

Cultural representation and Chinese gardens abroad:

**An exploratory study of Dunedin Chinese Garden,
New Zealand**

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List of Abbreviations

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
CPTHT	Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust
DCC	Dunedin City Council
DCG	Dunedin Chinese Garden
DSA	Dunedin Shanghai Association
NZCA	New Zealand Chinese Association
NZCFS	New Zealand China Friendship Society
OSCA	Otago Southland Chinese Association
SCNZ	Sister Cities New Zealand
TOSM	Toitū Otago Settlers Museum

Attestation of Authorship

“I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.”

Jing Cui

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Abstract

The western passion for Chinese culture, especially Chinese garden culture, began in the late 17th century. Today Chinese gardens abroad are often features of tourism destinations. This research is a case study of the Dunedin Chinese Garden which is a recent example in New Zealand.

This dissertation reports on findings of the research using interviews conducted with key stakeholders involved in the development of the Dunedin Chinese Garden, and outlines its history, the development background, the management and marketing approach, current visitation and key stakeholders' views of the Garden. Particular focus has been given to exploring the Dunedin Chinese Garden's many potential but quite different roles in Dunedin's development. These include: commodifiable resource for tourism products and services, catalyst in local area regeneration and revitalization, enhancer of environmental amenity and contributor to place image or brand. The findings, informed by relevant literature, are discussed to highlight the Garden's subtle meanings in representing Chinese culture, Chinese diasporic culture and sister-city relationship with Shanghai. Conclusions relate to the rationale for the current development, tourism performance and markets, the challenges faced in interpreting and promoting of the Dunedin Chinese Garden in New Zealand.

Finally, suggestions are made regarding how the Dunedin Chinese Garden could possibly be best developed and attract visitors.

Who are the Chinese? What makes us who we are? But even before this momentous chapter in our history, Chinese people have always regarded themselves from multifaceted angles. Is tradition a burden, or a kind of driving force for development? Do we take our cultural heritage too seriously, or not seriously enough? Do you see conflict or fusion, nostalgia or visions of the future?

--Quoted from China National Publicity Film (X. Gao, 2011)

1. Introduction

Representation of Chinese identity remains a fluid and complex concept, especially abroad. This dissertation investigates one form of the representation of Chinese culture in Dunedin, New Zealand: the Dunedin Chinese Garden (the DCG).

The National Publicity Film of China, quoted above, consists of two parts: a 30-second commercial representing many prominent Chinese elite from different areas and an 18-minute feature film showcasing the multiple social and cultural facets of China. The commercial was first aired on the big screen at Times Square in New York on January 17th, 2011, and aroused wide international attention, while the feature film was used at important events of Chinese embassies. This was a move by the Chinese government to boost the national image follows its successful hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing and the Expo 2010 in Shanghai (People's Daily Online, 2010). This image of a powerful China encouraged more and more young Chinese people to open their minds up and explore the world. As a part of this trend, the author travelled to New Zealand to pursue postgraduate education in April 2011 as a Chinese international student, who carried with her expectations and questions.

The Chinese have a long history of settlement in New Zealand from the Gold Rush period of 1860s. Like most of the pioneering settlers, the story of Chinese in New Zealand started with hardship, prejudice and discrimination (Ip, 2003; Pan, 1999). In 1881, the Chinese Immigrants Act was passed by the New Zealand Parliament,

introducing a 'poll tax' of £10 (equivalent to NZD \$1560 in 2010) (New Zealand History Online, 2012). The poll tax was effectively lifted in the 1930s following the invasion of China by Japan, and was finally repealed in 1944 (Pan, 1999). In 2002, Prime Minister Helen Clark offered New Zealand's Chinese community an official apology for the poll tax (Clark, 2002). In April 2008, New Zealand became the first developed country to sign a bilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with China. Following the signing of the New Zealand-China FTA, New Zealand also established a Working Holiday Visa scheme for Chinese young people to work and travel in New Zealand, and the changes also applied to business visas. In 2012, China became New Zealand's second-largest export market, ranked just below Australia. Total exports to China have tripled since 2008, rising from \$2.1 billion to reach \$6.1 billion in 2012 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a).

Unlike the dark history of the early Chinese settlement, the Chinese immigrating to New Zealand since the reform and opening of China in 1978 were mainly people with higher education and better economic conditions. Particularly in the twenty-first century, more young generations came to New Zealand for education opportunities. Thus, the Chinese in New Zealand today reflect different backgrounds and profiles. According to Ip (2003), the descendants of early Chinese settlers (mostly Cantonese speakers) are 'Chinese New Zealanders' (who also refer to themselves as descendants of the Poll Tax), while the newly arrived Chinese (mostly Mandarin speakers) are referred to as 'New Asians'. These two different groups of Chinese potentially have different attitudes toward their identity and relationships with China.

With this brief understanding of the history of Chinese in New Zealand, questions emerged upon the author's arrival in New Zealand: what is the history of the Chinese in New Zealand? How do Chinese in New Zealand perceive their identity of Chineseness? In which ways could they represent themselves in New Zealand? In which ways do Chinese New Zealanders differ from new Chinese settlers like the author? Why and how has the dynamic development of China influenced their lives in New Zealand? How do the wider New Zealand communities perceive the Chinese in New Zealand

from the different settlement periods? The growing phenomenon of Chinese gardens built in New Zealand may potentially provide answers to some of these questions.

The popularity of Chinese gardens in the West, especially in Europe, dates from the seventeenth century (Lou, 2003). In recent times, more Chinese-style gardens have been established outside China. For example, the Chinese Garden of Friendship in Sydney, Australia (Jock & Kirrily, 2009), the Dr Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden in Vancouver, Canada (Rowe, 2000), and the Tiger Balm Garden in Singapore (J. Huang & Hong, 2007). Most Chinese gardens abroad are constructed connecting the history of Chinese immigrants with the purpose of maintaining relationships with China. In the case of the DCG, it is not only a local symbol of New Zealand and China friendship, but also a means to generate interactive connection between New Zealand and Chinese identities and landscape. Chinese immigrants have contributed to the development of multi-cultural New Zealand and the heterogeneity of New Zealand communities since their first arrival during the Gold Rush. However, the effectiveness of the DCG to represent Chinese culture remains unexplored. Just like the quotation from the publicity film about the Chinese people and Chinese culture, those questions also relate to the Chinese diaspora and new generations. Who are the Chinese in New Zealand? What makes these Chinese who they are? Is the dark history a burden, or a kind of driving force for development? Do they take their Chinese cultural heritage too seriously, or not seriously enough? Do the Asian New Zealanders see conflict or fusion, nostalgia or visions of the future?

1.1. Research rationale and objective

This study aims to contribute insights for the management status and future development of the DCG as a tourism product. Due to the limited time and resource, this study only focuses on the supply side—the key stakeholders—of the DCG. In particular, it investigates the effectiveness of this garden in conveying aspects of Chinese culture (local and China Chinese culture) to visitors, both domestic and international, from the perspective of key stakeholders in the DCG. Based on the research findings, suggestions will be provided to enhance the managerial issues and visitor experiences.

The central research question of this study is:

How far do the key stakeholders on the supply side consider the DCG succeeds in representing Chinese culture to visitors?

The objectives of this research were:

- 1) To explore the recent phenomenon of establishing Chinese gardens in New Zealand.
- 2) To focus on the DCG as the most recent example of this phenomenon.
- 3) To gain an initial understanding of stakeholders' involvement in and influence on the DCG and its development.
- 4) To explore the connection of the DCG and the sister-city relationships between Dunedin and Shanghai.
- 5) To explore the DCG's potential role as a way to represent Chinese culture in New Zealand.
- 6) To conduct a preliminary study of the DCG as a marker of Chinese heritage development in New Zealand, exploring its possible relationship to Chinese ethnic identity.
- 7) To formulate appropriate suggestions for managing and interpreting the DCG to meet the needs of different groups of users.

To achieve these ambitious objectives, the following sub-questions needed to be addressed.

- What is the current state of Chinese gardens in New Zealand?
- What form has the development of the DCG has taken and who is/was involved?
- What are the emphases of the current approaches to management of New Zealand's Chinese gardens, and what influence do these management emphases have on the representation of Chinese culture?

- What is the potential for Chinese culture to gain a higher profile in New Zealand?
- What is the potential for domestic and international tourists to engage more actively with the DCG?
- How can the Garden and its supporters and stakeholders be best harnessed to meet the needs of different groups of users?

To address these questions, five aspects are explored to identify factors which could serve as potential indicators for assessing the effectiveness for the DCG, including stakeholders' connections with the DCG and Chinese culture; targeted visitors and visitor perceptions; the purposes of the DCG; the representation and authenticity of the DCG; and the relationship between the DCG and Chinese culture. It was anticipated that stakeholders' perspectives could contribute to an emerging definition of "success" for the DCG.

1.2. Definitions

The following operational definitions are used within this dissertation:

Chinese culture: This includes both Chinese diaspora culture and Chinese culture in general.

Chinese heritage: The tangible Chinese settlement heritage in New Zealand, and the intangible Chinese history and culture in New Zealand.

Chinese immigrants: This term covers both Chinese New Zealanders and New Asians.

Chinese New Zealanders: Descendants of the early Chinese settlers.

New Asians: New immigrants principally from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, but also Korea and other East Asian countries from the 1990s.

Key stakeholders: Stakeholders as the individuals or groups who have an interest in, or influence on, an organization's ability to achieve its objectives (Freeman, 1984).

1.3. Overview of dissertation

This dissertation comprises seven chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter Two reviews the literature providing a historical and theoretical background to the research. The following Chapter Three provides contextual background for the DCG, drawn from the literature review and interpretation of interview findings, including Otago's Chinese history and heritage; tourism in Dunedin; and the history behind the DCG. Chapter Four outlines the methods used to tackle the research aim and objectives and notes the limitations. Chapter Five presents research findings related to five core themes. In Chapter Six, the results of the study are discussed and some implications are identified. The research findings are summarized and recommendations for further research are made in Chapter Seven.

2. Literature review and theoretical consideration

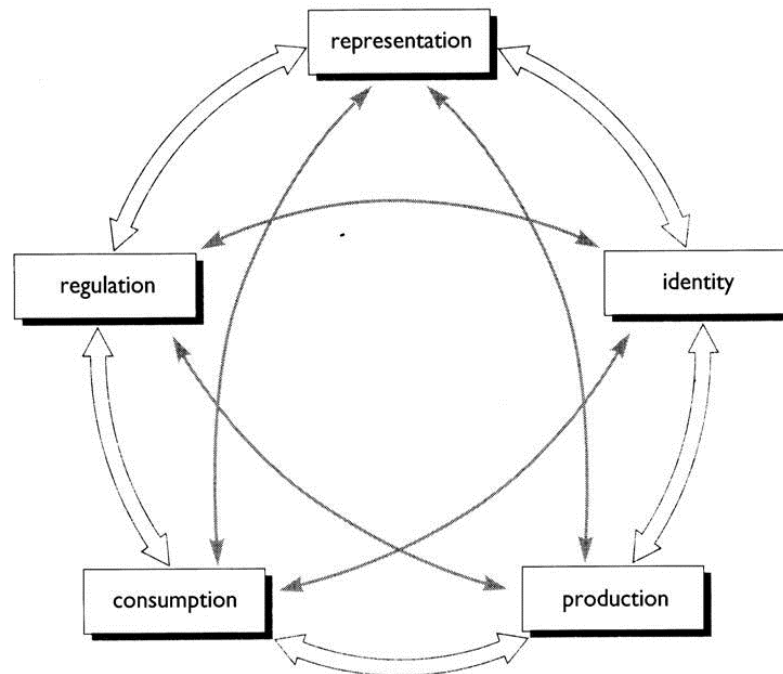
This chapter provides a theoretical background and justification for this exploratory research from three dimensions: cultural representation; heritage tourism and authenticity; and sister-city relationship. The Chinese garden built abroad as a special cultural asset is considered as a way to represent Chinese culture. Firstly, theories regarding culture and representation and self-orientalism are discussed. Then, heritage tourism and authenticity literature is reviewed to provide an overview of the nature of Chinese gardens abroad. Thirdly, building a Chinese garden has been a widely used method to symbolise sister-city relationships between cities in China and other countries, especially in recent decades. It is essential to have a theoretical background on sister-city relationships to understand the meaning of Chinese gardens abroad, therefore, research on sister city relationship has also been reviewed in this chapter. These three sections are followed by a historical survey of Chinese gardens abroad with a final focus on those in New Zealand.

2.1. Cultural representation and self-orientalism

Culture, the widely explored concept in various disciplines, defined by Tylor (1871, p. 1) as “the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, moral, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” in anthropology is still widely accepted, while in recent culture studies, Stuart Hall (1997) simply described culture as ‘shared meanings’. It is a concept that is constructed and represented symbolically (Bhabha, 2004; Linnekin, 1997). Representation has been recognized as one of the central practices which produce culture and a key “moment” in the “circuit of culture” theory (see Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackey, & Negus, 1997). The circuit describes the cultural process as a complex but interdependent collection of five distinct but not discrete moments of representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation (Figure 1). Hall (1997) argues that culture is essentially connected with the exchange of meaning, and their real, practical effects. “It is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them—how we represent them—that we give them a meaning” (S. Hall, 1997, p. 3). In this circuit, meaning is identified, produced and

exchanged through various social media. Although, language is the main medium to transmit meanings that has been discussed in Hall's book, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) proposed that heritage can also be regarded as an efficient medium in the exchange of meanings. They extended the circuit of culture theory to heritage content of 'a circuit of heritage', and stated that, just like language, heritage is also a 'signifying practice'. Norton (1996) modified the 'circuit of culture' model to study tourism culture and tourists, suggesting that tourism is a stage for cultural discourse construction and manipulation.

Figure 1 the Circuit of Culture



Source: (Gay et al., 1997; S. Hall, 1997, p. 1)

Representation is "a set of practice by which meanings are constituted and communicated" (Duncan, 2000, p. 703). In this sense, it is meanings that account for representational practices whereby members of a social group develop attachment to certain cultural forms. Representation serves particularly as an agenda for different social groups to express symbolic meanings (Jackson, 1994).

Representation can “serve the dual purpose of reinforcing and defining group identity while simultaneously ordering complex difference into a simpler, homogeneous entity which ... [can be] easily appropriated” (Duncan, 1993, p. 44). In order to effectively explore the representation of a culture or a site, it is essential to know “how they were ‘colonized’ socially and temporally as sites of desire, power and weakness” (Duncan, 1993, p. 43). According to Duncan, an effective means of colonization is the discourse of Other. Through the representation of Other and Self, the positioning of social members within a power-laden sociocultural structure is processed, and continually influences the representation of minority groups. Specifically, the East (Asia and the Middle East) is constructed as an Other in Western discourse. The imagination of the Other, i.e., the oriental world, is often based on the predisposed hierarchical worldview by Westerns. Within post-colonialism, according to Said (1978) in his seminal work *Orientalism*, Westerners developed a power-based discourse to decide the appropriate methods to represent the Oriental in the Western-dominated society. It is proposed that the West consider itself to be superior to the East from moral, intellectual and cultural aspects (Hung, 2003). Said argued:

The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences [...] That Orientalism makes sense at all depends more on the West than on the Orient, and this sense is directly indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear, ‘there’ in discourse about it.

(Said, 1978, pp. 21-22)

Symbolically, orientalists think that the West is civilized, masculine, advanced, normative and rational, and its concept of ‘modernization’ has been considered as the predominant construction within Western socio-cultural system; while the East is cruel, feminine, sly, backward, mysterious, exotic, irrational, and its modernization is perceived as the achievement of westernization (Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Said, 1978), implying the social and cultural differences between the West and the East. Hence, by recognizing the differences, the imagination of the Oriental/Other is identified, and the

West realizes the maintenance of itself, and this binary process has become a force for Western self-identification in the world order (Sardar, 1999; Yan, 2009). Investigations have been focused on the Western-produced representations of the Oriental/Other, especially in tourism discourse (Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Palmer, 1994), while how the Oriental/Other represent themselves remains under-researched.

It is argued that during the process of orientalism, the West is not the only one that autonomously participates in it, but the Orient itself plays role in its construction, reinforcement and circulation (Dirlik, 1996; Ong, 1998; Yan, 2009; X. Zhang, 1997). Self-orientalism is also considered as an extension of orientalism in various ways. As Bhabha (1992, p. 438) proposed that “it is from those who suffered the sentence of history—subjugation, domination, diaspora, displacement—that we learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking”. Historically, the Western conceptions heavily influence the formation of the Orient’s self-image; on one side, the knowledge of the Western orientalists has been internalized by the East; on the other side, the knowledge reflects the bases of West social philosophy (Dirlik, 2002; Sardar, 1999). In the contemporary world, the pursuit of modernization (which can be referred as westernization) among the Oriental profoundly produced the concept of self-orientalism. In particular, China’s striving for modernity has been the most defining one (Yan, 2009; X. Zhang, 1997), while the orientalism can effectively create a unique and different perspective for the Oriental identity. Consequently, in order to produce an alternative version of modernity discourse, recollecting traditions to recreate an ancient, historical, and unchanging identity has become a strategy for the Orient (Yan, 2009). To sum up, by self-orientalism, the Orient intends to create a visible position in a predominantly invisible modern world (Chatterjee, 1993; X. Zhang, 1997).

