelling package. In terms

of the potential market, it is concluded that the Chinese group tourist may not be a suitable market for this product. The potential of other markets remains largely unknown and future research on the demand of Chinese heritage is needed as this study had to focus on a supply side perspective due to limited research resource.

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Appendices

A.1 Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

NB: This interview schedule is indicative of the questions which will be asked of participants. While providing a broad general structure to the interview, the exact nature of the questions will be shaped by the situation.

For all prospective participants

Questions about Chinese heritage in New Zealand in general

- Do you see an increasing interest and publicity in Chinese heritage in New Zealand?
 - If yes: What do you think are the factors that are leading to this renewed interest?
- What do you see as the significance of Chinese heritage in New Zealand?
 - To Chinese in New Zealand
 - To wider New Zealand society
- Do you see any tourism potential for Chinese heritage in New Zealand?
- What role do you see for Chinese heritage as a tourism product in New Zealand?
- Who do you see as the main market for Chinese heritage tourism in New Zealand?
 - New Zealanders?
 - ❖ Chinese New Zealanders?
 - International visitors?
 - ❖ Chinese?

For those specifically involved in Chinese heritage sites

- What Chinese heritage sites or project are or was you involved in?
 - Shanty town
 - Arrowtown Chinese settlement
 - Lawrence
 - Others
- What is your involvement with this site/project?

- How long have you been involved?
- What is the reason for your involvement with this site/project?
- Who is behind the site/project?
- What is the idea behind developing this site/project?
- How it was initiated?
- What management approach is/will be taken?
- How the Chinese aspect is/will be interpreted?
- How it is/will be promoted?
- Who is/will be targeted?
- Do you see any potential for the site to be further developed
- Who do you see the potential market for the site?

For tour operators

- How long have you been working as a tour operator?
- Who are your clients (profile)?
- Where do your tours go?
- Where do your clients like the most? Why?
- Are Chinese heritage sites included in your tour programs, why or why not?
- Have you been requested by the tourists to go to Chinese heritage site?
- How do visitors respond to these sites (feedback)?
- Do you see any potential of these sites to be developed in the future?
- What kinds of development do you think would make these sites appeal to you clients?

A.2 Email Template to Contact Prospective Participants

Email Template to Contact Prospective Participants

Dear: _____,

I am a Master student at Lincoln University. I am conducting a research on Chinese heritage in New Zealand and am contacting you for some help with the research for my thesis. This research is part of my Master of Tourism Management thesis and I would be very grateful if you could volunteer your time to participate in this research.

This research project is entitled 'An analysis of the development of Chinese heritage in New Zealand and their potential for tourism'. The aim of the research is to explore the reasons for current (re)development of Chinese heritage in New Zealand and the form it is taking. Particular focus will be given to exploring the tourism potential of these Chinese heritage sites for both domestic and international tourists. The result is hoped to help developing these resources in the best way that meet the needs of different groups of tourists.

If you have any question about or would like to participant in my research, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors. Our contact details are:

Researcher: Yue (Helena) Huang (xxx@lincoln.ac.nz, ph: xxx)

Supervisor: Dr Joanna Fountain (xxx@lincoln.ac.nz, ph: xxx, ext: xxx)

Associate Supervisor: Professor Harvey Perkins (xxx@lincoln.ac.nz, ph: xxx, ext: xxx)

For more information about your participation in this research, please see attached Research Information Sheet.

Regards,

Helena Huang

NB: Telephone Contact Script is base on the same information as Email Template, it was slightly modified to suit telephone conversation.

A.3 Research Information Sheet

Research Information Sheet

ID Number:

Lincoln University

Environment, Society and Design Division

You are invited to participate as a subject in a research entitled: **An analysis of the development of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand and their potential for tourism**

This research is part of my Master of Tourism Management thesis at Lincoln University. The aim of the research is to explore the reasons for the current (re)development of Chinese heritage in New Zealand and the form it is taking. Particular focus will be given to exploring the tourism potential of these Chinese heritage sites for both domestic and international tourists.

You have been contacted as a prospective participant in this study because you have been involved in managing, developing or promoting Chinese gold mining heritage (or you have been working as tour guide of Chinese tour groups). I found your contact information through the Web Site of _____ (or I have received your contact information through *name of a participant*). With your help, the results of this research is hoped to help developing these resources in the best way that meet the needs of different groups of tourists.

Your participation in this research will involve a 30-60 minute interview with me, at a location and time that convenient for you. I would like to ask you about your involvement within management, development and promotion of Chinese heritage in New Zealand, and your perception of its tourism potential (or your experiences as a tour guide and your perception of the tourism potential of Chinese heritage sites). The interview will be recorded only with your permission.

You will be asked to sign a consent form to acknowledge your voluntary participant in the study. You may decline to answer any question, and you may withdraw your data up until November 30th, 2009. If you do withdraw at any stage, any information you have provided will be destroyed.

To ensure confidentiality, only I will have access to your consent forms, and only my supervisors and I will have access to the data. All consent forms and data will be kept separately under lock and key and password protection.

The results of the project may be published. If you are responding in your professional capacity, your name and role may be used with your permission. In this case you will be sent a transcript of your interview to ensure it has been accurately recorded and you are happy with the content.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

The researcher and supervisors will be pleased to discuss any question you have about participation in this study.

Researcher: Yue (Helena) Huang (xxx@lincoln.ac.nz, ph: xxx)

Supervisor: Dr Joanna Fountain (xxx@lincoln.ac.nz, ph: xxx, ext: xxx)

Associate Supervisor: Professor Harvey Perkins (xxx@lincoln.ac.nz, ph: xxx, ext: xxx)

A.4 Consent Form

ID number: _____

Consent Form

Name of Project: **An analysis of the (re)development of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand and their potential for tourism**

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I agree to be recorded during the interview. I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that my name and role may be used with my permission. Otherwise, anonymity will be ensured. I understand also that I may withdraw from the project at any time up to November 30th, 2009, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Name: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

A.5 Map of South Island, New Zealand



Source: Road map of South Island, New Zealand (adapted). Retrieved March 11, 2011 from <http://www.backpack-newzealand.com/mapofsouthisland.html>

A.6 The Travel Route of Chinese Group Tour




Source: Road map of South Island, New Zealand (adapted). Retrieved March 11, 2011 from <http://www.backpack-newzealand.com/mapofsouthisland.html>

A.7 On-site Interpretation panels of Shantytown Chinatown

Panel 1: A long way from China

A LONG WAY FROM CHINA




Where did the Chinese miners come from?
Almost all of the Chinese who came to the New Zealand goldfields came from the Pearl River delta, in south-east China's Guangdong (Canton) province.

*"I claim for my countrymen
the credit of being,
here as elsewhere,
a harmless, inoffensive,
hardworking, and persevering
section of the community,
conforming with your laws
and contributing to the
revenue of the Colony."*

Letter from Long Wah to
West Coast Times, 8 May 1876

Why did they come to the West Coast?
The gold-rush on the West Coast in 1865 offered new opportunities and by mid 1866 Chinese were arriving here, coming either from Otago or from the goldfields in Australia. Not all of the Chinese came to work as miners, there were also storekeepers, cooks, gardeners and at least one Chinese doctor.

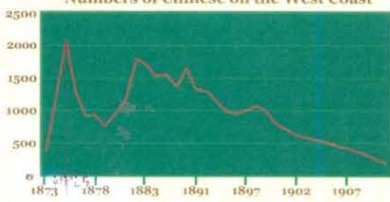
The population of Chinese miners fluctuated, with successful miners returning to China as soon as they had saved at least £100. For a lucky and frugal miner this would take about five years.



Chinese miner, Westland district, 1906.

Why did they leave China?
During the 1800s the people of the Pearl River delta were suffering considerable hardships. The area was over-populated and many people lived in poverty. In addition they were suffering from the destructive effects of British Imperialism and the opium trade. For many of the rural poor the solution was to send sons and brothers to work overseas. The money they sent home could be the difference between life and death for their families. It was also thought they would return to their village as rich men, enhancing their family's position. Mainly they went to the goldfields in California and Australia but some came to New Zealand.

Numbers of Chinese on the West Coast



Year	Population
1874	1000
1878	1500
1883	1800
1891	1600
1907	500

Panel 2: No ordinary miners

NO ORDINARY MINERS

The Chinese have a long history of engineering works based on simple labour intensive technology. In New Zealand the Chinese miner was not averse to working over ground which had already been tried by European miners and would use traditional methods, such as wing damming and the use of water wheels and pumps to good effect. They were systematic workers who were prepared to work long hours.

Skilful engineers

"John Chinaman is not only a patient worker, but he is likewise a skilful engineer, and many a useful hint have the so-called enlightened Europeans been glad to borrow ... Their system of dead level tail ditches fitted with those simple but ingeniously-contrived dummy sluice entrances which, while admitting all water, keep back the gravel and silt, together with their admirable manner of constructing dams and river walls ... prove the 'heathen Chinese' to be anything but an individual whose stock of knowledge we should make light of ..."

Otago Witness, 9th October 1875.



Bamboo waterwheel in China.



Chinese miners at Greenstone, near Kumara.
Department of Conservation

The goldfield's wardens were unanimous in the praise of the Chinese and their comments on the Chinese in their districts are littered with words like 'industrious, peaceable and well-conducted'.

Chinese miners at Blackwater, near Reefton.
Department of Conservation

Hard Workers

In April 1874 Warden Caleb Whiteford said in his report about the No Town area; *"I believe the introduction of the Chinese here has been productive of much benefit, as they have reopened old-tail races long since abandoned and blocked up (and which the ordinary miners would not have gone to the expense and trouble of repairing), and by doing so have drained and rendered available for mining purposes a large tract of ground besides that which is taken up by themselves. They have also erected large wing dams in the creek, and by means of these, and water-wheels, are working very wet ground that the other miners would not take up."*



Panel 3: A mixed reception

A MIXED RECEPTION

The arrival of the Chinese wasn't met with enthusiasm by the predominantly European mining community.

They are different to us!

Not only did the Chinese look different (with darker skin, baggy clothes and long pigtails) but they also had different religious beliefs (and worked on Sundays!). Because they did not intend to stay in New Zealand many Europeans thought the Chinese were not useful immigrants.



Unknown Chinese man c1870's.
Bloch Collection, Alexander Turnbull
Library.

"We learn that the first instalment of Chinese, fourteen in number, arrived at Hokitika on Friday from Sydney and their presence caused quite an excitement, the wharf being lined by a large crowd of persons, who shouted and yelled vociferously, and so frightened the unfortunate celestials that they dived under the hatches and postponed their landing until an opportunity to do so unobserved presented itself."

Grey River Argus, 5 February 1867.

Imagine how you would feel if this happened to you in a strange land?

Jostled and abused

In some of the smaller mining settlements, such as Stafford, No Town and Maori Gully, Chinese miners were jostled, abused and in one case stoned when they first arrived.

"... although no great amount of violence was used toward them beyond pulling and pushing them along the road, some forty to fifty people joined in the crowd and the Chinese were sufficiently alarmed to run for their lives."

Grey River Argus, February 1872.

After initial reports of intimidation it appears that things usually settled down. Warden Fitzgerald wrote in April 1874 that *"the good feeling to which I referred in my last report as existing between the Europeans and the Chinese still continues."*



Lam Fum Fun of Quinns Terrace,
Kumara, c1890.
West Coast Historical Museum.

The overall reaction of West Coast Europeans was, however, probably one of suspicion and dislike, especially when the country experienced periods of economic decline starting in the mid 1870s. Anti Chinese feeling was partly fuelled by the idea of losing jobs to the Chinese.

Panel 4: A simple life

A SIMPLE LIFE

The Chinese looked for ground which would provide a steady income and where they would be allowed to work in peace. Huts were generally simple with a chimney near the door, few windows and were sparsely furnished. There would be a sleeping platform, boxes for food storage, a meat safe and wash buckets. Inscriptions on red paper were common both inside the huts and on the outside door to greet visitors.



*From the South, as we wish
the streams of wealth appear*

*To our Village we return
quite certainly this year*

Inscription seen in the West Coast hut of
two men from South Village. Recorded
and translated by Rev. A. Don, 1911.



Chinese hut near Greenstone, c1880.

"They were hardy. There was no lining in the huts except sometimes a piece of rice-bag along the wall by their bed and only rice matting for a mattress. They would have either a block of wood with an old piece of cloth on it for a pillow or a round log to lay their necks on.

Reminiscences of Jack Aynsley.

"I never saw a dirty or untidy Chinese where - they were crude, with no lining on the walls, earth floors and so on, but their tables, cooking utensils etc were spotless ... I was pleased to arrive at the Chinese place ... and have a clean cup of green tea and some fried chop suey placed before me with the utmost cleanliness and hospitality."

Reminiscences of George McNee, 1880 - 1946.



When in New Zealand the Chinese adhered to their traditional beliefs one of which obliged people with a common ancestor or relative to help each other. In New Zealand the family was extended to include people from the same country. In the early days the Chinese often worked in groups (almost always with men from the same clan or village as themselves) and lived in camps either of individual huts or one big communal dwelling

A group of Chinese men at Kumara, 1897.
Canterbury Museum.