The studies into self-orientalism have been conducted by many researchers to analyze various cultural representations. Yan (2009) analyzed a tourism promotional video “China, Forever” and proposed that current Oriental tourism discourse recognized the potential of marketing Otherness to the Western tourists through the reconstruction

of Chinese tradition and Chinese identity, which has confirmed the utilization of self-orientalism. Besides the visual image, there are various forms of cultural representations, among which permanent constructions also play important roles, especially in tourism context. Chinatown has also been studied as an object that demonstrated the self-orientalism of Chinese diaspora in Western world (Lee, 2001; Tchen, 1999). Anderson (1991) explores how municipal, provincial, and national authorities constructed and manipulated a racial identity of “Chinese” to consolidate social, political, and economic control in the Chinatown in Vancouver area. ‘Chinatowns’ are a bigger phenomenon than the Chinese garden and this does not apply in Dunedin. The following section explores the nature of culture tourism and heritage sites, with their interactive relation with the theories of culture representations.

2.2. Cultural heritage and authenticity

Heritage was defined by Sue Millar (1989) as several areas attached with cultural, natural or built importance. Therefore, according to this early definition, heritage was separated with certain geographic boundaries. As to cultural heritage, it was considered to be an area where rich cultural elements can be found or sensed. Nuryanti (1996), on the other hand, tend to define heritage on a history level, which refers to something inherited by one generation by another from the past, and heritage tourism provide people opportunities to connect with the past. From this point of view, heritage was not only a physical place but also could be other kinds of forms. There are researchers who concentrated more on the signifier impacts of heritage. Macdonald (2006, p. 11) described heritage as “a material testimony of identity” and specifically, heritage is “a discourse and set of practices concerned with the continuity, persistence and substantiality of collective identity”. Park (2010) extended Macdonald’s definition by adding intangible heritages, which turned out to be “both material and socio-psychological testimony of identity”. The four kinds of definitions mentioned above are reviewed by chronological order, while the scope of heritage has been evolved only tangible to both tangible and intangible.

Considering the case of a heritage building, such as a temple, a palace, and an old house, the significant feature of this building which can distinguish it from other normal buildings, is antiquity. When a building is antique, it has features like architectural importance, historical meanings, religious or spiritual significance, location within a particular landscape, or some other features that can be defined as or related to cultural significance and cultural value. Cultural heritage tourism has impacts on social and economic development because it has comprehensive features. The social value of heritage could embody the local cultural identity or a sense of place as well as the connection with the past. The economic value reflects the fact that community identity or spirit with uniqueness could attract tourists to visit the destination, so that cultural heritage could be managed as a tourism commodity to earn benefits.

Identity, which is one context represented by heritage, is used to conduct narratives of inclusion and exclusion that define communities (Ballesteros & Ramirez, 2007). Heritage used to be seen as local resources (Coccossis, 2008). Somehow this statement reveals that whether individual or collective associations could not be ignored. For example, Park (2010) explored the issue of treating heritage tourism as a mechanism to represent nationhood or national identity. Under that circumstance, cultural heritage is identified as both tangible and intangible testimony of identity shared by a group of people. Assessing the interrelationship of heritage tourism and national identity, Park (2010) conducted a case study of Changdeok Palace in South Korea. Park concluded that the emotional awareness of cultural nationality was strengthened after the visit to a national symbolic heritage attraction. Park also commented that the main emotional attachment of national belonging comes from the racial/cultural origins rather than political nationalities. Park revealed that the impacts of cultural heritage would be different because of the tourists' differing backgrounds. This idea stimulated the author's thinking over the special interaction of tourists and heritage, which indicates that tourists' perception of tourists decides their behaviour in heritage travel patterns and results in different emotional experience (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003).

Authenticity was described by Theobald (1994) as genuine, unadulterated or the real thing. MacCannell's (1976) seminal work claims that the inherent inauthenticity of modern society force people to search for what has been lost. Stimulated by MacCannell, Chhabra et al. (2003) demonstrated the possibility utilizing authenticity as the criterion to detect the quality of a heritage site as a tourism product and to measure the level of tourists' satisfaction. Finding from their case study of the Flora Macdonald Scottish Highland reveal that the quality of authenticity is negotiable and the authenticity of heritage is mainly determined by tourists' feelings, and social and cultural background. Chhabra (2010) also suggested that the tourists' demand for authenticity could be satisfied as long as the combination of heritage products' elements contributes to an integral sense of the authentic. Even when the heritage production is just a copy of tradition, and it is modified to become attractive, tourists' satisfaction level would be achieved if tourists perceive similar atmosphere. Therefore, rather than the preservation of tangible fabric, heritage is more about the intangible meanings and culture carried upon tangible artifacts (Graham et al., 2000). Ultimately, heritage is experience-based and relies on the authenticity of the experience rather than the object. Thus objects of reconstruction or facsimiles "convey more the sense of how it was, or how we now wish to imagine how it was, than some partial degraded relic however authenticated as validly of the period" (Ashworth, 2012, p. 7). Moreover, "because heritage tourism has an educational role, the more learned, the more discriminating the tourists becomes" (Chhabra et al., 2003, p. 706). In other words, as heritage tourist get more and more sophisticated, tourist expectations would be heightened and satisfaction would be gained.

The educational significance of cultural heritage helps tourists to have a better understanding of the local culture as a living history with modified presentation. Besides, visitors would develop the idea to compare their own cultural heritage and the visited cultural heritage. Within this dimension, cultural tourists could sense the same

comparison in a multicultural society like New Zealand and Australia (C. M. Hall & McArthur, 1996).

Heritage, as a tourism product, also has multiple producers, which including public or private sector, official or non-official organizations, insider or outsider (Graham & Howard, 2008). Each stakeholder has varied and multiple objectives regarding the creation, management and development of heritage (Ashworth & Graham, 2005). The recent literature on heritage proposed the idea of present-centeredness, which emphasized that the current demand decided the interpretation and representation of the past and how to pass it to next generations (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007). Ashworth further developed this theory:

Heritage is a process whereby objects, events, sites, performances and personalities, derived from the past through relict structures, memories and histories, are transformed into experiences in and for the present, with an intention of bequeathing these to a future. It is an outcome in which the present evokes imagined pasts and imagined futures in fulfillment of contemporary political, social, economic and psychological needs.

(Ashworth, 2012, p. 2)

Lowenthal (1985) expressed this as “heritage is about creating something not about preserving anything”. The phenomenological paradigm of heritage highlighted that “structures, sites and places are seen as vehicles for the transmission of historicity, contributing to many contemporary social, political and economic needs” (Ashworth, 2012, p. 4). In this sense, heritage plays various potential roles in contemporary development, including a commercialized tourism product and service, an enhancer for landscaping and amenity, a catalyst for community revitalization, a contributor to place branding and image formation, and a simulator for cultural exchange etc.

It is assumed by many people that heritage is a charge-free, freely accessible asset and serves as a public good. However, Ashworth (2012) argued that from the producers’ perspective, it is not free. The cost of selection, maintenance, redevelopment, promotion

and marketing, interpretation and customer service and so on, are all need to be added into the opportunity cost foregone. Heritage, because of its special value and sometimes fragile and vulnerable content, inevitably has imposed on more restrictions than other forms of development. Thus, the local communities, whether or not they are the direct beneficiaries, should pay at least part of this cost.

There are some kinds of heritage created within a multi-cultural society and influenced and connected to multiple communities, due to the development of globalization (Ashworth et al., 2007). Sister-city relationship is one special form of cultural communication between two cities, and usually with different socio-cultural backgrounds. In order to explore whether or not these relationships have effects on the cultural exchange and the creation of cultural heritage, the following section will provide the social background and literature review on sister-city relationships.

2.3. The phenomenon of the sister-city relationship

It is generally accepted that former U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower contributed to the popularity of the sister-city phenomenon in a national conference at 1956 (Hepler, 1994). The initial intention was to “involve individuals and organized groups at all levels of society in citizen diplomacy, with the hope that personal relationships, fostered through sister city, county and state affiliations, would lessen the chance of future world conflicts” (Sister Cities International, 2012). In the new millennium, cultural and educational exchanges, economic partnerships, and humanitarian assistance have been recognized as the main focus and expectations of sister city relationships (Sister Cities New Zealand, 2011).

There are several unique features of sister city relationship. Firstly, the sister city relationship is normally cemented by the signing of a formal agreement between two local authorities. While it is worth mentioning that those agreements are intended to last indefinitely, governmental delegation trips occur to renew the agreement or generate new Memoranda of Understanding. Secondly, the ongoing relationship covers various collaboration projects continuously, not just a single temporary one. In fact, the

approaches that the local authorities, communities and organizations use to manage sister city relationship cooperation vary based on the different socio-cultural backgrounds of the relationship (Cross, 2010). Each relationship develops its own set of activities and cooperation style that respond to the needs, resources and features of both partners. Thirdly, besides the local authority's involvement, most of the other driving forces of the sister city relationship come from individual volunteers and non-profit organizations. There are global non-profit organizations like the Sister City International in the U.S. which "strives to build global cooperation at the municipal level, promote cultural understanding and stimulate economic development" (Sister Cities International, 2012). There are also national organizations which work to increase global co-operation at a local level between one own country and international communities, like Sister Cities New Zealand (SCNZ) in Wellington. Fourthly, the cooperation and interaction are mainly between local authorities without patronage from national or central government. Finally, the sister city relationship has a tacit feature recognized by both of the partners, which is "genuine reciprocity of effort and benefit, with neither community profiting at the expense of the other" (Zelinsky, 1991, p. 3).

According to Zukin (1995) and Redfield and Singer (1954), cities are the symbols and carriers of civilizations and culture whenever they have appeared. Hence, sister-cities were conceived as a means of developing friendships and cultural ties during post-war period, and they were mainly based on similarities or historical connections (Cremer, Bruin, & Dupuis, 2001; Ramasamy & Cremer, 1998). The existence of any former relationship has been proved to be positive an element that contributes to the success of a sister city relationship in Europe (Baycan-Levent, Akgün, & Kundak, 2010). With the base of a historic connection and prior relationship, it is easier to achieve a bilateral understanding while shortening the process. Besides, according to Cremer et al. (2001), the personal relationship among the city mayors, as well as other important individuals, has been considered as one of the main tools that contribute to the formation and maintenance of the sister city relationship. This is particularly the case in relationship with China, because of the effects of "Mian Zi" (social reputation) and "Guan Xi" (social connection) in Chinese culture. Carruthers (2006) also stated that

the involvement of high-level municipal government officials is integral to the sustainability of sister city relationships.

In first phase, the sister city relationship serves mainly as the agent for maintaining friendship, exchanging culture, increasing bilateral understanding and gaining international awareness, what O'Toole (1999) called "the associative phase". Recent understanding of the sister city relationship shows that the close interweaving between two facets of culture contributes to the increasing international trade and investment, while solid economic cooperation provides a reliable and lasting basis for cultural development (Cremer, Gounder, & Ramasamy, 1996), which fits the O'Toole (1999) third phase of "commercial phase" of sister city relationship. To sum up, this is an integrated approach to analyzing the sister-city relationship with the basic idea that "cities rediscover one of their original roles as meeting places between different people and cultures, and thus create a place for economic and business activities" (Ramasamy & Cremer, 1998, p. 449). However, this integrated approach emphasizing either the cultural or economic aspect is not likely to ensure the success of a sister-city relationship (Cremer et al., 2001). Hence, Cremer et al. (2001) further described a municipal-community entrepreneurship approach, which pivots on multi-level entrepreneurial partnerships for economic and social development. In this approach, community becomes the main variable in the sister-city relationship. It is the mix of various communities and active participation (especially by the minority communities), as well as municipal involvement, which builds trust, cooperation and sustainable relationship.

Several researchers have investigated sister-city relationships in the last 20 years. Ramasamy and Cremer (1998) emphasized that the international sister city relationship was an effective instrument to boost the cultural and economic connection and affiliation between countries. Their study was based on a survey of the sister-city relationships between New Zealand local authorities and Asian cities. O'Toole (2001) assessed the sister-city relationships between Japan and Australia and found that relationships built upon the over-arching public policy contexts could sometimes result in mismatched expectations between two countries. It was also demonstrated that

Australian cities often emphasize the commercial aspect more, while Japanese cities prefer to use the relationship as an interpretation of internationalization. Mascitelli and Chung (2008) demonstrated the potential of sister-city relationships to be used as an efficient tool for small and medium enterprises in Australia to engage in sustainable international trade with China. The sister city relationship has been considered as an effective catalyst for tourism development by several researchers (Carruthers, 2006; O'Toole, 1999). Carruthers (2006) found that the main issues among sister-city relationships between China and New Zealand are language barriers, lack of funding and lack of cultural understanding. It is proposed that a sufficient relationship could be achieved through inter-city cooperation, tourism marketing, cultural projects and funding. A solid sister city relationship could be used as a city promotion technique to stimulate the comprehensive development of both cities and achieve their goals by a peaceful and constructive means.

It is also necessary to acknowledge the various manifestations of the sister-city relationship, which include international investment, mayor/councillor visits, local citizen visits, student exchange, teacher exchange, cultural exchange, sporting activity, special service group visits, business delegations, professional exchange and so on. However, as Cremer et al. (2001) commented, “tourism and business go to where they feel welcomed and supported”, while a mature and healthy sister city relationship is based upon a positive environment and will further enhance the whole urban well-being for the bilateral cities.

As a special form of cultural connection, the sister-city relationship has produced active cultural exchanges between cities, especially in countries with a multi-cultural society like New Zealand. New Zealand has established sister-city, twin-city or other forms of friendship with 140 communities all over the world, especially Australia and China. China has a long connection with New Zealand, and the dynamic development of China has also simulated the establishment of sister-cities relationships with New Zealand. This relationship generated various forms of bilateral exchange, including building Chinese gardens abroad. The next section will focus on the sister-city

relationship between New Zealand and China, as well as the Chinese gardens built abroad.

2.3.1. Sister-city relationships between New Zealand and China

Sister Cities New Zealand (SCNZ) is the non-profit organization that “brings together kindred organizations, voluntary, local-body and governmental groups, cultural, sport, educational and trade groups involved in people-to-people contact between countries and cultures” in New Zealand (Sister Cities New Zealand, undated). SCNZ estimates the sister city relationships between New Zealand and international communities to be worth beyond \$50 million a year in tourism and cultural exchange alone. Considering the booming international significance of China, a solid sister-city relationship has been found to be an effective tool to access to Chinese market and potentially spearhead bilateral benefits for both countries (Carruthers, 2006; Mascitelli & Chung, 2008). Formal diplomatic relations between New Zealand and the People’s Republic of China were established on 22 December 1972 (Eleder, 2012). In April 2008, New Zealand and China signed a bilateral free trade agreement, and New Zealand became the first developed country with which China has signed (Eleder, 2012). The increasing understanding and awareness from both countries also reflected on the sister city relationships. The sister city relationships between New Zealand and China have been growing since the first relationship emerged between Hastings and Guilin in 1981. Up to 2012, there are 34 official sister city affiliations between China and New Zealand in total (see Table 1).

Among these sister cities, Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou—the three major metropolises in China—are connected with Wellington, Dunedin and Auckland respectively. Beijing, as the capital of China, is also the political, cultural and educational centre of the nation, and a “friendly city” relationship with Wellington—the capital of New Zealand—was established in 1994, and formalized into a sister-city relationship in 2006 (Wellington City Council, undated). Interactive linkage between these two cities is reflected in various cultural, economic, educational exchanges and official delegation visits. In February 2005, Wellingtonians were treated to a fireworks display to celebrate the Chinese New Year, a gift from Beijing. Later in 2006, a Chinese

garden was proposed for the Wellington waterfront, while debates around the suitable location and financial problems have stalled this project. Another of Wellington's sister-cities, Xiamen in China, has promised to provide support to the construction of this project.