Panel 5: Married life

MARRIED LIFE

Few Chinese women came to the goldfields; in 1878 there were only nine Chinese women in New Zealand, and only 89 by 1900.

Most of the miners could not afford to pay for their wives to come out to New Zealand, especially after the introduction of the £100 poll tax in 1896. The women who did come here were usually the wives of wealthy merchants. In the late 1890s there were at least six Chinese women living in Greymouth, four of whom were the wives of merchants (Luey Goek, Tso Fong, Young Saye and his father Young John). Another was the wife of a law clerk (Young Hee) and one was the wife of a Chinese Presbyterian Missionary (Timothy Loie).

Occasionally a successful miner, market gardener or cook might marry a local woman but this was the exception rather than the rule. When Chat Sing (a storekeeper from Stafford) married seventeen year old Charlotte Grey the local paper recorded the event;

"The unusual event excited great curiosity, which was increased by the newly married couple driving in state down Revell street [Hokitika] in the afternoon, attended by European friends, there being three buggies in all, and having their photograph taken at Mr John Tait's. The bridegroom is described as being celestially handsome. Prior to the party leaving a store in North Revell street, where a goodly crowd of almond-eyed brethren has assembled, they were treated to a heavy fire of rice, a ceremony which John looked as if he could have dispensed with. They then proceeded to their future home in Stafford, where they gave a free ball and supper in the Oddfellow's Hall to their European friends, and a supper to their Chinese admirers in one of their own stores."

Kumara Times, 12 October 1888.



Annie Long with her son Harry, 1900. Annie and her husband Ah Long lived at Ahaura where they had a store and market garden.



Young John, a merchant in Greymouth, with his wife, his two sons, Young Hee (on left) and Young Saye along with their wives and his grandchildren, 1901.
History House, Greymouth.

For the Chinese women who came to New Zealand, described as being "dressed in the most elegant of oriental costume and silks, with feet only inches long", Greymouth must have been an enormous culture shock.

Panel 6: Market gardening

MARKET GARDENING

"On the south side of the Hokitika river gardening operations are being pushed forward with great vigour, not alone by Europeans, but also by those most industrious and successful horticulturists the Chinese ... four acres of land have been leased by five Celestials under the leadership of Mr James Ah Che ... They have already cleared the greatest part of the section, and placed nearly an acre under crop."

West Coast Times, 4 August 1868

The Chinese had market gardens at Ross, Hokitika, Cobden, Kaiata, Ahaura, Reefton, Westport and Karamea. Produce, such as cabbages, carrots, spring onions and fruit, would be sold to storekeepers in the main centres or by taking it from door to door in rural areas.

Chow Sing, market gardener
of Akaroa, c 1898.
Akaroa Museum



"Ah Ten, who was a market gardener, was one of the better-known members of the Chinese community. He was seen regularly walking from Welshmans to Paroa and then to Greymouth carrying baskets of vegetables across his shoulders. On the return journey the baskets would be filled with rice."

"They were thin, active men of short build weighing as they said 'allee same bag of rice' - that was 112lb or 8 stone ... As they were such small men it was surprising the weight they could carry in their baskets, one on each end of their poles ... That was how they transferred any weight or quantity of goods from one place to another."

Reminiscences of George McNee 1880-1946.



Chinese gardener, c 1882,
by H.J. Graham.
National Library of Australia - 0164392030

Chinese miner next to his garden at
Waikaia, Southland c 1900. With him
is Presbyterian Missionary Rev. A. Don.
Alexander Turnbull Library



Panel 7: Pipes and pakapoo

PIPES AND PAKAPOO

The generally extremely industrious Chinese miner appears to have been determined to enjoy his time off. They worked long hours at a tedious job and gambling, as well as being socially acceptable, provided excitement and a chance to relax with friends. *Fantan*, *pakapoo* and later dice were the most popular gambling games.



Inside a "pak a poo" lottery shop in Danedin, 1904.
Alexander Turnbull Library



'Closed' opium poppy



Pakapoo ticket

In the Chinese miner's home province of Guangdong opium addiction had reached epidemic proportions. Many of the miners brought their addiction with them while others took up opium smoking in New Zealand as an escape from hardship and loneliness. It has been estimated that about 10% of the Chinese miners were addicted to opium with perhaps as many as 60% smoking occasionally.

"The connection with [the Chinese store] there is accommodation for those who wish to indulge in opium smoking, and during the time our reporter was present there were some half-dozen of the almond-eyed either under the influence, or preparing to inhale the smoke from the drug ... About one shilling's worth of the drug suffices for a moderately old-hand."

Report on Chinese at Greenstone, Grey River Argus, 29 July 1874.



Items used in opium smoking.
From: Mrs Howard Taylor, "One of China's Scholars", 1907.

Opium is the milky fluid which leaks from the unripe capsule of a poppy when it is cut. This hardens to a resin with exposure to air. The narcotic effect of opium is obtained by inhaling smoke given off from a piece of heated opium resin and is traditionally smoked in an "opium pipe".

Tobacco smoking was common among Chinese miners and Rev. Don commented that "a non-tobacco smoker is about as rare as a non-tea drinker or non-rice eater."

Alcohol consumption was an accepted part of Chinese life and traditional drinks were fermented grains or starches. In New Zealand the Chinese drank brandy, gin, whisky and beer but there were very few reported cases of Chinese drunkenness.



opium plant in flower

unripe poppy cut for milking

Panel 8: Green tea and ginger

GREEN TEA AND GINGER

There is no definitive record of what the Chinese gold miners ate but it is likely that their staples were rice and vegetables flavoured with whatever meat was available and traditional sauces and spices. Most Chinese miners had a small garden to supply themselves with vegetables and any surplus would be sold to other settlers.



"[The Chinese] could live on 4 or 5 shillings a week, all they used to live on was rice. But when they were getting good wages they used to live it up and would buy all the fowls they could get. My mother must have sold them over a hundred."

Reminiscences of Jack Aynsley.



Until the turn of the century there was quite a number of Chinese stores with the main towns being Greymouth, Hokitika and Reefton. Chinese storekeepers would import large quantities of rice, tea, preserved vegetables and condiments as well as Chinese alcoholic beverages, fireworks and herbal medicines.

Greymouth was the largest business centre for West Coast Chinese and in 1900 there were about 20 Chinese men who described themselves as merchants, storekeepers or fruiterers. At this time there were also several boarding house and a billiard saloon.