Table 1 New Zealand's sister city relationships with China, in alphabetical order of New Zealand city

Cities in New Zealand	No. of affiliations with China	Cities in China (and the year where known)
<i>North Island</i>		
Auckland	4	Guangzhou (1989) , Ningbo (1998), Qingdao (2008), Taichung, Taiwan (2012)
Far North	1	Liaoning (2000)
Gisborne	1	Rizhao
Hamilton	1	Wuxi (1986)
Hastings	2	Guilin (1981) , Mianyang (2008)
Hauraki, Waikato	1	Jiaying (2001)
Hawke's Bay Region	1	Xuzhou
Hutt City	2	Taizhou (2005), Xi'an
Masterton	1	Changchun (1995)
Napier	2	Lianyungang (1994), Mianyang
New Plymouth	1	Kunming (2003)
Palmerston North	2	Guiyang, Kunshan
Porirua	1	Yangzhou (2002)
Rotorua	2	Wuzhong (2000), Xuyi
South Taranaki	1	Harbin (2005)
Taupo	2	Suzhou (2000), Xi'an
Tauranga	1	Yantai (1986)
<i>South Island</i>		
Ashburton	1	Puyang
Christchurch	2	Wuhan (2006), Gansu Province (1984)
Dunedin	1	Shanghai (1994)
Nelson	1	Huangshi (1992)
Timaru	1	Weihai (1999)
Wellington	2	Beijing (2006) , Xiamen (1987)
In total	34	

Bold=mega cities of China, and the first sister city of Guilin

Source: Sister City New Zealand Inc. website. Adapted by author.

In 2009, Auckland, which shares a 20 years partnership with Guangzhou, also proposed a Chinese garden project to recognize the Chinese contribution to this city.

However, this project also remains at the “investigation stage” (Tan, 2010). The relationship between Dunedin and Shanghai was formalized in 1994 during a visit by a Shanghai delegation. The sister-city relationship with Shanghai has been an essential factor which advanced the construction of DCG. The DCG was a gift from Shanghai in August 2008 to commemorate early Chinese settlement in Otago region, as well as an icon of the sister-city relationship (Dunedin City Council, undated). The DCG is not the only Chinese garden in New Zealand that symbolized sister-city relationship. However, according to the DCG’s promotion strategy, it is oriented as the only ‘authentic’ and complete one in Southern Hemisphere, and that makes it’s unique.

2.4. Chinese gardens abroad

A Chinese garden, through symbolism and allegories, represents the true essence of Chinese philosophy, culture and literature (Keswick, 2003; Lou, 2003). In western culture, a garden is considered to be one of many appropriate way to express respect and commemoration of important people (J. Huang & Hong, 2007). A Chinese garden built within a western social and cultural background represents the connection between two civilizations; but it can cause complicated difficulties in design, construction and management (Cao, Chen, & Tan, 2007; Keswick, 2003). Examples of Chinese gardens built abroad were provided as Appendix 5, showing that the DCG is not the first Chinese garden built abroad.

As a relatively recent phenomenon, the popularity of Chinese gardens in the West could well surpass the craze for Chinese gardens that swept Europe in the 17th century (Y. Wang, 2004). The fascination with Chinese things in Western society emerged after 1699, when the Royal Court of France held a Chinese Festival to commemorate the coming new century. It is recorded as the beginning of the surge of Western enthusiasm for “chinoiserie” (Liu, 2003; Wong, 2009). This enthusiasm for chinoiserie was firstly reflected in the pursuit of Chinese porcelain, artwork, furniture and ceramics and then extended to the love of Chinese gardening (Bald, 1950). Some of the new furniture designs can be found in Chippendale’s *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker’s Director: being a large collection of the most elegant and useful designs of household furniture in the Gothic, Chinese and modern taste* (1754), one of the earliest recorded Chinese style

furniture guides in Western culture (Bald, 1950; Porter, 2004). The fashion for Chinese style emerged with more elegant Western gardens, such as those seen in William and John Halfpenny's *Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste, being designs for the decoration of gardens, parks, forests, insides of houses, etc.* in 1750 (Ge, 1992; Porter, 2004). The spread of chinoiserie influenced the development of Western garden with a less structured and more natural style. In the 18th century, Sir William Chambers was the pioneer in introducing the Chinese garden to Western society (Bald, 1950). His two works including *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils* (1757) and *The Art of Laying out Gardens among the Chinese* (1757) exerted a European influence (Porter, 2004). Through his endeavours, a ten-storeyed Chinese pagoda arose at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew in London, surviving still as a popular feature. The connection between China and England during the 18th and 19th centuries played an important role in the development of the English landscape garden design (Liu, 2003).

For a long time, most Chinese gardens outside China were created with local materials and plants, until by the late 20th century, after China opened her door to the world, various more 'authentic' Chinese gardens were built in other countries with authentic Chinese materials for different purposes (Missingham, 2007). The 'authentic' Chinese gardens built abroad were designed by professional architects and craftsmen in China and the building materials assembled and shipped from China to the host countries (Dunedin Chinese Garden, 2013). The Chinese Garden Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City was the first 'authentic' Chinese garden built abroad in 1981 (Hammer, 2003). Since then, the construction of 'authentic' Chinese gardens abroad has been a regular phenomenon globally. A dozen Chinese gardens have been built in Asia, Europe, Oceania, and North America where Chinese immigrants settled and contributed to the host countries (J. Zhang & Shelton, 2012). Chassé (2006) suggested that many of the Chinese gardens abroad were constructed under the concept of cultural exchange or friendship, sometimes as a direct result of a sister-city relationship with a Chinese municipality—as the Chinese Garden of Friendship in Sydney, Australia, with its sister city of Guangzhou in Guangdong Province, China. Some were constructed as a cultural asset for a local community of

Chinese immigrants, and others—like the proposed garden in Tacoma, Washington, USA—were built as a bridge of reconciliation between alienated communities. Asian gardens share some common roots yet they differ as much as they are alike. The construction of Chinese gardens in Singapore, Japan, and other South-East Asian countries helps to contrast and compare garden traditions within Asia. Canada boasts the first true Chinese landscape gardens, larger and more complex than the single court gardens, namely the Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden (1985-1986) in Vancouver and Dream Lake Garden (1990) in Montréal (Rowe, 2000). Germany can be regarded as the Chinese garden centre of Europe, with gardens in Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, Dusseldorf, and other cities. The United States continues to add new, and larger, gardens to its collection, with significant garden complexes opened in Staten Island, New York City (1999), and Portland, Oregon (2000), and more in the planning stages. The most ambitious Chinese garden re-creation being planned is for the Huntington Botanical Gardens, in San Marino, California. The scale of this garden may even outshine that of traditional gardens being constructed within China. The classical garden becomes a strong cultural touchstone in the host countries, and new gardens in traditional styles outnumber those with more modern or “international” inspiration. These new Chinese gardens abroad continue the tradition of reinvention within the classical vocabulary and palette, and shun slavish copying. This model could well be emulated by other cultures in the conservation and adaption of historic landscapes.

Despite the construction booms of Chinese gardens, academic scholars have little shed light on this topic. Researchers have explored this topic from the aspects of Chinese immigrants’ diasporic history (J. Huang & Hong, 2007), Chinese garden culture and philosophy (Keswick, 2003; Wong, 2009), the architecture and design of Chinese gardens (Lu, 2011), and the connection and communication between the West and East (Bald, 1950; Ge, 1992), the connection between Chinese gardens, gardening and Chinese immigrants’ identity (Beattie, 2011; Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010) and so on. Much of this research studied the development of Chinese gardens abroad at the earlier stage when the Chinese gardens were found not to be authentic. Bald (1950) and Liu (2003) discussed the spread of Chinese style gardening in England during the eighteenth century and its important influences on the development of English landscape gardening.

Ge (1992) critiqued the misreading of the Chinese gardens in England during the eighteenth century, as the designers' knowledge of China hardly exceeded some obscure and unsubstantial conceptions, which indicated that accurate construction and appropriate interpretation for Chinese gardens are significant in representing the Chinese culture and concept of gardens to visitors. Huang and Hong (2007) sidelined the history of the Tiger Balm Gardens in Singapore, in order to analyse its symbolic roles in the positioning of Singapore's Chineseness and Chinese diasporic culture. Very little research has been conducted on the development of the *new* authentic Chinese gardens abroad. Lu (2011) examined the historical process of transplanting the notion of experiential space into traditional painting and poetic theories to propose a new "narrative" metaphor for the Chinese garden from the perspective of an architect. Jock and Kirrily (2009) took the Chinese Garden of Friendship in Sydney, Australia as a case study to explore its potential to be an ethnic tourism destination in urban Australia. Rowe (2000) studied the historical background of the Dr Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden in Vancouver, as well as the history of Chinese immigrants to Canada during the Great War.

From the perspective of tourism studies, garden tourism has been considered as an individual niche among special interests tourism. Visiting Chinese gardens abroad is thus a niche within a niche. Research about Chinese garden tourism mainly focuses on the classical gardens built in China, especially royal gardens in Beijing (X. Huang & Wu, 2012; Weatherley & Rosen, 2013), and classical gardens in Suzhou (Tao, Dai, & Wu, 2002; Xu, 2000). However, Chinese gardens in New Zealand, especially the DCG, have received only limited attention from tourism scholars.

Chinese gardens in New Zealand

In New Zealand in 2013, as Table 2 illustrated, there are eight established Chinese-style or Chinese-themed gardens all managed by local authorities: Dunedin, Oamaru, Christchurch, Nelson, Hastings, Hawera, New Plymouth and Hamilton (Beattie, 2007). Three more Chinese garden projects are proposed and remain at the investigation stage: Wellington, Auckland and Taupo. Each garden was constructed or proposed with

different styles of ancient Chinese garden while representing Chinese and New Zealand identity.

Table 2 The Chinese gardens in New Zealand, in order of year of establishment

Name of Garden	Location & Year Built	Comments on the garden
Chinese Garden in King Edward Park	Hawera, early 20 th Century	Chinese elements in a public garden with no entry fee.
Chinese Scholars Garden in Hamilton Gardens	Hamilton, 1992	A gift from Wuxi. Department garden with no entry fee.
Chinese Garden in Hastings Osmanthus Gardens	Hastings, 1996	A gift from Guilin. Department Garden with no entry fee.
Chinese Garden in Oamaru's Public Gardens	Oamaru, 1998	A commemorative department Chinese garden offered by local Chinese community with no entry fee.
Gansu Chinese Garden in Halswell Quarry Park	Christchurch, 2001	A gift from Gansu Province. Department garden with no entry fee.
Kunming Garden in Pukekura Park	New Plymouth, 2005	A gift from Kunming. Department garden with no entry fee.
Huangshi Chinese Garden in Queens Gardens	Nelson, 2007	A gift from Huangshi. Department garden with no entry fee.
Dunedin Chinese Garden	Dunedin, 2008	A gift from Shanghai. Independent garden with entry fee.
Proposed Chinese garden projects		
Chinese garden in Taupo	Taupo	Remain at investigation stage.
Chinese garden in Frank Kitts Park	Wellington	Remain at investigation stage.
Chinese garden in Auckland	Auckland	Remain at investigation stage.

The Chinese Scholar's Garden in Hamilton represents the sister-city relationship between Hamilton and Wuxi with a typical Song Dynasty (960-1279) Chinese garden style (Hamilton Gardens Information Centre, undated). New Plymouth's Chinese garden project has an equivalent New Zealand Garden established in its sister city Kunming as a symbol of growing friendship (New Plymouth District Council, undated). The Kunming Garden combines New Zealand elements into its construction like local plants and stones. The DCG differs from the hybrid nature of the Kunming Garden by emphasizing the authenticity of a classical Chinese garden, modelled on the famous private Suzhou classical garden, Master of the Nets Garden (Beattie, 2007; Cao et al., 2007). The DCG is the only completed 'authentic' garden in New Zealand. The other

ones are built as a themed part of a larger western garden. Except for the Chinese garden in Hawera and the Chinese garden Oamaru, all the other Chinese gardens are built as a gift of sister cities from China. The one in Hawera was set up in the early twentieth century as a result of the western enthusiasm for Chinese gardening. While the Chinese garden in Oamaru was established by the local Chinese communities, mostly descendants of the Central Otago gold miners, to commemorate their ancestors and establish a permanent monument for future Chinese generations. The Chinese garden in Oamaru is also an attempt to make Chinese heritage more visible and recognized in New Zealand. Others represent the new trend following China's opening to the world since 1978. Besides the symbolic meanings of these gardens, they also embodied the deep history of "Chineseness" in New Zealand, as well as aspects of community identity and national identity.

In 1997, during the planning of the celebrations of 150th anniversary of the foundation of Otago, the idea of building a Chinese garden emerged as a means to commemorate the contribution Chinese settlers made to the region's development (J. Zhang & Shelton, 2012). A team of professionals from Shanghai, experienced in repairing and designing ancient Chinese gardens, was recruited in 2001 by the DCG's Trust to take on the project of DCG (Cao et al., 2007). As a symbol of the quintessence of Chinese culture and the history of Chinese in New Zealand, the garden's design was required to be authentic in both form and spirit (Beattie, 2007). In September 2008, the DCG was officially opened and has functioned since as a tourist attraction as well as a place of Chinese heritage in New Zealand.

The Chinese has been the largest ethnic group in New Zealand beside European and Polynesian groups since the mid-19th century (Beattie, 2007). During the Gold Rush, the Chinese miners in Otago experienced hardship and discrimination, and for a long period, the Chinese contribution to New Zealand's development remained largely unacknowledged (Miles, 2004). The Chinese have been the "essential outsiders" from the New Zealand mainstream for more than 130 years (Ip, 2003). Since Labour Prime Minister Helen Clark's public apology in 2002 for the Poll Tax and other discriminatory laws imposed on Chinese immigrants (Clark, 2002), the Chinese community has

received more attention from New Zealand authorities and publics, especially the preservation and development of local Chinese heritage.

There are various mining heritage and associated settlement sites in the South Island along the west coast, including Shantytown and Arrow town around Otago. However, few researchers have conducted studies on Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand. There is some literature about the history of Chinese in New Zealand (e.g. Bradshaw, 2009; Ip, 2003; Ng, 1993a). As the starting point of the proposed Chinese heritage trail, the DCG has also attracted a little academic attention. The architects of the DCG explained the concepts and philosophy behind the scenic Chinese-style garden (Cao et al., 2007). A Master's degree thesis by Yue Huang (2011) investigated the tourism development potential of Chinese heritage sites in New Zealand to attract both domestic and international tourists. The official description of the DCG mentions "a visitor and cultural attraction that provides an authentic Chinese Garden for residents and visitors" (Dunedin City Council, 2010). Zhang and Shelton (2012) critiqued the use of the term 'authentic' in the setting of this garden, arguing that it was the visitors' experiences of the garden that act to authenticate authenticity, or otherwise, depending on their personal characteristics. They explored the tensions between the DCG functioning as a tourism attraction and the notion of authentic Chineseness and questioned how visitors to an overseas Chinese garden perceive it and how these perceptions interact with this notion of 'authentic Chineseness'. Beattie (2007) also explored the development of Chinese gardens in New Zealand using case studies of the Kunming Garden and the DCG, discussing notions of Chineseness and national identity. Furthermore, a recent visitor study has been conducted by the Dunedin People's Panel (2012) regarding local visitors' motivation and satisfaction in visiting the DCG. To date, no research has been found on the stakeholder perspectives about the Garden's effectiveness in representing Chinese culture to visitors. The focus of this study, therefore, is on investigating of various stakeholders' views on the DCG as a means to present Chinese garden culture to domestic and international visitors to Dunedin. The next chapter introduces the methodological approach to addressing questions presented in Chapter One.

3. Contextual background

This dissertation was designed to gather various data about the DCG, and the contextual background was presented in this chapter based on different data resources, both literature review and interview results. This chapter focuses on the contextual background of the DCG, including a general introduction about Chinese heritage in Central Otago region, the performance of the tourism industry in Dunedin, as well as the history, management and visitation of the DCG. The descriptive findings provide bases for the understanding of further analysis. Two previous tourist studies about the DCG are used as secondary data to provide the understanding on the DCG's visitors.

3.1. Chinese history and heritage in Central Otago

The first Chinese arrived in New Zealand in 1842 as a steward in Nelson on the South Island. After the discovery of gold in the Otago region in 1861, more Chinese settlement in New Zealand occurred. In 1864, Otago gold mining suffered a slump due to the new gold fields found on the west coast. To fill the gap, the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce recruited Chinese miners from Victoria in Australia. The first shipment with 12 Chinese miners arrived at Dunedin in 1866, and more came directly from China the following year. By 1867, there were more than 1,000 Chinese miners in Otago region. The miners came directly from China, mainly from the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong Province, speaking Cantonese. Besides Australia and China, the Poll Tax records indicated that early settlement of Chinese also came from Canada and the western United States of America. The early immigration followed the pattern of the 19th century gold rushes around Pacific Rim mines, and it also was part of a global phenomenon—labour recruitment by European colonists in the New World (Pan, 1999). In the early 20th century, the depleted gold mines meant that the miners failed to achieve wealth. James Ng's (1993b) studies of Chinese settlement in New Zealand draw a grim picture of the early Chinese miners: "aging, poverty-stricken, marginalized and stranded in an alien land" (Pan, 1999, p. 286). Peter Chin, Poll Tax descendants interviewed, reported, "*most Chinese, like my grandparents, just wanted to make money and go back*

to China, while most of them have never made the trip". From 1900s to 1920s, many of the Chinese miners either left New Zealand or strove to make living in urban areas like Dunedin, usually as laundrymen or gardeners (Bradshaw, 2009; Ip, 2003; Ng, 1993b).

"The Chinese were firstly arrived here by invitation, and then, were not welcomed here and there were various government measures taken to dissuade them from coming, and the Poll Tax was very much part of that", recalled Peter Chin. The Poll Tax was imposed on Chinese immigrants by New Zealand government through the Chinese Immigration Act 1881. The act affected about 4,500 people and raised large sums of money (Te Ara, undated). In 1934, the Poll Tax was waived and finally repealed in 1944. In 2002, an official apology made by former New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark to the Chinese Poll Tax payers and their descendants symbolized the beginning of formal reconciliation (Ip, 2003). Following the apology, ten key historic sites, which illustrated the life of early Chinese immigrants in Otago region, were proposed for inclusion on the Register of the Historic Places Trust to enhance public awareness of Chinese heritage. Seven sites have finally been added to the list (Titus, 2003). A Chinese heritage trail was proposed to link the DCG, the goldfields of Lawrence-Tuapeka and the Cromwell Mining Centre as key draw-cards for visitors from China (Ng & Charteris, 2009). With about \$5 million from the central government, the Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust (CPTHT) was established in 2004 as a gesture to support the formal apology. The CPTHT aims at strengthening the unique identity of Chinese New Zealanders and their communities with both tangible and intangible aspects, promoting the preservation of Chinese New Zealand history and awareness of the contributions of early Chinese settlers, and providing tangible support for Chinese New Zealand history, language and culture, particularly that of the early settler Chinese community (The Department of Internal Affairs of New Zealand, undated). All the trustees of CPTHT are the descendants of Poll Tax payers, and Peter Chin is one of the Trustees. The CPTHT has supported various projects and researchers in promoting and preserving Chinese culture and heritage in New Zealand, including organizations'

projects and individuals' researches. In 2007, the CPTHT sponsored the construction of the DCG as a commemorative courtyard of early Chinese settlement.

All the informants agreed that Chinese culture and heritage were important and had received increased attention from New Zealand government and public. *The Arrowtown Chinese settlement is a great example to support that*, reported the Garden Trust's Secretary Adrian Thein. Arrowtown is located in Western Otago near Queenstown, and is a historic gold mining town, best known for its Chinese settlement. From 2003 to 2004, the Department of Conservation undertook a redevelopment project of the Arrowtown Chinese settlement, officially reopened by Prime Minister Helen Clark in May 2004 (The Department of Conservation, undated). As the director of the TOSM, Linda Wigley cited the example of the Southern Cemetery Chinese Burial Ground Restoration Project in Dunedin. This project started in 2005 and finished in April 2013 with a grant of over \$50,000 from the CPTHT. The separated section of the Chinese Burial Ground in the Southern Cemetery has been restored. On 7th April 2013, the traditional Chinese festival of Ching Ming Day (tomb sweeping day, for visiting the ancestors' graves, leaving flowers or nuts), in the presence of Dunedin's mayor, an opening and dedication ceremony was held to commemorate the ancestors of Chinese immigrants who were buried there during the early days (Historic Cemeteries Conservation Trust of New Zealand, 2013). Chinese heritage is an important part of New Zealand's multicultural history. Most of the key stakeholders (7) acknowledged that the positive attitude from government and community towards Chinese heritage will make Chinese tourists feel welcomed.

Huang (2011) analyzed three major Chinese heritage sites: the Chinatown at Shantytown on the West Coast, Lawrence Chinese Camp and Arrowtown Chinese settlement in Otago, and made suggestions of better promotion and interpretation to attract tourists. *The DCG symbolizes the Chinese heritage in New Zealand, it serves a touristic attraction, and what's more, it shows a positive image to tourists that New Zealand value Chinese community as an important part of the society*, said Adrian

Thein. To understand the characteristics and behaviours of visitors to the DCG, it is necessary to learn more about tourism in Dunedin.

3.2. Tourism in Dunedin

Tourism is Dunedin's second largest industry, after tertiary education. Forecasts suggest that the tourism expenditure in Dunedin will increase to \$416 million in 2016 (Tourism Strategy Group, 2010). Tourism also provides approximately 6% of Dunedin's total full-time jobs, and comprises about 5% of all business units in the city (Tourism Dunedin, 2012). Furthermore, *tourism provides local communities to develop better tolerance to foreigners*, noted councilor Bill Acklin. According to the *Dunedin Visitor Market Profile* (Tourism Dunedin, 2012), Dunedin hosted around 1.5 million domestic visitors, and the biggest domestic tourist market was residents in Otago region with 27% of total domestic tourists. Dunedin also hosted about 512,000 international visitors in 2011, while Australia is the biggest international tourist source with 7% of overall tourists. Both domestic tourists and international tourists expected to see friendly and welcoming local people in Dunedin (Tourism Dunedin, 2012). Domestic tourists looked forward to spend their holiday in a safe and secure Dunedin, while internationals' preference is more for scenery. All tourists perceived Dunedin as a relaxing place to visit.

Adrian Thein commented, *visitors from the cruise ships are booming, which is a good chance for Dunedin*. Dunedin is New Zealand's second most popular destination for cruise ships after Auckland. The Dunedin cruise market has grown substantially in the past five years, and presented a good opportunity for tourism growth in Dunedin. The 2012/2013 cruise season (from October to April each year) was expected to receive a total of 230,000 visitors and crew to visit Dunedin, an estimated growth rate of 17.9% over the previous year (Dunedin City Council, 2013a). The average rate of disembarkation in Dunedin (approx. 80% of visitors, and approx. 50% of crew) appears to be higher, and it is mainly due to the fact that Dunedin is either the first or the last port of call for New Zealand. Considering the location of most attractions within

Dunedin city, it is fair to say that the development of cruise ships is especially important. Considering the location of the DCG (close to the harbor and city centre), the cruise ships also provide the Garden with greater potential tourist market.

In 2008, Dunedin City Council (DCC), Tourism Dunedin along with Dunedin Host designed a Dunedin Visitor Strategy for 2008 to 2015, and developed a vision for tourism development in Dunedin:

By 2015, Dunedin will be New Zealand's premiere regional tourism destination for all visitors. They will be drawn to our unique wilderness, extensive heritage and cultural experiences, our hospitality, our passion for education and knowledge and our respect for the environment. Tourism will be a leading economic driver for the city and, as such, must be nurtured to maximise social and economic benefits.

Source: (Tourism Resource Consultants & Angus & Associates and Fernmade Ltd, 2008, p. 2)

When asked about tourism in Dunedin, most of the informants (5), and especially those who have spent most of their life time in Dunedin (2), expressed their affection and attachment to the “first city of New Zealand”. Dunedin has a distinctive architectural style with many historic Scottish buildings resulting from the early settlement of Scottish people, and most of them have become touristic attractions or been adapted for other functions. The city centre map (Figure 2), shows most of the built heritage attractions are concentrated in the city centre and easily accessible. The Octagon is the heart of Dunedin, and itself is a historic reserve hosting public activities and celebrations (i.e. Dunedin Midwinter Carnival in June 2013). The Octagon is also the major hub for public transport. Significant buildings around the Octagon, include the Dunedin Municipal Chambers (Dunedin Town Hall), Civic Centre and Public Library, the Regent Theatre (Dunedin's largest live theatre), Dunedin Public Art Gallery, and St. Paul's Anglican Cathedral. There are many restaurants and café, souvenir shops and shopping area, as well as dining nearby. The i-Site (tourism information office) also located near the Octagon. These elements make the Octagon the usual starting point for tourists. From along Stuart Street, tourists reach Dunedin's famous Railway Station,

adjacent to the newly reopened TOSM, and finally beside TOSM is the DCG. Opposite are the Queens Gardens, and the historic warehouse area, soon to be redeveloped as a Heritage Precinct. However, compared with the Octagon area, this waterfront zone is less accessible by public transport and lacks tourist facilities. Both Margo Reid (DCG manager) and Adrian Thein (of OSCA) suggested that establishing a Shanghai style restaurant within or around the Chinese garden would enhance the performance of the DCG as well as the whole area nearby. *“The landscaping, transportation and route designed are needed to be improved to cope with the needs of tourists in this area”*, reported TOSM director Linda Wigley.

Figure 2 The map of Dunedin City Centre



Note: 6=the Dunedin Chinese Garden

Source: (Dunedin i-site Visitor Center, 2013)

More than one of fifth of Dunedin's population are students; Otago University and Otago Polytechnic attract many higher education students. The historic and scenic Otago University campus is also a popular site for tourists, with a self-guided university tour available for visitors. The city thrives on innovation and a lively youthful subculture. Besides educational features, Dunedin also has many garden attractions for

tourists with horticultural interests. There are seven different gardens within Dunedin city and Otago Peninsula listed by the New Zealand Garden Trust. They are: Dunedin Botanic Garden, DCG, Glenfalloch Woodland Garden, Hereweka Garden Retreat, Larnach Castle Gardens, Northview and Wylde Willow Garden. The Dunedin Botanic Garden is the oldest garden in New Zealand, rated as a ‘garden of international significance’ by the New Zealand Garden Trust (New Zealand Garden Trust, undated). Dunedin also has abundant wild life on Otago Peninsula. To conclude the key features of Dunedin tourism, it is “a visitor destination [which] includes its heritage architecture, proximity to spectacular wildlife, the combination of Scottish and Chinese history, and a lively youth culture” (Tourism Resource Consultants & Angus & Associates and Fernmade Ltd, 2008). Councillor Bill Acklin noted, Dunedin’s rich touristic resources able to satisfy visitors who have different interests and expectations, and *we definitely need to figure out the expectations.*

3.3. The background of the Dunedin Chinese Garden

The DCG’s Chinese name is Lan Yuan (兰园), characters which contain special meanings at several levels. The Chinese character Lan 兰 is the third element of New Zealand’s Chinese name Xin Xi Lan (新西兰) (Xin literally means ‘New’, and Xi Lan is a transliteration of ‘Zealand’). On the other hand, Lan 兰 literally means orchid in Chinese, and orchid is the city flower of Dunedin’s sister city Shanghai. The DCG supporter John Jeffery reported that the DCG is a traditional Chinese scholar’s garden based on the Suzhou Scholar’s Garden—Master of the Fishing Nets. The title of the garden booklet, *Lan Yuan: the Garden of Enlightenment*, already reflects the function of the scholar’s garden in Chinese history, “the portrayal of a mood, so that the hills, waters, plants, and buildings as well as their spatial relationship are not just a mere materialistic environment but also evoke a spiritual atmosphere” (Lou, 2003, p. 3).

3.3.1. The historic background to the establishment of the Dunedin Chinese Garden

Dunedin was the starting point for Chinese miners' settlement in New Zealand. The year 1998 was the 150th anniversary of European settlement in Otago. In 1996, the DCC established a committee to oversee the preparation of the celebrations, and Peter Chin then a councilor, served on that committee. During the planning, it was felt that the Chinese community should be also involved in the anniversary. Dr. James Ng chaired a committee made of Chinese people (whom Peter Chin noted were literarily all descendants of Poll Tax payers) for the Chinese celebration. A themed "Chinese Week" was held during February of 1998, as part of the celebration to coincide with the traditional Chinese New Year. Furthermore in 1996 the Chinese committee proposed a permanent commemoration for the legacy of Chinese settlement. It was finally agreed to build a Chinese garden, with a Chinese garden committee set up and chaired by Peter Chin. After the Poll Tax Act was officially repealed in 1944, *being invited to take part in the 150 years celebrations was something that was quite important and bearing mind that I am a Poll Tax descendent, and most of the Chinese in those times were descendants of Poll Tax payers* (Peter Chin). That was the very beginning of the Chinese garden initiative.

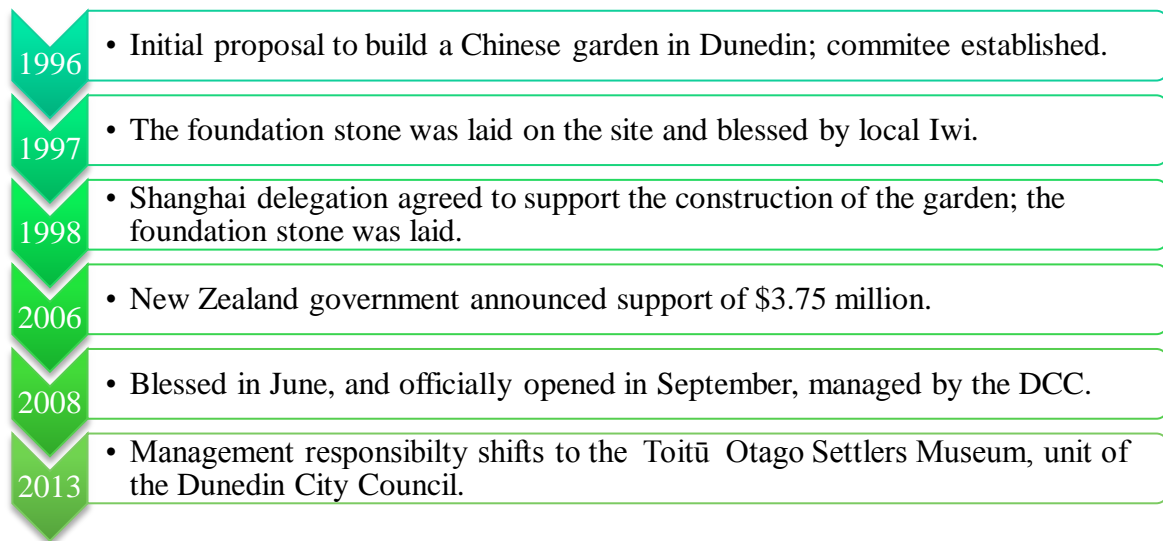
Drawing on the informants' interviews, especially Peter Chin's account, and literature reviews, the key events in the history of developing the DCG is acknowledged and presented in Figure 3. Once the Chinese garden committee was established, its first challenge was to find a suitable site. The choice of site needed to face the fact that "no money was available to purchase land", and meet the requirements of "close to the city centre to function as a tourist attraction" (Field, 2009, pp. 11-12). A series of site meetings were held with representatives of local iwi, TOSM and DCC. Finally the DCC gifted the land next to the TOSM in 1996. No committee member knew how to build a Chinese garden, so they secured an architect familiar with the Chinese garden concept. This was Bruce Young, based in Auckland. Bruce Young's design became the

preliminary design of the current garden landscape. Alongside the design process, the Committee met the local iwi to discuss their plans of constructing a Chinese cultural feature in Dunedin because “Maori were the ‘seniors’ in this country and felt they needed to exhibit their ‘respect’ for this [plan]” (Field, 2009, p. 14). An official delegation from Shanghai Museum created the chance for the garden committee to build relationships with Shanghai Museum, and the Shanghai delegation expressed their support and willingness to contribute to the project for the whole Chinese community in New Zealand. *They told us that they would support us, and build the garden for us. It took us some years to understand exactly what they meant by that, but in simple terms they were going to bring all the materials over and build the garden for us for a fixed price* (Peter Chin). Shanghai Cultural Relics Management Institute then became involved and helped the design of the garden to ensure its authenticity in both form and spirit. In March, 1998, the foundation stone of the garden was laid in the presence of the deputy mayor of Shanghai, blessed by the local iwi at the dawn ceremony. The fundraising was also started at the same time. The total cost to construct the garden was about NZ \$7 million. In addition to donating land, the DCC also contributed NZ \$1 million towards the project. Public donations raised another NZ \$1 million, and the grant of NZ \$3.75 million from the New Zealand central government in 2006 ensured the garden-materialized. When asked why the central government contributed to the project, Peter Chin said in a recent speech on sister-cities:

Why would the Government fund a project such as this [the DCG]? You would have to ask the cabinet of the day, but my guess is that it provided tremendous fillip to the Free Trade Agreement negotiations. They knew that we had reached the end of our fundraising endeavours and that without Government support the project would not have been able to proceed. Given Shanghai had made a considerable contribution there might have been a significant loss of face on our part if we had not matched their generosity.

(Chin, 2013)

Figure 3 Key events in the history of Dunedin Chinese Garden



In June 2008, the Garden was blessed and opened to the public. In September 2008, former Prime Minister Helen Clark returned to officially open the Garden. In July, the management of the DCG will shift to the recently reopened Toitū Otago Settlers' Museum in order to improve its operational performance.