Qun, Kum, Wah and Co announce that they have just received 72 cases of new season fruit, consisting of cherries, grapes, plums, peaches, apricots, tomatoes, bananas, pineapples, etc. Goods will be delivered to any part of town, and to all trains free of charge. Fresh fruit arrives by every steamer. A visit to the shop in Mawhera Quay will show a splendid variety.

Grey River Argus, 12 December 1901.

Chinese storekeepers were an important part of the Chinese community, their shops acting as meeting places where news could be exchanged. As the storekeepers could usually read and write both Chinese and English they were often called upon to act as interpreters and letter writers.



Unknown Chinese family in their fruit and vegetable shop.
Alexander Turnbull Library

Panel 9: Of gods and spirits

OF GODS AND SPIRITS

The Chinese miners adhered to a complex mixture of beliefs and customs drawn from the three major religious doctrines in China - Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. The Chinese had a strong belief in evil spirits and the supernatural and had many rituals designed to keep away evil or to invite good fortune. Ancestor worship was very important to them and they worshipped many different gods. The five Chinese virtues are humanity, integrity, courtesy, wisdom and truth.

Some of the Christian churches sought to convert the "heathen" Chinese. Although the Chinese were polite and often prepared to listen to sermons, very few Chinese became Christians. The Chinese had great faith in their traditional religions and they were also worried about what the spirits might do if they stopped worshipping the souls of their departed relatives.



The altar in the Joss House built by the Chinese at Bendigo, on the goldfields in Victoria, Australia.
National Trust of Australia



When in New Zealand the Chinese continued to celebrate significant annual events. The Chinese New Year was the most important annual festival. Several days holiday would be taken and there would be big feasts at each of the Chinese settlements.

Local Chinese taking part in Queen Victoria's Jubilee Parade, 1897, Greymouth.
West Coast Historical Museum

"My father, who was friendly with [the Chinese], often used to take me with him on his visits, and I will never forget one time when they were celebrating their New Year, and the large hut was decorated with Chinese lanterns and illuminated by numerous coloured candles. The table was laid out with good things of all descriptions such as I had never seen before and, as if a small boy of my age symbolised the children of their own country, they lavished sweets and gifts upon me."

Thomas Feary, Grey River Argus, 20 July 1960.

LEAVING LIFE

"We were going into Kumara one evening when one [a Chinese man] had just been killed at Westbrook through being swept through the race. They had him lying beside the road with two big fires to keep the devil away. They were bending over and waving their hands, some of them with tears running down their cheeks."

Reminiscences of Jack Aynsley.

Chinese funerals

Europeans were fascinated by Chinese funerals and sometimes a description of one would appear in the paper:

"The cemetery was crowded yesterday afternoon, the occasion being the funeral of Sam Sing who will be remembered as cook for a long time at the Empire Hotel ... The deceased was arrayed in full dress and wore his hat as one who was prepared for a long journey. In his mouth was a half-a-crown, the toll expected by some exacting deity. Shillings were distributed to those Europeans present, a part of the ceremony which seemed highly appreciated and might with advantage be imported into our funerals during these dull times. For the rest there was great firing of crackers ... there was also lollies and the serving out of much fire water. In order that the deceased might not hunger on his long journey home, a plentiful supply of provisions was heaped on the grave ... a bowl of rice, hard boiled eggs split in halves, and, better than all, a savoury roast duck. The mourners during the ceremony wore white crepe on their hats which directly the funeral was over they burnt on the grave."

West Coast Times, 31 August 1889.



Chinese rites at Melbourne Cemetery, 1872.
National Library of Australia - zn8870582-v.

BOROUGH OF GREYMOUTH.

CEMETERY CLOSED TO THE PUBLIC

PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given that the Greymouth Cemetery will be CLOSED to the Public during the disinterment of the Chinese remains from daylight to twelve o'clock noon each day, commencing on TUESDAY NEXT, 24th instant, and continuing until notice is given that the disinterment has been effected.

By Order,
E. I. LORD,
Town Clerk.

Grey River Argus, 1 October 1901.

Ancestor worship

The Chinese tradition of ancestor worship meant that it was important to return to China, so that their descendants could worship their burial site. If it was possible to return home during their lifetime they might be sent back to China after their death as Sin Yan (former men).

Chinese were exhumed from West Coast (and other New Zealand) cemeteries during 1900 and 1901. It is estimated that at least 100 bodies from the West Coast were part of the shipment of 499 bodies being sent home on *Ventnor*. Unfortunately the *Ventnor* sank with no survivors off the coast of New Zealand in October 1902.

Panel 11: The passing years

THE PASSING YEARS

Many Chinese did make enough money to return home rich men, but as the numbers of new arrivals dwindled the men who remained were often those who had experienced bad luck or who were perhaps not as frugal. There was also the occasional miner who did not want to return to China.

By the 1920's and 1930's only a small number of Chinese remained on the coast. There were still wealthy storekeepers but as time passed those who relied on manual labour became increasingly dependent on charitable aid.

If they are well clad then they are ill-fed

"Those who are still vigorous keep working diligently with the hope of making a living. As the years and months are added to their age, some make enough for food, but insufficient for clothing; if they are well clad then they are ill-fed. As for those frail in body, who can imagine fully their pains and toils?"

T.F. Loie, West Coast Chinese Missionary,
September 1908.

New Zealand had introduced an Old Age Pension in 1898 but Chinese were specifically excluded from receiving it. This was repealed in 1936.



"Little Kye" of Rutherglen in 1926. Note his patched clothing.
History House, Greymouth.

Far from kith and kin

"He has seen 50 New Zealand winters come and go since he first came to the "gold hills" to seek his fortune. His grey hair is matted and long, and his brown face tanned with long exposure to many weathers; but there is a bright light in his eye when he hears one of the strangers greet him in his mother-tongue. He is not slow to lay aside his spade, and as one watches him there talking of past years and of his far-off friends and home, one feels the pathos of it all. For, as we look on this old son of toil, we know he will never see his beloved China again; but as he has lived so he will die; in a strange land far from kith and kin."

Presbyterian missionary Dr John Kirk describes a visit to Blue Spur, Hokitika in 1907.



Panel 12: Charlie Chang Ling, c 1895.



Charlie Chang Ling, c 1895.

Charlie Chang Ling was a gold-miner of Quinn's Terrace, Kumara when he was naturalised on 30 June 1894. He was 27 years of age and had been in New Zealand for about five years. After mining successfully on the West Coast Chang Ling returned to China.

In March 1909 he and his wife Chun Pang had a son, Tse Lai Hong. Four years later Chang Ling returned to New Zealand and settled in the North Island. In August 1920 Tse Lai Hong (now 11 years of age) joined Chang Ling who was working as a laundryman in Palmerston North.