3.3.2. Organizations involved with the building and management of Dunedin Chinese Garden

Without the support and contributions from various sponsors and trusts, the DCG could not have happened. The key organizations and individuals involved are represented by the informants as shown in Table 3. The Dunedin Chinese Garden's Trust was the key driver of the DCG. It coordinated the construction, overseeing the design of an authentic garden, the fundraising and liaison with the Shanghai partners—the Shanghai Municipal Government and the Shanghai Museum. Peter Chin stressed that the Trust comprised not only Chinese members: *the contribution of the European Trustees was equally as important*. OCTA Association Ltd provided professional project management to the Trust to help with the visioning and strategy, as well as facilitating the relationship and coordination with the Shanghai Museum and the design, prefabrication and construction with the Shanghai Construction and Decoration

Company. Friendship organizations like Otago Southland Chinese Associations (OSCA), New Zealand and China Friendship Society (NZCF Society), and Dunedin Shanghai Association supported and donated to the realization of the DCG at different levels. Once completed, the DCG Trust handed the Garden over to the DCC to manage.

Table 3 Profile of informants and their affiliated organizations

Informants	Affiliated organization	Organizations' Description	Relationship with the DCG
Adrian Thein	Otago Southland Chinese Association	Friendship org.	Community donation, promotion
	OCTA Association Ltd	Commercial org.	Project management
	The DCG's Trust	Governing body	Founder member
Bill Acklin	Councilor at the DCC	Local government	Supporter
	Community Development Committee	Local government	Management
Hamish Saxton	Tourism Dunedin	Independent regional tourism org.	Provide promotion and marketing
Haixin Jiang	Chinese Department of Otago University	Academic institution	No formal relationship, but cultural affiliation
	New Zealand China Friendship Society	Friendship org.	Supporter
John Jeffery	Facebook page of the DCG	Independent enthusiast/support	Research and support
Linda Wigley	Toitū Otago Settlers Museum	Local authority museum	Cooperation, & from 1 July 2013, management
Peter Chin	The DCG Trust	Founding body	Key founder
	Former mayor (2004-2009)	Local government	Supporter
	Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Tax	Funder	Sponsor
Steven Spelman	New Zealand China Friendship Society	Friendship org.	Supporter
	Dunedin Shanghai Association	Friendship org.	Supporter
Margo Reid	The DCG	Management team	Manager

Interestingly, none of the interviewed informants mentioned D.M.Field, author of a 2009 account of the DCG's development (Field, 2009). This account hints at some divided views on the project's genesis. In particular, Field (2009) implies that he and Peter Chin each make claims to establish the first Garden committee.

The DCG's manager explained the DCC management structure: *We have an advisory board which is part of the agreement when the Trust handed over to the city to run and manage. Board members include "two from the Trust", "the chairman of the Community Development Committee of the Council", "independent individuals", and a "marketing advisor". I sit on the board as an observer but also to report back to the board and get instructions from them and helping to manage the garden.* The City Council took over the ownership of the Garden and provides management, maintenance and all the administrative, day-to-day functioning of the Garden. The current (2012-2013) funding of the DCG comes partially from generating its own revenue. In 2011/2012 financial year, 37% of the operational funding was self-generated, while the rest came from ratepayer revenue from the City Council (Dunedin City Council, 2012a). It is anticipated that the garden could breakeven in the future.

Tourism Dunedin is a regional tourism organization (RTO) funded by the DCC and industrial partnerships. It promotes Dunedin as a must-see destination to attract tourists. Its director Hamish Saxton described the relationship with the DCG; *the DCG gives us a new product to add to Dunedin story.* For Tourism Dunedin, the DCG is a tourist attraction, and they provide promotion and marketing support for overall tourism development in Dunedin.

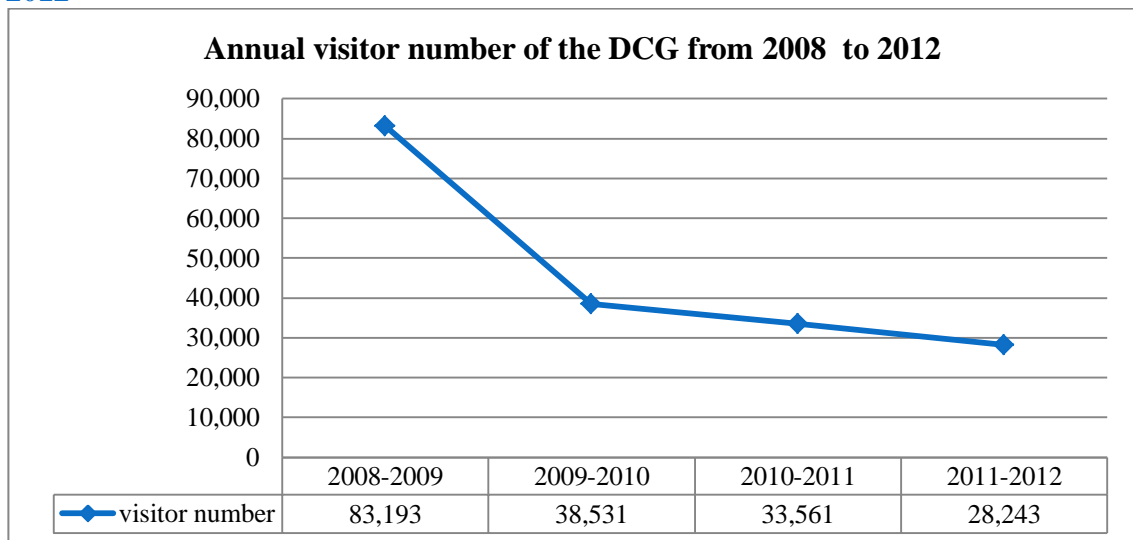
After understanding fully the background history and management of the DCG, it is also important to consider "Who is visiting the DCG?" The following section introduces two visitor studies conducted previously on DCG.

3.3.3. Visitation to the Dunedin Chinese Garden

In 2012 two tourist studies were conducted, each regarding the DCG only as a tourist attraction, and focused on the tourist perspective to provide information and suggestions to improve the management of the DCG. The DCC Annual Report 2011/2012 recorded, the annual visitation decreasing from over 80,000 in 2008 to less than 30,000 in 2012 (see Figure 4). The survey of residents carried out by the Dunedin

People's Panel revealed that most visitors have only visited once or a few times since its opening and described the DCG as an “oncer” (The Dunedin People's Panel, 2012). The main deterrents to revisiting are the entry fee and lack of interest. Another tourist study by Loewe (2012) produced similar results. The DCG's current manager Margo Reid acknowledged that situation and endeavoured to change the current visitation by attracting repeat visitors. However, the barrier of the admission fee has been a hot topic among the community, public media as well as the key stakeholders, and it will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Figure 4 The annual visitor number of the Dunedin Chinese Garden from 2008 to 2012



Source: (Dunedin City Council, 2012a)

The two visitor studies also provided a profile of the visitors to the DCG, their main features, characteristics and behaviour patterns. The typical DCG visitor is a female, white European-New Zealander, which reflects Dunedin's ethnic composition (The Dunedin People's Panel, 2012). Compared with the typical garden visitor found by Connell (2004) and Ward et al. (2010), which was female, white, middle-aged to over 50 and in higher income bracket, the visitor to the DCG is slightly different and has its own distinctive features. There is no significant age gap in the visitors to the DCG, and the 20 to 29 age group is the best represented, a consideration of the high number of students in Dunedin's population. Meanwhile, the average income of the visitors is

correspondingly lower than the one in prior garden research. It is noteworthy that both surveys indicated that visitors go to the DCG with friends or spouses for social-bonding, retreat and relaxation, and largely motivated by the need of pleasure and special interests (in horticulture, or Chinese culture). Besides the DCG itself, the various events including concerts, exhibitions, meditation, kids' activities, especially traditional Chinese festival celebrations (like the Chinese New Year and Lantern Festival) offered are proven to be effective in encouraging the visitors to come.

The two visitor studies also raised several visit-related issues. The cost to visit the DCG was considered as one of the barriers preventing visitors from coming. The issue of cost was discussed among the key stakeholders, and it will need to be considered comprehensively. The Tea Shop in the DCG has also been a controversial issue: many visitors complained about the limited food and beverage choice offered in the shop, and required more choice on into the menu. The western style snacks may ruin the authenticity of the Tea Shop, which was designed to present only traditional Chinese snacks (J. Zhang & Shelton, 2012). In this sense, to identify appropriate representations and interpretations that will provide visitors with pleasure, while still offering authentic experiences is essential for the DCG to manage.

3.4. Chapter summary

This chapter covered findings emerging from secondary literatures and primary interview data, providing fuller contextual background of the DCG from its historic origin, tourism market environment, construction history and visitor studies. Having understood the DCG's history and visitation characteristics, it is essential to investigate how the key stakeholders have perceived the visitor profile and their expectations. In the next chapter, the appropriate research method are proposed and analyzed to collect data and ultimately answer the research question.

4. Methodology

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

Refined by the literature review, the central research question of this study is *How far do the key stakeholders on the supply side consider the DCG succeeds in representing Chinese culture to visitors?* The purpose of the study, therefore, is to gain insights into stakeholders' perceptions of the success, or otherwise, of the Garden in achieving its purpose as visitor attraction.

4.1. Selection of research approach

Given the exploratory nature of this research, a qualitative research method was adopted. Babbie (2010) suggested that qualitative methods focus on capturing an understanding of social phenomena which are difficult to express with precise numbers. According to Creswell (2008), the process of research involves identifying emerging questions and procedures; collecting data, typically in the participant's setting; analyzing data inductively building from particulars to general themes; and the researcher then making interpretations of the meanings of the data. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation (Creswell, 2008). The 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 nature and value of the DCG in New Zealand, and to explore why this Chinese garden was built, how it is being managed and developed, to what extent it represents Chinese culture in New Zealand and how this representation related to Chinese and other non-Chinese residents in New Zealand. Adopting this method not only allowed the author to gain an insider's

perspective by having a direct and personal contact with the people involved in managing, developing, promoting and selling the DCG (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Riley, 1990), but also enabled the author within a limited time frame to gain a relatively deep understanding about the current development of the DCG from a supply side point-of-view.

Specifically, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect qualitative data. 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 specific point of view (Patton, 2002). This also has the advantage of allowing new information to emerge with opportunities for validating or clarifying issues raised in the interviews (Creswell, 2009). 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, conversational setting (E. Babbie, 2007; Patton, 2002).

4.2. Exploratory qualitative study

Saunders et al (2009) recommended the criteria to choose an appropriate research strategy, including four conditions: 1) selected based on research questions and objectives; 2) related to the extent of existing knowledge on the subject area to be researched; 3) limited by the amount of time and resources available; 4) and decided by the philosophical underpinnings of the researcher. Both Yin (2003) and Saunders et al (2009) acknowledged that although various research strategies exist, there are large overlaps among them and hence the important consideration would be to select the most advantageous strategy for a particular research study. The author purposefully chose to focus on a single case for exploring the phenomenon of the Chinese gardens built abroad. Yin (2003) defined case study as an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). Yin’s definition did not recognize one of the observable features that differentiates case study from other research strategies, which is the use of single case study and multi-case study. Thus, Dul

and Hak (2008) further defined case study as “a study in which (a) one case (single case study) or a small number of cases (multi-case study) in their real life context are selected and (b) scores obtained from these case are analysed in a qualitative manner” (p. 4). Yin (2003) describes single case study as ‘holistic’, and multi-case study as ‘embedded’.

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 (Mabry, 2008; Stake, 2003). The other reason for taking this approach relates to Jennings’ (2010) 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. Within the scope of a Master’s dissertation, there is only sufficient time to undertake an exploratory investigation of a single case.

The DCG was selected as the study site. The DCG is located close to Dunedin’s historic railway station and the Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (TOSM). It was officially opened on 8th June, 2008 in the presence of the Prime Minister and the Chinese Ambassador. While there are many Chinese gardens around the world, there are only a few ‘authentic’ Chinese gardens outside China. Dunedin’s Chinese garden is the first in the southern hemisphere to be built by Chinese builders and artisans, using age-old techniques, with all above-ground materials sourced from China. The concept of authenticity is used to feature and distinguish the DCG from other Chinese gardens in New Zealand, and controversies about the notion of authenticity have already arisen in public discussions. This project is exploratory and aims to study the development and management of DCG in order to investigate the effectiveness of this garden in representing Chinese culture to both domestic and international visitors from the perspective of key stakeholders in the DCG. From the results of the research, suggestions will be provided to address the demands of visitors.

Though the study of the DCG may not allow generalization of findings on the management, development and interpretation issues of New Zealand’s Chinese heritage

directly to other sites, the research can provide useful understandings able to assist the DCG's managers and supporters. To the participants this research gives the opportunity to reflect on the effectiveness of the DCG as a presentation of one aspect of Chinese cultural heritage, and its place in Dunedin's tourism offerings. The insights gained may help to also enhance the management of the DCG. For the wider community, the research findings have the potential to improve the visitor experiences at the DCG for local and international visitors.

To complement the interviews the author spent time observing the sites and the artifacts and available interpretative material about the DCG. Data were also gathered by photographing the sites, collecting 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 the 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" (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006, p. 23). In practical terms, both document analysis and semi-structured interviews (with nine participants) were conducted. Document analysis included visitor survey reports and local authority reports about the DCG, and serve to 'triangulate' findings from the interviews.

4.3. Interview design

According to Tongco (2007), "the purposive sampling technique is a type of non-probability sampling that is most effective when one needs to study a certain cultural domain with knowledgeable experts within" (p. 1). Thus, a purposive sample was chosen for this research. In order to meet the research objectives, the author interviewed representatives of the main groups of people who are or were involved in, and support, the development of DCG. These include the people who are currently, or have in the past been, directly or indirectly involved in developing or managing the DCG. After discussion with Dunedin-based people, eight organizations and/or individuals with five different perspectives were identified, from which to provide an adequate diversity of opinions (Table 3). In total, nine semi-structured interviews were carried out. The ninth interview was conducted with the current manager of the DCG to provide additional

contextual information—and an insider’s knowledge of the current operational aspects of the Garden. In order to minimize bias, other current management team of the DCG including tourist service and garden maintaining was excluded from the potential informants. Based on the investigation on the contextual background of the DCG, Peter Chin was one of the main proponents of this garden project, and has been worked as one of the key founding members in advancing the development of the sister city relationships between Dunedin and Shanghai; overtime his opinions have been very influential on the thinking of other key stakeholders.

Table 4 Stakeholder informants, their affiliations and interview method

Key Stakeholders		
Affiliated organizations	Potential Informants	Interview method
Tourism Dunedin	Hamish Saxton	Telephone interview
Dunedin City Council	Bill Acklin	Face-to-face interview
Otago University	Haixin Jiang	Face-to-face interview
New Zealand China Friendship Society	Steven Spelman	E-mail interview
Toitū Otago Settlers’ Museum	Linda Wigley	Fact-to-face interview
Facebook Page of DCG (independent)	John Jeffery	E-mail interview
The DCG’s Trust	Peter Chin	Face-to-face interview
Otago Southland Chinese Association	Adrian Thein	Face-to-face interview
Manager—directly involved		
The manager of the DCG	Margo Reid	Face-to-face interview

The informants were each recruited via a telephone call or email. In all cases, they received an invitation letter (Appendix 1), a research information sheet (Appendix 2), and a consent form (Appendix 3). If the informant agreed to participate, a date and time was arranged. Consistent with the AUT Human Ethics guidelines before the interviews, all respondents were given and asked to sign a Consent Form. All those approached agreed to participate. For the telephone interviews, the Consent Form was sent to respondents by 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 would be used only with their permission. All informants consented to be named and did not withdraw at any point from the interviews. All interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder

with the permission of participants for later transcription and data analysis. The author also took notes during the interviews (as a safeguard against technological failure).

With the semi-structured interview as data-gathering method and key-stakeholders as informants, the scope and structure of the interviews had to be determined. The interview design focused on gaining general information on the DCG (history, development, management, marketing, visitation), an understanding of the key stakeholders' involvement in the Garden, and their views of the Garden's effectiveness in representing Chinese culture in New Zealand. Finally, five discussion themes emerged from literature review and contextual background research, also served as the initial coding. A template of inductive of interview questions for informants (appendix 4) was produced to provide guideline for the interviews.

Since the key informants were busy professionals, the focus of interviews needed to be tight, minimizing the risk of discussions exceeding a reasonable time. The interviews were expected to last about 30 to 45 minutes, allowing for the possibility of the informant having more enthusiasm, inclination and time.