Chang Ling later returned to China where he died in 1946 at about 80 years of age. His son was living in Wellington in 1959.

Photo: West Coast Historical Museum

Panel 13: Arthur Stanley Fong, 1908-1999



Arthur Stanley FONG, 1908 - 1999

Arthur was the son of Chow and Lily Fong, merchants and fruiterers, and was born in Greymouth. During the 1920s and early 1930s Arthur was prominent in tennis, athletics and rugby, representing the West Coast in Rugby from 1928 to 1934.

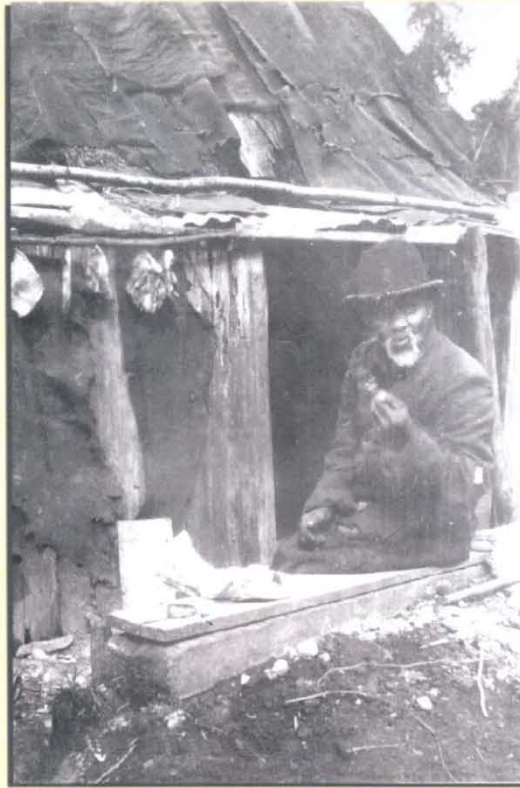
"This fleet-footed Chinese player has the perfect tackle which beats a fend or a hip-bump, and not once did he fail to put his man on the ground when he was in a position to get him. From the football point of view, though not, perhaps, from Innes's point of view, it was a treat to see the 10 stone 13 pound [70 kg] Fong bringing down the 14 stone 7 pound [92 kg] Innes."

Ranfurly Shield match, August 1932, *Christchurch Sun*.

During World War II Arthur served overseas and refereed more than 100 games in Egypt and Italy. After the war he returned to Greymouth where he joined the West Coast Referees Association.

Arthur's rugby refereeing career included more than 20 representative matches and at least five international matches. He continued refereeing locally until he was well into his 70s. Arthur always kept extremely fit and was still biking 10 kilometres a day when he was 90. He was awarded an MBE for services to sport in 1975 and there is an Arthur Fong Park in Greymouth.

Panel 14: Kai of Rutherglen, c 1920s



Kai of Rutherglen, c1920s

Kai lived in a hut near the entrance to Shantytown. He had lost an eye in a mining accident and lived in semi-retirement. He died in Greymouth in about 1930.

"One very small short Chinese, named Little Kai, was quite a character, with an infectious grin. He frequently called at our place to purchase tobacco, and my mother kept a special cup to give him some tea. On one occasion, Mother told him the kettle was not boiling, so she would give him a cup of milk, whereupon, with his likeable grin, he said, 'Whisky much better, Missus'."

Recollections of Sam Hayden (1901-1988)

Shantytown Collection.

Panel 15: The Young Saye family, c 1911.



The YOUNG SAYE family, c 1911.

Young Saye arrived in Greymouth in about 1887 when he was seventeen years of age. His father, Young John, ran the Kwong Lai Yun store and had been in Greymouth for some time. His elder brother, Young Hec, who worked as a law clerk had arrived about a year earlier. By 1893 Young Saye was a storekeeper in the town. The Young family was important to the Chinese community, acting as agents, bankers and interpreters as required.

Young Saye's father and brother left Greymouth in late 1901 but Young Saye stayed and continued with the storekeeping business. Young Saye's wife, Tsao Oi Ling, was married to him by proxy while still in China and then travelled to New Zealand. She didn't know a word of English and had tiny bound feet. One can only imagine the culture shock she must have experienced upon arriving in Greymouth!

The boys in this photo went to the local school and one of the sons, James, won the school's Watkins Medal, (awarded annually to the best scholar), in 1913. The family lived in Greymouth until late 1915 whereupon they went to Hong Kong.

Photo: History House, Greymouth

Panel 16: Joe Tai, c 1909.



Joe Tai, c 1909.

Born in 1847 Joe came to New Zealand in about 1869. He lived and mined in this district for many years.

Photo by K. Morton Ollivier, Canterbury Museum Collection.

A.8 On-site Interpretation panels of Arrowtown Chinese settlement

Panel 1: Welcome to the Arrowtown Chinese Settlement and the story of a remarkable people



Who were they?

What brought them here?

And why did their settlement stand apart from the Arrowtown community?

From the late 1860s to 1880 this was one of many camps and settlements established by Chinese gold seekers in Otago Southland. By the turn of the century, however, most had been abandoned, their simple dwelling left to decay. Today the restored remains of Arrowtown's Chinese settlement offers a rare glimpse into the life and times of New Zealand's first Chinese immigrants.

Approximately 8000 Chinese came to Otago Southland and West Coast goldfields. They came not as settlers but to make money and return home. Yet in the 1870s these quietly resilient men provided 17% of the Otago Southland goldfield's population, 40% of its miners and, for many years, produced 30% of the gold.

Heritage walk

A walk through the Chinese settlement will answer some questions and provoke others. Take time to wonder at the cramped huts that were home to lonely man, far from family and friends. Sit beneath shady trees and imagine the ... (words missing) scene come to life with Cantonese chatter and the aroma of ... (words missing).

It will take approximately 40 minutes to explore the settlement at a leisurely pace. If your time is limited, make sure you visit Ah Lum's store which was the heart of the community's social and business life.

Panel 2: Ah Lum's store, heart of the Chinese community



Flavours of home

The store stocked a wide variety of European and imported goods including Chinese teas, rice, pickled lemons, ginger, opium, gambling pieces, medicines and smoking accessories.

Business and Social centre

Ah Lum (also called Lau Lei) was a respected community leader. His literacy in both English and Chinese enabled him to transact business deals, and serve as interpreter and letter-writer. Chinese gold seekers used his store as an informal bank and community meeting place where they could smoke, gamble and chat among friends. The loft provided a accommodation for visitors and travellers.

The sole survivor

Ah Lum's store was the Arrowtown Chinese Settlement's last store. When it closed after Ah Lum's death in 1925, so too did the heart of the Chinese community. The building was restored in 1986 and is the only remaining 19th century Chinese store of the southern goldfields era.

Panel 3: Peasant farmers seeking wealth and honour



Almost every Chinese gold seeker came from the Cantonese province of Guangdong in south China. Here, life for small farmers was a struggle for survival against over-population, unemployment, disease and political turmoil.

Li shung – to give life

Gold seeking offered escape from poverty. Those who could help finance another to leave gave the most precious gift of 'Li shung'. From the mid 19th century, a steady stream of migrants headed for goldfields in the United States, Australia, Canada and, from 1865, New Zealand.

The appeal was irresistible. Compare the 1871 annual wage of NZ£12-14 for a labourer in Canton with that of an average Chinese gold miner in Otago who could earn up to NZ£77 a year – and save two thirds of it to take home.

Those who left

The majority were young men, some barely out of childhood and all but a few poorly educated. They knew nothing of the countries that beckoned. To them, the United States was simply 'The Gold Hills' and Australia and New Zealand 'The New Gold Hills'.

And those who were left behind

Women, including newly-weds, stayed behind to provide family support. Their future was equally uncertain, not knowing when money would be sent home or whether they would see their men again. In fact almost one in seven seekers died in New Zealand.

Not for the faint-hearted

The first Chinese came to New Zealand from the Victoria goldfields of Australia but word of mouth soon attracted new arrivals from Guangdong. James Shun was seventeen years old in 1870 when he was encouraged to seek his fortune in New Zealand. He tells his own story.

Panel 4: Invited but unwelcomed, the harsh reality of goldfield life



Physical and emotional challenge extended beyond the search for gold. After Guangdong's neat tropical climate, the newcomers would have been shocked by Otago's brutally cold winter and made anxious by local hostility towards them.

A desperate invitation

By 1865 Otago's first gold rush was already over and thousands of European goldminers were leaving for new West Coast goldfields. Fear that the province's economy would collapse persuaded the Provincial Council to invite Chinese miner to come to Otago from the Australia goldfields. Opposition was countered by the argument that an "increase in population, even were it in the shape of chimpanzees, would be preferable to population at all." – Otago Witness, 1865

Birth of a community

By 1871 Chinese outnumbered European miners on the Wakatipu goldfields. Along Arrowtown's Busk Creek, they created a settlement which comprised "a row of twenty comfortable sod huts all with window and doors, fit for any European to dwell in. They possess a store and a restaurant upon an enormous scale, the cooking apparatus of which is the most complete I ever saw." – Otago Times 1870

The first Chinese arrivals were received with an open mind. They earned respect for their diligence, which helped them to make a living from previously worked over and abandoned land.

As their number swelled and their commercial interests expanded, the immigrants faced increasing resentment. European prejudice fed eagerly on vicious rumours of Chinese debauchery and disease, fuelling the fear that New Zealand could be colonised by an 'inferior race'. From 1881 the government introduced a series of laws to discourage Chinese immigration, culminating in a prohibitive entry fee of NZ£100.

Despite the formation of an anti-Chinese European Miners Association in Arrowtown, the Chinese community seems to have escaped physical violence. It suffered its share of verbal abuse, however, led by racist Newspaper articles.

“TEMPERATE, FRUGAL AND WELL BEAVED” – Otago Witness 1865

“It seems astonishing how these industrious people managed to get gold when everyone else has concluded there is none.” – Lake Wakatipu Mail 1870

“ALMOND EYED, LEPROSY TAINTED FILTHY CHINAMEN” – Tuapeka Times 1885

“ For the past week, Arrowtown has been the centre of attraction for about 200 Chinese, who have made night hideous with their exploding crackers, and their disgusting presence felt in more ways than one.”

Panel 5: A life apart made bearable by kinship



The Chinese did their best to avoid trouble. They kept to themselves, living largely outside the European community and depending on each other for support.

A sense of family

Many Chinese gold seekers were related by kinship, their passage assisted by New Zealand based relatives in what became known as 'chain migration'. For others, their common rural heritage within Guangdong province was a sufficient bond. Such fellowship helped them through hard times and provided a reminder of their responsibility to family in China.

Most men shared a dream of returning home with NZ£100-200, enough to buy small farm and turn poverty to sufficiency. In the early years, a gold seeker might achieve his goal after five year's hard work and frugal living. At least, that was their aim.

The Chinese storekeeper

Bilingual storekeepers provided a vital bridge between poorly literate Chinese gold seekers and the European community. In addition to acting as spokesmen and interpreters, their services often included letter-writing and unofficial banking, especially providing credit.

Keeping culture alive

However limited their means, the Chinese placed importance on traditional foods, medicines, customs and beliefs.

Despite long, dreary hours of work, they also knew how to enjoy themselves. Festivals (especially Chinese New Year) were celebrated wholeheartedly with roast pork, brandy and firecrackers. Gambling and a pipe of opium or tobacco provided welcome relaxation – or a way to forget.

Alexander Don – more than a missionary

Between 1886 and 1906, the Reverend Don trudged throughout Otago-Southland, visiting Chinese miners on the most isolated goldfields. That we know so much about these men is thanks to his fluent Cantonese, detailed observations and photography.

“But how eager they once were! Nothing could daunt them. Strangers on a strange way, among people of strange faces, and speech and customs, yet they reached their goal...” – Rev Alexander Don

Panel 6: Chinese gardens, feeding the community



Living off the land

Imagine neat gardens cut into the sloping hillside behind the huts and extending all the way to Ah Lum's store. These small enclosures, bounded by fences, hawthorn hedges and stone walls, were valuable for both commercial and personal use.

No doubt the gold seekers took pride and pleasure in applying their traditional farming skills to produce vegetable. They worked the soil finely and fertilised it with liberal quantities of animal manure.

Rock shelters

The Chinese often built into the protective shelter of Otago's schist rock outcrops. Archaeological excavation suggests that the smaller reconstructed hut was used for storage.

Extra income

As results from gold mining declined, many Chinese turned to garden produce for their income. Potatoes, corn, cabbage, peas, gooseberries and strawberries were among the most commonly grown crops in Central Otago.

Local resident Tin Pan called regularly at houses in the Arrowtown area, selling fresh vegetables from baskets slung on a bamboo shoulder pole. More affluent Chinese used a house and cart to see their produce.

Panel 7: The passing years, what became of the goldseekers?



By 1890 Otago's easily worked gold was well and truly exhausted and many Chinese miners moved on. Most returned to China; some went to West Coast goldfields; others found new work, particularly in market gardening. The main occupants of the Arrowtown Chinese Settlement became elderly men with limited means, living rather lonely lives.