4.4. Research ethics

Every effort was made to conduct this research in an ethical manner. Researchers are bound by ethical standards and should be responsible for what they are undertaking (Jennings, 2010). This research followed AUTEK principles for the ethical use and management of research information with respect to the following requirements:

- Informed and voluntary consent
- Respect for rights of privacy and confidentiality
- Minimization of risk
- Truthfulness, including limitation of deception
- Social and cultural sensitivity, including commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi
- Research adequacy

- Avoidance of conflict of interest
- Respect for vulnerability of some participants
- Respect for property (including University property and intellectual property rights)

Approval was received by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 28 February 2013 with AUTEK Reference number 13/13.

4.5. Qualitative data analysis

Each interview was transcribed verbatim with as much contextual accuracy as possible upon completion. The author 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 any newly revealed themes. Upon the completion of fieldwork, in-depth analysis of interview data was conducted. The interviews were transcribed and subjected to a thematic analysis of content.

The interview transcripts were firstly analyzed 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 (E. R. Babbie, 2010; Lofland et al., 2006). In each of the five key question areas (Appendix 4), distinct themes emerged and these are discussed along with findings from the document analysis and the literature reviewed. Since the data did not match the initial coding, the coding structure was adjusted to reveal new themes. Initial coding guidelines the interviewing questions, while new themes emerged during the interviewing process, the author adjusted the notion of interviewing questions in the later interviews. Finally, six themes emerged from the interviews (see Table 5). Apart from interview data, this research was also supplemented with the analysis of academic literature, documentary material, such as local government reports and informational material provided by the case study site, and photographs. Further thematic analysis work was then conducted with these materials.

The main themes are presented, and analyzed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Quotations from interviews are presented in italics.

Table 5 Example of interview content analysis

Themes	Responses	Informants (Total N=9)
The distinct authenticity of the DCG	It is a heritage for future generations.	2
	It is a touristic attraction with commercial values.	1
	It is an educational tool to teach Chinese culture.	5
	It is just a modern Chinese garden, and it is not authentic as it is lack of the social-cultural root in its setting.	1
The dimensions in the representation of Chinese culture in New Zealand	The construction and planting authentically represent the Chinese gardening culture. The traditional Chinese festivals will be celebrated here. (tangible and visible)	9
	The symbolic meaning represented by the DCG, including Confucianism in Chinese culture as well as the commemoration to the early Chinese settlers in Otago region. It is the icon of sister city relationship. (intangible and invisible)	8
Controversial public image and money issues	The negativity (the fact that it is still not break even) from public media did exist.	1 with negative attitude
	The true meaning of the DCG will be accepted by public through education programs in the DCG.	3
	The cooperation with Toitū Settlers Museum will help to achieve a win-win situation.	8
Strengthen the sister city relationship with Shanghai	The strengthened relationship with Shanghai will benefit Dunedin from various aspects.	9
Enhance the city image and city planning of Dunedin	Adding elements to the Dunedin story. Adding diversity to the development of the Heritage precinct around the area. “a city of culture and heritage”	5
Benefits to the diverse communities in Otago region	NZ is a multi-cultural country, and everyone is from somewhere else. The DCG will help people to notice that.	2
	To make the Chinese visible, help them to notice their Chinese identity.	4

4.6. Limitations of the dissertation

The limitations of this dissertation are discussed and summarized in the following paragraphs including three aspects: method, data collection and data analysis.

As this research used purposive case sampling techniques, the informants did not necessarily represent the entire membership of the key stakeholder organizations. The findings from this small sample therefore have limited generalizability. The relatively small sample might also have resulted in certain biased results. More systematic research on both supply side and visitors of the DCG is needed in the future.

The data collection was restricted to the key stakeholders based in the Dunedin region due to the limitations of time, budget and human resources available. Whether the particularity of the Dunedin key stakeholders means the findings from this region can be applied to other key stakeholders outside Dunedin can be questioned. Moreover, the researcher's interpretation of the interview data could also cause bias in the presentation of research findings.

5. Research findings: Themes emerging from the research

This chapter will present the main research findings based on themes which emerged from the interviews. The findings are presented under five broad themes. The first dimension will focus on discussion of authenticity and heritage issues associated with the DCG. The second dimension will cover the issues of cultural representations, including how the nature of the DCG has been perceived by the key stakeholders and whether it has effectively represented Chinese identity in Dunedin. The third part will provide debates on the financial aspects of the DCG as a tourist attraction. The next section will provide analysis of the function of DCG as an icon of the sister-city relationship between Shanghai and Dunedin. The last section will discuss the future development of the DCG and its cooperation with the future city planning for Dunedin, especially the proposed Warehouse Heritage Precinct plan around the area. Overall, each dimension reflected the influence of the DCG on the development of diverse communities in Otago region.

5.1. Perceived authenticity: heritage and present-centeredness

The DCG was formally opened to the public in June, 2008 in the presence of Prime Minister Helen Clark and Chinese ambassador Zhang Yuanyuan, as a sister-city gift from Shanghai Municipal Government. It was managed by the DCC with the objective “to showcase the nature of authentic Chinese Garden architecture and related Chinese culture, as well as being a successful visitor attraction” (Dunedin City Council, 2009). The garden was described in its official brochure (Appendix 5) with three dimensions: (1) The DCG is an authentic example of a late Ming, early Ching Dynasty (1620-1671) Scholar’s Garden; (2) it celebrates the Chinese influence on Otago’s history and heritage from the gold rush days of the 1860s; (3) and Dunedin’s Sister City relationship with Shanghai. The DCG has been marketed to visitors as “the only authentic Chinese garden in Southern Hemisphere”. The data gathered from informants showed perceivable authenticity three aspects: architecture, activity and people.

Figure 5 The layout map of the Dunedin Chinese Garden.



Source: (Dunedin Chinese Garden, undated-b)

Figure 6 Site Plan of Dunedin Chinese Garden



Source: (Cao et al., 2007)

The DCG is authentic in terms of its design, material, plants and construction. It took eight years for the design process to achieve authenticity, cultural accuracy and practical functionality. The initial landscape design was made by Bruce Young, who was very familiar with the architectural concept of the Chinese garden. Cao Yongkang of Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Chen Ling of Tongji University, and Tan Yufeng of Shanghai Museum then continued and enhanced Bruce Young's idea, and applied the basis of a traditional scholar's garden in Jiangnan 江南 (south of the Yangtze River region in China) (Cao et al., 2007). Even though the art of Chinese gardens begins with the imperial gardens and parks, it reached its apogee with the development of private gardens in Jiangnan region, functioning as a place of study, meditation and recreation for the scholars. The classical gardens in Suzhou, China, are the typical Jiangnan garden style and were listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997 (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1997). The architects from Shanghai strictly followed the traditional rules of building a Jiangnan scholar's garden. Steps and disciplines from "the concept 立意", "the design 章法", "the large and the small 大小之韵", "the real and illusory 虚实之韵", "the expansive vistas and the hidden mysteries 旷奥之韵", "the winding and the straight 曲直之韵" and "the moving and the still 动静之韵" are all reflected in the garden (Cao et al., 2007).

The individual Chinese garden enthusiast John Jeffery strongly appreciated the authentic design and the beauty of the DCG. The art of Chinese gardens emphasizes the embodiment of nature in a small space, and achieve profound harmony between humanity and nature. Each part of the DCG contains traditional conceit and metaphor. The whole garden could be divided into three main parts (see Figure 5 and Figure 6), comprising (1) the entrance area, (2) the study area, and (3) the recreation area with pond and scenic area. The other reason for choosing a Jiangnan scholar's garden as the model to build the DCG was largely due to the limited size and the surrounding environment of the land. The scholar's garden was originally built for private family use, and usually located within relatively bustling city areas, as an extension of a place for family rest and private study. Thus, the design model of a Jiangnan scholar's garden was a suitable model for the design of the DCG able to represent the essence of the Chinese garden culture (Table 5).

After the design concept was decided, each element of the final construction—from rockery to water, to buildings and to plants—is key to the completion of the project. To ensure the accuracy of realizing the design, the whole garden was pre-fabricated in a warehouse in Suzhou on a land identical in size and shape with the one in Dunedin. Forty experienced artisans and supervisors, along with all the assembled garden materials including the Tai Lake rocks, were shipped to Dunedin with special permission given to reconstruct the garden in Dunedin with the authentic traditional methods. The workforce and supervisors were from the Shanghai Construction and Decoration Company, which is the only authorized construction company of the Shanghai Museum and has built many Chinese gardens abroad. Thus, the authenticity of the construction was guaranteed.

Table 6 The traditional design principles of the Dunedin Chinese Garden

Chinese garden principles	English term	Explanation	Construction in the DCG
立意	the concept	The conception of a garden must precede its construction.	Choose the private gardens of Jiangnan as the primary model for DCG.
章法	the design	The magic of garden design lies in the interplay of illusion and reality, the contrast between large and small, and the balance between high and low.	The flexible use of contrast (of size, of substantiality, of visibility and of line) in order to create a garden space with rhythm and with metre. The DCG realized an opulent and congenial design with a small area.
大小之韵	the large and the small	The more sparsely a garden is laid out, the more spacious it feels and more changes there are, thus creating a sense of boundless space within a limited area.	The DCG give much space to water to serve as the focus of the garden, with the garden's various features deployed along its banks.
虚实之韵	the real and illusory	Both to be natural but also to be replete with affections, to merge the living with the emotional.	e.g.: if the peaks of the rockery are real, the surface of the pond provides for the illusory; scenic spots are real, the spaces created between these spots are full of the illusory.
旷奥之韵	the expansive vistas and the hidden mysteries	Expansive vistas open, expansive and suffused with light, whereas hidden mysteries.	e.g.: entering through the gate of the garden and proceeding on through the gatehouse, once one is beyond the Flying Canopy, all one will be able to see will be a thin horizontal strip of water and a small corner of the rockery.
曲直之韵	the winding and the straight	Every curve and line, each open space or hidden recess, is used to create sceneries from different angles.	e.g.: the use of winding paths, winding walkways and winding ponds, combined with the straight lines on buildings and terrace to create a sense of harmonious beauty.
动静之韵	the moving and the still	The designed function of areas; the experiences of visitors; a continual exchange of movement and stasis embodied on the same object.	e.g.: The stream, the trees, the flowers and the plants embody both motion and stasis along with the change of seasons and weather.

Source: (Cao et al., 2007)

The authenticity of the offered activities and souvenirs has been mentioned by the manager of the DCG Margo Reid. Routine activities like Mandarin lessons, Chinese puzzles, Weiqi club (the board game Go) and English corners (a form of English

courses) for English learners are arranged weekly. Special occasions, including traditional Chinese festival celebrations and themed performances, are the key attractions for the DCG. The Chinese New Year and Lantern Festival are the most important days in Chinese culture; therefore the DCG holds special celebrations every year and tries to involve the whole community in experiencing unique Chinese New Year customs. Linda Wigley recalled that the New Purple Forbidden City Orchestra visited Dunedin and performed in the garden in 2011. The orchestra impressed Dunedin audiences with classical Chinese music accompanied by poetry from the great dynasties of Chinese history (Otago Southland Chinese Association, 2011). The school programme is another important part of the garden's offer. Interactive games are arranged specially for school children to learn about traditional Chinese culture, like puzzles and drawing activities; snake hunting featured with the Year of Snake in 2013 from Chinese zodiac stories. Besides these activities, the Tea Shop was designed to offer Chinese tea and traditional snacks, like dumpling, as well as Chinese-style souvenirs, like embroidery and calligraphy works. However, in order to cope with the needs of visitors (as shown in the previous visitor studies, the majority of the visitors are western people), western-style food and beverage, such as coffee and muffins, were recently added to the menu. This compromising adjustment has been argued by Zhang and Shelton (2012) as the encroachment of western elements.

The management team of the DCG consists of Visitor Services Officers, Volunteers, Gardener and Manager, eight people in total, among which are two Chinese workers and others who are generally enthusiastic about Chinese culture. Everyone is required to wear a traditional Chinese costume—Tangzhuang (literally Chinese suit), which originated at the end of Ching Dynasty (1644–1911). At the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Shanghai in November 2001, the host presented silk-embroidered Tangzhuang jackets as the Chinese traditional national costume. With the support from Yu Yuan—its sister garden in Shanghai—staffs have the chance to learn Chinese knowledge from them, and with TOSM—its neighbour and

future partner—is able to co-arrange activities with them, multiple forces provide the management team with rich knowledge and the proper skill to interpret to visitors. Local friendship organizations, including Otago Southland Chinese Association (OSCA), New Zealand China Friendship Society (NZCF Society) and Dunedin Shanghai Association (DSA), also collaborated in staff training and special activities.

Stakeholders' interviews indicate that the DCG has strong potential to attract visitors and locals to experience and explore. Observations on the features of the DCG include: "*it is unique*", "*it is special*" and "*it is different*". The authenticity of the building and garden is recognized as a representation of Chinese garden and horticulture. However, actual visitor numbers did not meet the expected target. Dr. Haixin Jiang, who immigrated to New Zealand from China in 1980s, revealed one potential reason for Chinese not visiting the DCG: *As to me, the garden is not an authentic Chinese garden. The authentic gardens I recognize are all in China with a long history and culture attachment with local society, it (the DCG) is just a set of new Chinese-style buildings to me.* This opinion agrees with the idea that the objective authenticity of an attraction is irrelevant to most tourists (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006), and there is no standard authenticity. The perceived authenticity largely depends on the visitors' characteristics and experiences. Then, who are the targeted visitors expected by key stakeholders? Could they effectively distinguish the designed authentic Chinese features of the DCG? It is important to note that Dr. Jiang was the only New Asians who contributed to this study, and in future research the views of a wider sample of Dunedin based New Asians should be collected.

When considering the targeted visitors, each informant provided similar yet slightly different opinions. Controversial points mainly focused on the primary marketing group. Peter Chin emphasized that the DCG is for everyone, without consideration of nationality or ethnicity, as to him the DCG is presented mainly to commemorate the early Chinese settlers' hardship and admire their contribution rather than promoting Chinese culture. Other stakeholder informants (6) consider the locals (regardless of

ethnicity) as the main targeted visitors, while Margo Reid, as manager, especially focuses on attracting repeat local visitors. Current visitation at the DCG is roughly 60% from outside of Dunedin, and 40% from local. There are fewer local visitors than the inbound visitors mainly due to the lack of the repeat guests. Linda Wigley and Adrian Thein noted the cruise ship visitors as a major market for the DCG. Giving that the major targeted market is—the locals, how the key stakeholders classify the DCG? Knowing this could strengthen its function accordingly.

Informants' descriptions of the nature of the DCG can be categorized into three types: heritage and cultural site, education place and tourist attraction. Peter Chin and Margo Reid prefer to consider the DCG primarily as a heritage and cultural site, but with different emphases. Peter Chin sees the garden as heritage for future generations—not just Chinese, but everyone in Dunedin—even though it is only 5 years old, *but if you look back at the history of this country, it has only about hundreds of years old.* Things with significant meaning have the potential to *remain for years in the future* and ultimately acquire heritage-status. From other dimension, *my understanding [of] heritage is limited to what I have learnt from my parents, from relations, and from the kind of older Chinese,* reported Peter Chin, *and the DCG is the heritage I left for the people of Dunedin.* As manager, Margo Reid defined heritage from the Chinese cultural representation aspect of the garden. Councillor Bill Acklin also agreed that the DCG has the potential to be an important heritage site in the city, but currently it mainly functioned as a cultural education and tourism asset. The education role is seen as essential for local communities, especially children, a view supported by manager Margo Reid and future manager Linda Wigley. Steven Spelman of the NZ China Friendship Society stressed the idea from the DCG's origin—a scholar's garden, which makes the garden functionally a study place. When applied to Dunedin's multi-cultural social background, the existence of the DCG provides local communities the chance to know Chinese culture and understand that the Chinese are also an important part of the whole community. Hamish Saxton, director of the Tourism Dunedin, considered the

DCG as a tourism product that adds elements to the story of Dunedin and enhances the tourism resource integration in Dunedin. Previous visitor studies have investigated why people visit the DCG, and the results revealed that “leisure and recreation” was the primary motivation. The touristic function of the garden seems to be the most perceived one by visitors. However, as Hamish Saxton noted that visitors exploring the garden can basically see and touch the Chinese garden culture, and a garden visit itself is a way of receiving education.

The DCG is created to fulfill people’s contemporary needs. On one hand, the emergent idea was based on current Chinese descendants’ need to commemorate early Chinese settlement in Otago region, and to present the changes in macro policies of New Zealand-China international relationships. On the other hand, the construction of the DCG reflected the need to enhance the sister-city relationships between Dunedin and Shanghai. Ultimately, the final presentation of the DCG satisfied the needs of Dunedin’s tourists, and the city’s branding. Thus, the DCG itself largely reflected the contemporary economic, recreational, cultural, social and political needs of various groups of people, cities and countries. The present-centeredness and historical meanings and significance of the DCG highlighted its potential to be cultural heritage rather than only a tourist attraction.