Those who stayed

As European gold miners left the district, the remaining Chinese experienced less harassment. They were no longer seen as competitors and are generally remembered as "honest, hard working and kindly people."

Sickness and death

Ageing Chinese depended primarily on each other for support. Officially, they remained unwelcome immigrants and were specifically excluded from New Zealand's Old Age Pension Act in 1898.

Old miners longed to be buried in ancestral cemeteries, where their spirits would find rest. Fund-raising among wealthier Chinese enabled hundreds of elderly men to make the final journey home and provided for the dead to be exhumed. Tragically, the last ship carrying nearly 500 bodies back to China sank off Hokianga in 1902.

The legacy

Until the 1980s (when New Zealand opened its doors more widely to immigration from China), the majority of New Zealand's Chinese population could trace its ancestry to the Cantonese peasant farmers and rural craftsmen who came in search of gold.

A small group of the original immigrants married European wives and their families integrated successfully into New Zealand society. The number of Chinese women in New Zealand increased slowly after the gold mining period, although government efforts to restrict Chinese immigration continued until World War II.

These panels celebrate New Zealand's Chinese pioneers and the contribution they have made to this country's multi-cultural community.

Panel 8: Physical remains, reconstructing the past



Do-it-yourself

The Chinese gold seekers knew how to build simple huts using limited resources. Notice how the chimney is usually placed next to the door – and how dark it is inside. Furnishings were limited to a sleeping platform and storage boxes. The only decorations were inscriptions that wished good fortune, written on red paper and placed outside the door and inside the hut.

A mobile population

Between 1880 and 1900 the Chinese settlement had 16-20 permanent residents. The actual number would have fluctuated, especially in winter when miners were unable to work their claims. At first men may have shared hut, although in later years, when number had declined, residents tended to live alone.

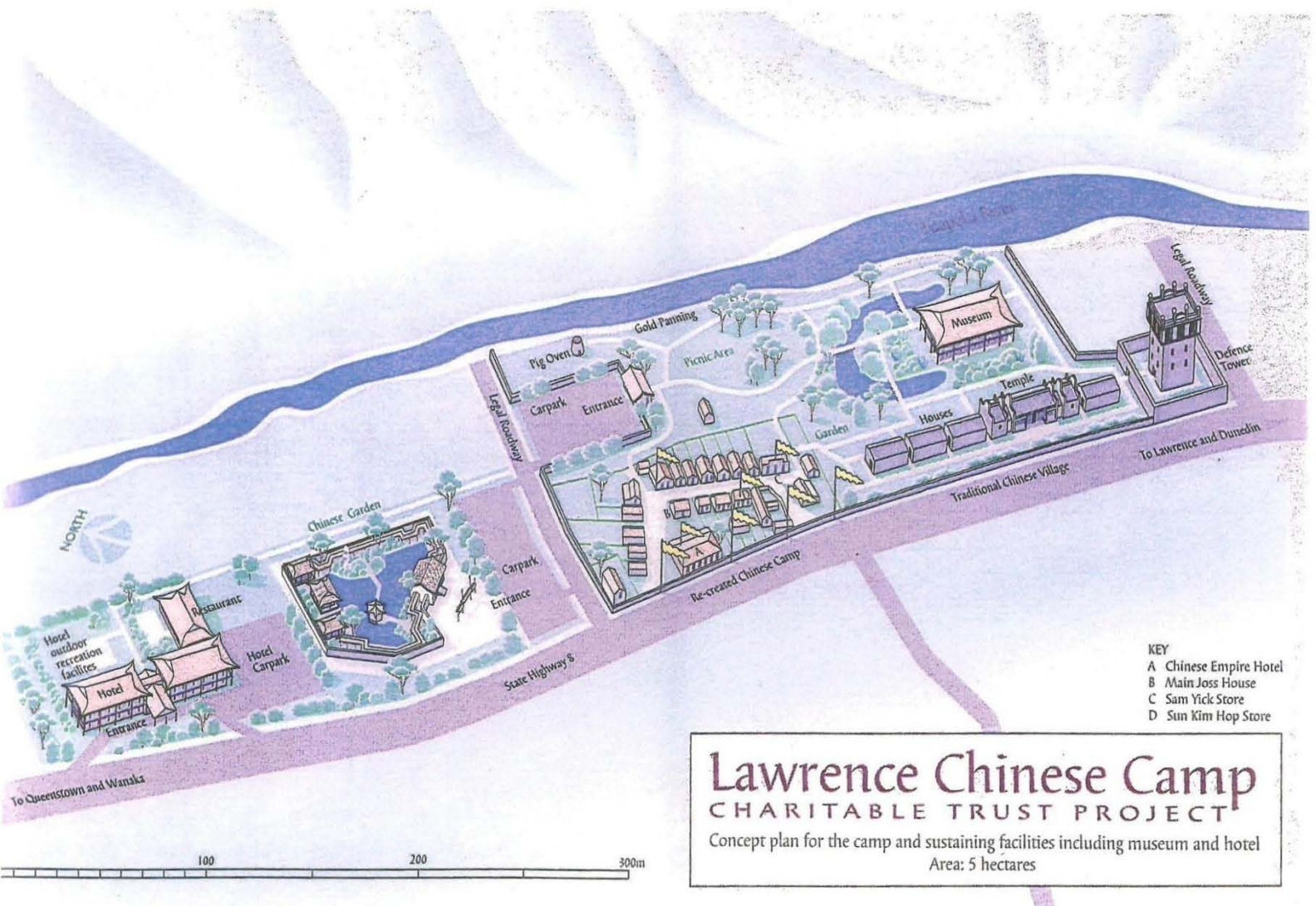
Su Sing's store

Uneven ground is all that remains of the original hub of settlement life. From 1870 to 1890 this long, narrow weatherboard building served as Su Sing's home, store, restaurant, boarding house and social centre.

Restoration efforts

An archaeological excavation in 1983 has helped to build a picture of the Chinese settlement as it was. Twenty five sites were excavated and many artefacts, including coins, crockery, bottles and opium pipes, are now displayed at the Lake District Museum in Arrowtown. Based on detailed information, several huts have been reconstructed and other ruins stabilised.

A.9 Blue Print of Lawrence Chinese Camp



Source: The Lawrence Chinese Camp Concept Plan, May 2004, Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust

A.10 Camp Development Plan Camp Injected Life into the Tuapeka Area

Camp injected life into the Tuapeka area

THE LAWRENCE Chinese Camp was an imposing landmark in the Lawrence-Tuapeka area, especially during the height of the Otago goldrush in the 1860s. A look back at its history reveals it was the hub of the community and boasted six stores and a hotel. Nearly 150 years on, the aim is to replicate all of that and re-create the atmosphere that injected life into the Tuapeka area.