From the perspective of objective-based authenticity, the DCG is authentically designed and constructed with the hand of the artistic creator and historical accuracy. The question of “whether the DCG effectively represents Chinese culture”, at this stage, could be partially answered. Steven Spelman highlighted the DCG’s cultural functions:

The theme of the scholar as an integral part of China’s educational system, where learning is ingrained as a lifelong process. The traditional building style and the fact that craftsmen came from Shanghai to do it endorse that cultural link. [...] So it is not just a garden, but a local venue for China’s culture to be exposed to Kiwis in particular, and to the local Chinese community to remind them of their roots.

(Interview with Steven Spelman in April, 2013)

The whole construction of the garden authentically represents the art of classic Chinese garden in the Jiangnan area during the Ming and Ching Dynasties. Still to be answered is *whether* this garden could symbolically represent Chinese culture and *how* to represent it. The other dimension of building this garden—to commemorate early Chinese settlement—also still needed to be explored. The following section will analyze key stakeholders' views on cultural representation and the historic and diasporic significance of the DCG—the roots of Chinese in New Zealand.

5.2. Cultural representation: self-orientalism and ethnic identity

Immigration policy changes from 1986 to 1996 radically transformed the profile of Chinese community in New Zealand (Henderson, 2003). The new immigrants in that decade were mainly ethnic Chinese business, investor and skilled professionals, especially from Taiwan and Hong Kong, also including Chinese from all over Asia who have been affected by political events (Ip, 2003). After 1996, the immigration policy altered to attract skilled migrants, and those from Mainland China became the new significant demographic group of Chinese immigrants within New Zealand. Those new Chinese immigrants are commonly referred as 'new Asians', while the Chinese in New Zealand settled since 1860s became New Zealand citizens, or 'Chinese New Zealanders'. The new Asians' arrival potentially affected the self-identification of the Chinese New Zealanders—mostly third or fourth generation Kiwis. There is, however, no evidence as yet to support this notion. The undesirable truth is that the Chinese remain vulnerable because of the persistent social stigma from many non-Asian New Zealanders, and this shift raised the question of who the Chinese are and how should they identify themselves in New Zealand culturally and ethnically. The different backgrounds of Chinese in New Zealand are also reflected in different perceptions towards the DCG.

When asked about the story of building the DCG, Dr. Haixin Jiang, a representative of the 'new Asians', saw the DCG largely as a result of the sister city relationship with Shanghai. *I understand the history behind the garden, the hardship*

that [they] suffered in early days. The descendants may have the attachment with the DCG, but I am not. This statement indicated that for ‘new Asians’, the DCG is a cultural export from China that presents the dynamic development and power of China in the contemporary world. *The recent migration of Chinese to New Zealand, they are from China over the last twenty or thirty years, were people who were really not part of their culture of understanding at the beginning* [of early Chinese settlement], as Peter Chin explained. In this sense, the DCG is considered able to provide a place for the descendants to anchor their nostalgia toward their homeland. Hence, as a Chinese culture mark presented in Western social background, the DCG shows two different layers of self-orientalism.

The idea of building the DCG firstly emerged among Chinese descendants of Poll Tax to commemorate their ancestors’ hardship and contributions. In a video commissioned for the DCG (Orton, 2007), local historian James Ng explained his concern about the lack of recognition in New Zealand of those individuals who comprised the Chinese diaspora. In Chinese culture, a garden is a way to express respect and commemoration to ancestors and also functioned as a part of home. The DCG could be served as an imaginary home by ethnic Chinese. Being culturally attached to a place is one of the features that distinguish Peter Chin and Dr. Haixin Jiang, and contributes to the formation, maintenance and preservation of the identity of the person (Li et al., 2010). China was stereotypically perceived as mother “civilization-state” by generations of ethnic Chinese (Tu, 1991). This notion of nationality is defined culturally, regardless of political borders. Thus, Chineseness is constructed first and foremost as a form of cultural belongings (Ong, 1993). Peter Chin identified himself thus: *I am Chinese by ethnicity, but I am a New Zealander, I was born here, everything about me is New Zealand, while there is my historic home in China.* For Peter Chin, the DCG appears to some extent to represent his imaginary home based on the image and concept inherited from his ancestors. This notion of the imagined homeland is also worthy exploring further.

The involvement of Shanghai provided the DCG with another dimension of self-orientalism. During the first half of the 20th century, most of the Chinese gardens built abroad were donated or financially supported by Chinese diaspora. Since the reforming and opening policy in 1978, China started to build Chinese gardens abroad as a national symbol to present a new national image. Even though the appeal of the Chinese garden remains similar—ancient, historical, and unchanging—the contents implicated in the garden have changed. When asked about the change of China and Chinese culture, Margo Reid the manager of the DCG, answered. *It is almost come from within China who is opening itself up and starting to celebrate its own culture and people.* All informants (9) observed that the establishment of the DCG implies the power of China, both cultural power and economic power in the world.

Table 7 Population of Chinese ethnicity in New Zealand in 2006

Regional council area	Chinese Population
Northland region	735
Auckland region	98,391
Waikato region	7,122
Bay of Plenty region	1,839
Gisborne region	327
Hawke's Bay region	1,293
Taranaki region	810
Manawatu-Wanganui region	4,074
Wellington region	14,898
Tasman region	120
Nelson region	279
Marlborough region	180
West Coast region	78
Canterbury region	13,410
Otago region	3,648
Southland region	366
Total	147,570

Note: Includes Hong Kong Chinese, Cambodian Chinese, Malaysian Chinese, Singaporean Chinese, Vietnamese Chinese, Taiwanese, Chinese nec (not elsewhere classified), and Chinese nfd (not further defined).

Source: (Statistics New Zealand, 2006)

All informants (9) also noticed the different Chinese immigrating to New Zealand, and that more new immigrants come for business, investment and higher education, while relatively most intend to go back to China just like the early settlers did. The difference is that Chinese now are able to do that. These ‘new Asians’ are already *well-educated, wealthy, very visible and hugely culturally aware of their own Chinese heritage*, as Peter Chin commented. According to the 2006 Census of New Zealand (see Table 6), there were 3,648 Chinese in Otago region, while Auckland had the largest Chinese community with 98,391. In total, there were 147,570 Chinese in New Zealand in 2006. It is noticed by most of the informants (7) that in recent years there are more Chinese—mostly are ‘new Asians’—settled in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch compared Dunedin, even though Dunedin was the first station of the early settlers. *The influence of Chinese culture depends on the density of the Chinese population*, so as Peter Chin concluded. Chinese culture, especially festivals and celebrations received more attention and has become an important part of the local community in areas with larger Chinese population (especially new Asians), like the Chinese New Year celebration and Lantern Festival in Auckland.

Chinese has remained as the largest Asian ethnic group in New Zealand since records began (Ip, 2003; Pan, 1999). All non-Asian informants (6) expected that the existence of the DCG will be able to educate locals to advance ideas on multi-cultural society and foster positive development for New Zealand’s own national identity. However, the lack of place attachment of the DCG with local residence has been one of the fundamental reasons for losing local visitors. It is also agreed by most of the informants (7) that actually the story of building the DCG as well as the history of early Chinese settlement have not been told well by the garden. Steven Spelman claimed, *the DCG was almost without local function, the garden at the moment is a cultural skeleton with very little flesh*, and it *needs life instilled into its bones* through more educational activities. However, the scale and scope of the programmes and activities are largely

limited by constrained budgets. The following section reveals the controversies faced by the DCG.

5.3. Touristic attraction: financial issues

As a tourist attraction, the DCG has experienced controversial debates from the public, especially on financial issues about its building, donations and operation. The local newspaper *Otago Daily Times* plays an important role in reporting various topics about the DCG. The controversies over the marketing strategy, the admission fee and maintenance and operating cost have been the hot topics and aroused public discussions. The DCG initially targeted tourists from China, as it was believed that Chinese tourists would be interested in a Chinese garden built in a Western city like Dunedin. Visitor studies have proved that Chinese were not the biggest visitors. In fact, most of the visitors were Pakeha (white New Zealanders) and other international Western tourists (Loewe, 2012; The Dunedin People's Panel, 2012). All the key stakeholders (9) concurred on this finding, and soon the DCG changed its target visitors to the local people. Most of the informants (7) also emphasized that while the DCG would not directly attract Chinese tourists to visit, it shows the attitude of Dunedin to Chinese and makes them feel welcomed and comfortable. All the informants (9) also agreed that the initial visitors of the DCG are more likely to be visitors with special interests in Chinese gardens and those who regard the DCG as a recreational background, while locals are specially targeted to strengthen the function as a local educational base to learn about Chinese culture.

The debates on admission fees became increasingly intense among public and the key stakeholders. On one side, considering the integrated touristic attractions in the surrounding area, the DCG is the only one that charges for entry fee. The visitor studies show that the entry fee has been the major barrier to stop people from visiting the garden. On the other side, the DCG still has a financial deficit and largely depends on council allocation and ticketing revenue. It is fair to say that the debates on entry fee largely emerged from the concerns on the DCG building and running. Key stakeholders'

suggestions include being free to all visitors, being free only to local rate payers, and charging every visitor. Margo Reid the manager and Linda Wigley the future manager highlighted the nature of the DCG as an educational place, and emphasized that education opportunities should be free to everyone. More informants (4) agreed with the opinion of free to local rate payers considering the contributions they have already made. While under practical financial pressure, Margo Reid and Linda Wigley then agreed that changing to charge only the local rate payers is a good start point on this issue for the future development of the DCG.

The DCG operating cost was increasingly noticed by public. Since its opening year, the percentage of non-ratepayer revenue funding decreased to 24% in 2010/2011 and then rose up to 37% in 2011/2012, but still did not meet the financial target of 40%. The limited budgets have been one of the most significant issues that stifled the development of DCG, as most key stakeholders (8) agreed. The dilemma described by Margo Reid the manager and Linda Wigley the future manager was that the DCG needs to attract more visitors and hold more functions to make even, but the funding restrained those possibilities. Besides, as Hamish Saxton of Tourism Dunedin said, the marketing activities of the DCG were also constrained by resources, especially budgets. However, all key stakeholders expressed confidence in the future development of the DCG since it is only in its' fifth year. Quoting from Hamish Saxton, *the Chinese garden is still working out; it is still trying to find itself; it is still developing its highlights, key seasons, and key attributes*. Voices from local communities are different, and complaints over the DCG's use of local taxes still exist on public media. The previous visitor studies revealed that the public media were the main source from which the locals received information about the DCG. Hence, it is essential for the DCG to change its image on public media. However, most of the stakeholder informants (6) considered the best solution was not responding to the negative news on public media. It is believed that the DCG needs to persist in its purpose and offer more education activities to change people's opinions. Councillor Bill Acklin was asked to define the success of the DCG: *I*

would certainly not define the success as financial, it was a gift to the city, and the city has to embrace the garden as the gift, and not looked at it as being a facility that would make money out of it ... I think that is for the enjoyment and culture and heritage that needs to be the major, and the major tool as to the success for the Chinese garden in relation to the ties we have with Shanghai and possibly China. The symbolic meaning of the DCG is recognized as one of the most important value that should be recognized by Dunedin and its people. However, the question of “who would be benefit from this gift” has still concerned the public.

Zhang and Shelton (2012) pointed out that the Chineseness of the DCG may be one of the contributors to this controversy. In a multi-cultural society, a cultural item in urban renewal development is always treated with a dominant understanding by public that “involves an attempt to situate the origins of particular developments within particular ethnicities” (Chan, 2005, p. 5). With its very nature traditionally ethnic and exotic in its appeal, the DCG also contains the representation of an ethnic community and an iconic gift to the whole city—the themes of the DCG are discontinuous and disconnected, at least to other non-Chinese communities. The current public trend, especially on public media, has the DCG receiving comments like “it is Chinese”, “I am not attached to it” or “not my thing” indicating that it works as a differential mark at the moment. It is believed by most informants (6) that education is a solution to change people’s attitude towards the garden. *People have tunnel vision and the DCG opens it a little bit more*, Councillor Bill Acklin commented; in a fairly new multi-cultural country, *People need to be more friendly and welcome, and realize that our culture is made of other cultures*. It is expected that the synergetic relationship between TOSM and DCG in the future would develop more effective educational programmes and activities to enhance the awareness of Chinese culture in New Zealand among various communities. If Dunedin is to show its hospitality, the difference, the diaspora and the exoticness, regardless of economic benefits or political value, are the aspects need to be welcomed.

5.4. International relationship: sister-city relationship with Shanghai

The proposal to establish a sister-city relationship with Shanghai, China, was first mooted in 1992 by then mayor Richard Walls, and the relationship was formalized on 21th October 1994 by signing an official sister-city relationship agreement during a visit made by a Shanghai delegation to Dunedin, led by the Shanghai mayor. Since then, the two cities have updated the bilateral Memorandum of Understanding five times, while the most recent was signed in April 2013, highlighting future relationship development. After almost 20 years, the sister-city relationship between two cities, as Dave Cull, current mayor of Dunedin commented, “has now reached a level of maturity and is already supporting growing connections between our two cities. There is a high level of trust on both sides and this mutual friendship is poised to translate into an expansion of trade, economic and cultural links across-the-board” (Dunedin City Council, 2013b). Soon after the formalization of the sister city relationship, a committee of interested citizens was formed: The Dunedin Shanghai Association (DSA), with its mission to “promote and facilitate good relations between Shanghai and Dunedin for the benefit of the Dunedin business and wider Dunedin community, and our Shanghainese counterparts”.

Nowadays the fruitful co-operation and exchange between two cities are conducted in a variety of areas including business and trade, education, tourism, culture and sports, and botany and horticulture, while in the early stage the focuses were mainly on educational and cultural exchanges within the university, polytechnic, and respective cultural institutions. For example, the *Window of Shanghai* programme in Dunedin City Library supported by Shanghai Public Library in 2008, noted by Margo Reid. Peter Chin also recognized that the sister-city relationships with Shanghai boosted cooperation between the Shanghai Museum and Otago Museum, resulting in exhibitions exchanged in both directions. There has also been communication between Otago Polytechnic and the University of Science and Technology in Shanghai, and among high schools. These exchange activities have provided young people with opportunities

to see the world and experience a different culture. When asked about the meaning of the DCG to Dunedin and the wider community, Peter Chin identified that *this garden is an icon to that development* [of sister-city relationship with Shanghai] and *the city of Dunedin has got the opportunity to leverage of this garden because we need to stay on good terms to make every advantage we can as we are such a small country.*

The relationship with Shanghai has been a strong driving force for the formation and development of the DCG, as most of the key stakeholders (8) agreed. As outlined in the previous section, the proposal to build a Chinese garden arose during the preparation of the Otago 150th anniversary in 1997 because *we wanted to do something which is rather special that could provide a legacy of the Chinese in Dunedin and Otago*, according to Peter Chin. Later in that year, a Chinese garden committee was established for the construction of the garden. It was not until a delegation from Shanghai arrived that the garden committee figured out the genesis of the Chinese garden. In 1998, a group led by the director of the Shanghai Museum brought the exhibition, *Chinese Splendour*, shown in Dunedin Public Art Gallery (Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 1999). The garden committee hosted them and explained their vision about the proposed Chinese Garden. The Shanghai Museum promised to help them to build the garden, in a way ultimately described by Peter Chin: *We created the only authentic Chinese Garden in Australasia in which every stone, rock, brick, every piece of masonry and timber was sourced from Shanghai and then transported to Dunedin to be assembled by Chinese artisans flown in specifically for the job.*

The DCG signed a sister garden agreement with Yu Garden in Shanghai in March 2010 (see Appendix 6). Yu Garden is a classic Chinese garden featuring extensive Ming Dynasty style. It is more than 450 years old and attracts about 1.3 million visitors a year. The agreement specially emphasized the exchange of staffs for better cultural understanding and horticultural knowledge (Dunedin Chinese Garden, undated-a). As the manager of DCG Margo Reid mentioned, the exchange with the Shanghai organizations enhanced the performance of authenticity of the garden, while the people

in Shanghai could have a chance to have a glimpse of Dunedin and maybe generate motivations to visit Dunedin. In April 2013, a delegation, led by the Dunedin's mayor Dave Cull, and comprising representatives from the DCC, the Otago Chamber of Commerce, the DSA, the Otago Museum, the Otago Polytechnic and Tourism Dunedin, visited Shanghai to strengthen the sister city relationship and promote Dunedin in various areas including tourism, education and business links. Even though the DCG was not part of the delegation, it was nonetheless involved in this visit. In 18th April 2013, Yu Garden hosted an exhibition to celebrate the coming fifth birthday of the DCG, which will be commemorated in September 2013. The exhibition features photographs of the DCG and the city of Dunedin, as well as pictures representing the developing sister-city relationship and sister-garden relationship. At the exhibition opening, the representative from the Shanghai Municipal Foreign Affairs Office said "The Lan Yuan (the DCG) programme is not only a well-known brand of the sister-city relationship between Shanghai and Dunedin but also a model of China-New Zealand cooperation" (Dunedin City Council, 2013b). As Peter Chin commented about this exhibition, "is there any better way or cheaper way of advertising our city and our country to the Chinese?" (Chin, 2013)

Another focus of the April 2013 delegation was the future development at economic level, which included the meeting with Haier—the new owner of Fisher & Paykel, and the important links forged between Otago Chamber of Commerce and its Chinese counterparts. It is expected that the new emerged relationship on economic layer could benefit and boost the business development and job creation in Dunedin, and help the business in Dunedin to understand the economic and political environment in China and enter Chinese market (Dunedin City Council, 2013b).