1866: The first Chinese arrive in the Tuapeka district.

1867: Lawrence Chinese Camp is established because the Lawrence Town Council of the day declare the town is "out of bounds" to Chinese premises (this is the case until about 1900).

1868: First known description of the Lawrence Chinese Camp.

1869: The first arrivals directly from China.

1870: The camp's first intermarriage (a European marrying a Chinese) occurs. The first wooden Chinese Empire Hotel is also built.

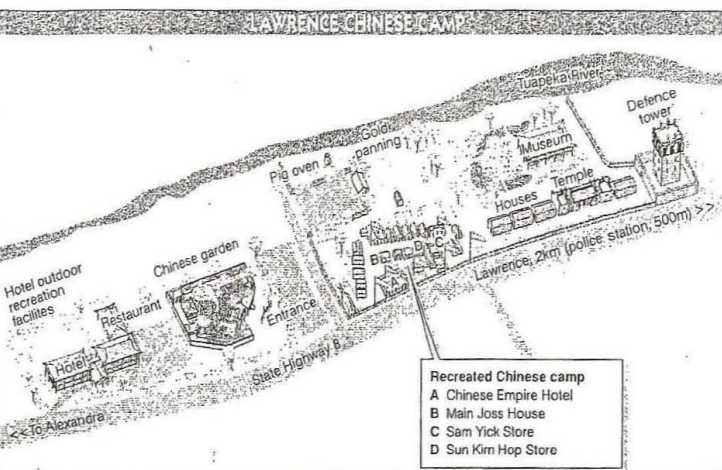
1871-72: Boom times at the camp with an estimated 1083 Chinese in Tuapeka. Six stores and a hotel are dotted around the campsite and the camp's first Chinese doctor arrives. Another 2000 Cantonese gold-seekers also turn up during this period. By the end of this period, there are a reported 1080 European miners and 955 Chinese in Tuapeka. These numbers halve by 1884.

1876: The first police gaming raid is launched. An estimated three gambling dens are located around the site and opium-smoking also takes place.

1878: Things take a bad turn for local Chinese when the *Tuapeka Times* newspaper changes hands and turns



PHOTO: JANE DAWSON



against the visitors. The "Long Depression" between 1879 and 1896 also sees work dry up and a petition is launched encouraging locals not to employ Chinese women.

1882: The Tuapeka County Council surveys the camp and later agrees to subsidise a drain to solve the problem of wet grounds around the camp.

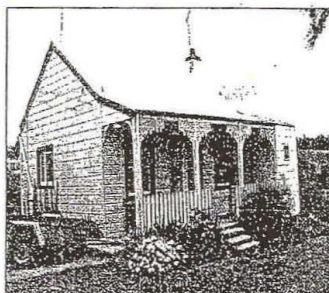
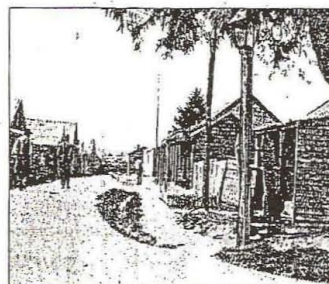
1883: Camp numbers whittled down to about 70 but the year is remembered for an outbreak of diphtheria which killed two Chinese children.

1884: The Chinese Empire Hotel is rebuilt in brick. Its sole owner is Sam Chew Lain who had previously worked and run the first hotel in about 1870.

1885: A difficult time for local Chinese with claims local police harass them and arrest them at every opportunity.

1897: Martha Smeaton is charged with keeping a brothel in the camp for Chinese and European customers.

1899: The camp goes into obvious decline as there are no newcomers to replace those who leave or die. Sam Chew Lain dies in 1903 and his hotel passes into European hands.



PHOTOS: COURTESY DR JAMES NG

Top: The Lawrence Chinese Camp in 1904, with the Main Joss House on the right. Left: The Main Joss House today, in Maryport St. Far left: The main street of Lawrence.

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Lawrence Chinese Camp

Founded: 1867.

Importance: At gateway into Otago goldfields. Had top merchant firms, interpreters, Chinese doctors, shops (eating places, barber, goldsmith, small stores, boarding houses etc), residences, two joss houses, an immigration barracks, and the Chinese Empire Hotel.

Area: About one hectare, the front half with buildings and the back half with gardens and piggery.

Our purchase: includes five hectares north and another five hectares south of the Camp, for a museum and genuine Chinese homeland village (south) and a hotel/motel and garden (north).

Population: About 70 permanent residents including up to eleven mixed marriage couples. Also at any one time about 50 itinerant persons (travellers, ill persons, those waiting out winter in high country mines).

Singular features: Includes flying flags of Chinese Imperial dragon, one shooting, gambling and opium dens.

What remains: the Chinese Empire Hotel, one joss house, two wells, about 40 graves, and much recorded history.

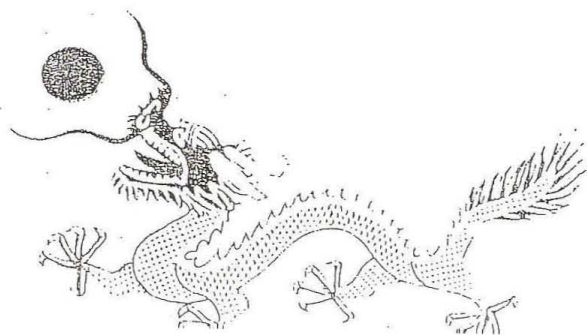
Advantages today: Site only lightly ploughed once thus expediting archaeological dig. Possibility of reconstruction excellent. Locality for heritage recognition and culture tourism unexcelled.

The plan: To reconstruct the Camp with public monies and sustain the Camp with private capital (by rental) through the hotel/motel and museum. See to the Camp first to gain credibility. Time line - anything up to 10 years to complete everything.

Organisations involved: Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, Lawrence and Tuapeka community organisation, Clutha District Council.

Wider perspectives: • To be part of a gold heritage trail between the international airports of Queenstown and Dunedin.

• To be part of one-day tours Dunedin-Tuapeka-Waipori-Dunedin, taking in European mining sites as at Blue Spur, Waitahuna Gully, Gabriels Gully, Lawrence Historical precinct; the work of Chinese railway navvies; say, at Manuka Gorge tunnel; the Lawrence Chinese Camp; the Canton Quartz Mine; Chinese graves.



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Source: Lawrence Museum