More than 23 million people lived in Shanghai in 2010, which makes it the largest city by population in China. As a mega city, it has a strong influence in commerce, culture, finance, media, fashion, technology, and transport. This is a huge stage for a small city like Dunedin to play on in the sister city relationship. The population of

Dunedin is estimated to be more than 120,000 in 2012 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b); Peter Chin observed *You can put everyone in Dunedin in one building in Shanghai*. All stakeholder informants (9) emphasized that the sister-city relationship between Shanghai and Dunedin is not only for these two cities; it marks the future cooperation between China and New Zealand. However, the effective way to enhance and tap into this relationship still needs more research to shed more light. Peter Chin and Adrian Thein mentioned the key word in the Dunedin-Shanghai relationship: *Guanxi* (social relationship). *And what we achieved in the end was almost entirely due to the determination of the Dunedin promotion of the proposal—and the generosity of the Shanghai “guanxi” (social relationship) – as between us*, says Peter Chin.

Guanxi is a unique cultural and social feature in China (Davies, Leung, Luk, & Wong, 1995). To loosely summarize, it is a special form of networking, which enables network partners to acquire resource and information through continual cooperation and favour exchange (H. Gao, Knight, & Ballantyne, 2012; C. Wang, 2007). The development of *Guanxi* has also been identified as a legitimate and significant tool to achieve success in many Chinese cultural anthropology, sociology, social psychology, political science mainstream studies (Chen & Chen, 2004; Dayal-Gulati & Lee, 2004; Gold, Guthrie, & Wank, 2002). *Guanxi* has strong influence on management and business based in China. It is argued by many researchers that intercultural interaction at a personal level is both unavoidable and critical for successfully doing business with China (Chung, 2011; H. Gao et al., 2012; So, 2006). The development of relationship between Shanghai and Dunedin cannot avoid *guanxi*. At the DCG planning stage, the *guanxi* between the garden committee and the Shanghai Museum laid the foundation for the garden and sister city relationship. Peter Chin visited Shanghai for three times during his mayoral term. The primary purpose was to update the sister city agreement, and maintain *guanxi* with Shanghai’s mayor, as well as Shanghai Museum’s director and some other high level officials. Besides organizational and personal connections, the strong Chinese attachment in these two sides guaranteed the lasting *guanxi* between

Dunedin and Shanghai, even New Zealand and China. Peter Chin has expressed the importance of the DCG in developing the sister-city relationship with Shanghai in his interview, and further highlighted it in his recent speech, citing influence of the DCG:

So in some roundabout way I believe that Dunedin's decision to build a Chinese garden commemorating those Chinese who flocked here in the Gold Rush more than 150 years ago has helped shape Shanghai's response to our sister city relationship. In Shanghai, such unexpected recognition and kindness from a small and hitherto insignificant community, thousands of miles away and with a very different culture and lifestyle, has touched their hearts.

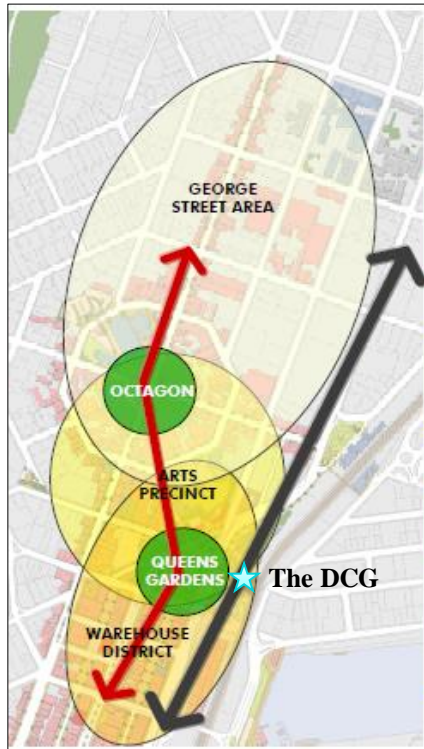
Source: (Chin, 2013)

Even though the local government and organizations have largely recognized the value of the links with Shanghai and China, many informants (5) indicated that wide recognition from local communities still needs time to be achieved through education. Applying Cremer et al.'s (2001) municipal-community entrepreneurship approach to the sister city relationship between Dunedin and Shanghai, the long lasting solid relationship with Shanghai still needs to be cultivated by the promotion of the Council and various organizations like the DSA and the DCG. Steven Spelman of the NZCF Society emphasized that the DCG must, by definition, be enhancing recognition of the value and importance of Chinese culture in New Zealand.

5.5. City image and planning: the Warehouse Heritage Precinct

The reputation of Dunedin as a city of nationally significant culture and heritage has been boosted recently with the redevelopment of TOSM, according to its director Linda Wigley. TOSM has a section of Chinese heritage displays highlighting the history and contributions of early Chinese settlers to the making of this city, while the building of the DCG completes the big picture. *It [DCG] helps to cement the [features] famous for Dunedin, such as heritage, architecture, gardens and reflects Dunedin's social history and culture*, as Tourism Dunedin's Hamish Saxton emphasized the significance of the DCG to Dunedin city. In the recent fourth Dunedin Heritage Festival held in April 2013, the DCG held a themed tour for visitors to explore the Chinese garden

Figure 7 An excerpt from Strategic Directions for the City Centre and Warehouse District



Source: (Dunedin City Council, 2012b)

architecture (Tourism Dunedin, 2013). Hamish Saxton concluded that the active participation in the city's programmes and events reflects the DCG's role in promoting Dunedin as a must-see destination, and attracting tourists to stay longer and gives Dunedin a new product to add to the city story.

In recent changes to the branding strategy, the Tourism Dunedin produced a series of Dunedin branding stories by presenting ordinary people's living story to promote the city outside Dunedin. The strategy of promoting of Dunedin people agreed Margo Reid's idea. When asked about the promotion of the DCG, she said *People are interested in people*. The DCG has also been an important plank in forming the image of the city. When discussing the DCG's role

in forming Dunedin's image, Hamish Saxton said *I suppose, the acknowledgement is that Dunedin had done something that is really, really special*.

Dunedin's positive image could be built and spread out through its people and city legacy. However, besides the formation and promotion of the city image, there is still much work for Dunedin people to enhance the city's general planning and construction.

In the DCG tourist studies discussed in Chapter 4, visitors mentioned accessibility and location as big problems that limited the visiting intentions (Loewe, 2012; The Dunedin People's Panel, 2012). Dr. Haixin Jiang also argued in her interview that the warehouse and factory remains surrounding the DCG influenced the whole visiting experience, as the western industrial environment did not correspond with the traditional Chinese settings of the garden, even though the designers have previously noted this problem and planted bamboos around the garden to isolate the garden from outside and

to reduce cultural interference (Cao et al., 2007). During the field study, the researcher has also found that the area around the DCG was not as tourist-friendly as expected because of the lack of public transportation and well-organized-signage, as well as the discordant environment and landscaping. However, with the rich heritage resources adjacent (Figure 7), the whole area requires a master plan, setting out strategies, expanding audiences, building brand, consolidating resources and strengthening publicity for the big picture of the city, while the proposed Warehouse Precinct Revitalization Plan is one of the solutions.

This Revitalization Plan covers the area between the Queens Gardens and Prince Street, which is historic as it was once the hub of Dunedin's commercial and industrial growth, but declined in the second half of the twentieth century (Dunedin City Council, 2012b). This plan is one of the Centre City Plan projects aiming to protect and improve the central city as a place where people work, live, shop and socialize, including amenity, transportation and open space improvements, as well as non-capital projects. The Centre City Plan will improve the city planning through five aspects:

- A vibrant, safe and comfortable city centre which balances pedestrian and traffic needs and offers great family, visitor and student experiences;
- An upgraded Octagon that better responds to its heritage setting, active edges, small events and the need for green space;
- A flourishing arts precinct that benefits from stronger linkages between the Octagon and an improved Queens Gardens;
- A creative quarter with Queens Garden at its heart which promotes the arts and creative industries;
- A warehouse district which is a hive of employment that builds on its heritage resource, robust character and attractiveness for urban living.

Source: (Dunedin City Council, 2012b)

The intention of the council now is for that area to become an arts and culture precinct, [...] so that all of those things (attraction around city centre) can come into flourishing, and once they were completed then the Chinese garden is right in the heart but also can be the heart, said Councillor Bill Acklin. Besides the heritage precinct plan, the old prison opposite to the TOSM has also been redeveloped as a heritage site which

provides a dark tourism experience for tourists, and has added a new element into that area. It is believed by the DCG's manager that this part of the city is starting to come alive again and will help not only in terms of tourist numbers, and revenues for the surrounding attractions, but also in terms of the branding of Dunedin to the whole country, even to the world.

Besides the local authority's city development strategy, private investment has also participated in the development of this area. A \$100 million grand hotel was proposed to be built with Chinese investment around the waterfront area close to the warehouse district and the DCG. However, the investment was rejected by the DCC on 5th June 2013, as it failed to meet either of two legal threshold tests within the Resource Management Act, which required the effects of the hotel to be no more than minor or overall not contrary to District Plan rules (Dunedin City Council, 2013c). Meanwhile, when talking about the future development of the DCG, both Adrian Thein and Peter Chin believed that the completion of the proposed grand hotel would benefit the DCG as well as Dunedin from various dimensions, including tourist numbers, employment creation, direct revenues, tax generation, enriched city facilities and so on, and they considered it as a potential strong driving force to boost the positive message of the city to the whole country. As Councilor Bill Acklin reported: *... something has to be done to allow a shifting message booms out of the city to say Dunedin is a positive place, Dunedin has all these things, Dunedin is wonderful*. Although the hotel project was declined at this stage, the organizer and the supporters are researching alternative schemes to get a positive outcome to the city (Morris, 2013).

5.6. Chapter summary

This chapter presents research findings around key themes emerging from the interviews and divided into five sections. The multi-layered nature of the DCG contributed to the challenges encountered by key stakeholders while managing and analyzing it. For different organizations and groups of people, the DCG contains different benefits, controversies and implications. These are discussed in Chapter Six.

6. Discussion and implications

Five core themes emerged from the interviews with informants and these are now discussed, in relation to the Garden itself, the City Council, city as tourism attraction, and for Chinese New Zealanders, New Asians and Chinese culture as identity icon in New Zealand, to further answer the key research question of *How far do the key stakeholders on the supply side consider the DCG succeeds in representing Chinese culture to visitors?*

6.1. Perceptions of authenticity

Authenticity was described by Theobald (1994) as genuine, unadulterated or the real thing. The research findings revealed that DCG has achieved authentic design and accurate construction through authentic building materials, and the collaboration with Chinese garden architects and artisans. In this sense, the Garden structure itself is authentic, as the promotional slogan described. MacCannell (1973) adapted Goffman's (1959) front-back dichotomy to his theory of staged authenticity in tourism studies and argues that "the touristic way of getting in with the natives is to enter into a quest for authentic experiences, perceptions, and insights" (MacCannell, 1973, p. 602). Tourists' quest for authenticity is marked off in stages which are produced by the tourism industry in the passage from front to back to fulfill tourists' needs, and "the movement from stage to stage corresponds to growing touristic understanding" (MacCannell, 1973, p. 602). In this sense, the DCG has achieved authenticity on the 'front stage', while the authenticity of the back stage that tourists are allowed to peek is problematic.

However, cultural heritage itself should not be perceived only as object, artefacts or site but as outcome, process or experience (Ashworth, 2012). Cultural heritage tourism has been considered as a experiential and emotionally touching activity (Timothy, 2011). Thus, the values of a cultural heritage are largely decided by its users. According to Ashworth (2012), the values of a cultural heritage are "extrinsically ascribed" rather than "intrinsically authenticated". The authenticity of a cultural heritage encounter is related to the extent to which tourists could perceive it

through visiting experiences, but not only to the site's historic accuracy. The cultural heritage operators should provide tourists not only authentic but also 'flow' experiences, where tourists could feel cognitively efficient, deeply involved, highly motivated and in a state of enjoyment (Brunner-Sperdin, Peters, & Strobl, 2012). According to Csikszentmihalyi (1990, p. 4), the 'flow' experience is a condition "in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter at the time; the experience is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it". Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) concept of 'flow' experience probably resonates more with the traditional roots of the Chinese garden but is harder to generate in 21st century New Zealand. From the perspective of key stakeholders, the DCG is 'authentic' and endeavours to engage visitors to participate in designed 'authentic' activities and programmes. Whether these activities and programmes have effectively immersed tourists in Chinese cultural experiences is still unknown.

The DCG is set against a background of western civilization, which makes it exotic and conspicuous in itself. This contributed to its advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, the exoticness could potentially attract tourists and highlight the Chinese features of Dunedin. On the other side, the authentic experiences are also potentially questioned by tourists. When considering the staged Maori villages in New Zealand, especially in Rotorua area, these are popular among tourists and perceived to represent settings for cultural understanding and the experience of cultural authenticity (Taylor, 2001). Considering that the DCG and the Maori villages are both designed and constructed to provide cultural experience, it is possible for the DCG to adapt some managerial and operational tips from the Maori village. The ways to provide tourists with authentic experiences still need to be researched from the tourists' perspective in the future.

6.2. The dimensions of the DCG as a representation of Chinese culture

Chinese culture is defined in this dissertation from both the general Chinese culture dimension and the diasporic Chinese culture in New Zealand. Thus, the DCG represented the Chinese culture from both dimensions through its representation,

identity, production, consumption and regulation. The meaning of the DCG is socially constructed and encoded through the form of a classical Chinese garden. The Garden symbolizes the Chinese diaspora's imaginary homeland, and highlights their contributions to the development of the host country. Moreover, the inherent meaning of the DCG is modified and makes the Garden also function as a tourist attraction. Through the production and consumption of the DCG, the symbolic meaning and the inherent nature are passed on to target audiences. The connection between the DCG and the Chinese diaspora's image of homeland might be helpful in formulating their Chineseness in New Zealand, but no strong evidence for this emerged from the small sample of informants with Chinese heritage. While the difference the DCG represented in Dunedin helps the non-Chinese recognize New Zealand's culturally diverse national identity. The dynamic development of the sister-city relationship between Dunedin and Shanghai provides the DCG with a solid foundation and more possibility in the future. Therefore, the DCG itself has effectively represented Chinese culture in New Zealand as a strong cultural touchstone.

The DCG also reflects the idea of self-orientalism, by which the Chinese represent themselves in a western social context through the construction of an ancient, classical and oriental Chinese garden. Consequently, in order to produce an alternative version of modernity discourse, recollecting traditions to recreate an ancient, historical, and unchanging identity has become a strategy for the Orient (Yan, 2009). The realization of the garden concept implies the power of contemporary China and its attempt to build a new image—differing from the previous orientalism image of feminine, sly, backward, mysterious, exotic, and irrational. In 2011, the 30-seconds commercial of the China national publicity film presented contemporary China on mainstream media in the United State of America, featuring Chinese celebrities from sports, academia, science and technology, business and entertainment sectors. The message set out to represent China's dynamic image to the world. However, traditional Chinese features like the Tangzhuang suit, calligraphy and use of red colour (China's national colour) and so on

are still modified as symbols to represent China. Tradition is a driving force for future development, and could be used for contemporary needs. The DCG carries the Chinese diaspora's fusion, nostalgia and visions of the future in New Zealand, yet there are challenges that the DCG need to face.

6.3. Challenges relating to the operation of the DCG

The challenges that the DCG faces have limited its ability to tap its full potential. The phenomenon of building Chinese gardens abroad has spread globally (Appendix 7). Many Chinese gardens are constructed as a sector within a larger comprehensive garden, while in New Zealand the DCG is also the only 'stand-alone' Chinese garden. However, an early suggestion that the DCG might be developed as part of the 150-year old Dunedin Botanic Garden was not well received (Field, 2009), a fact influencing this separate development. Furthermore, the DCG is the only Chinese garden in New Zealand that charges an admission fee. The independence enhanced the completeness and authenticity of the Garden, but limited its ability to arrange bigger events and activities. The admission fee also has been proved to be one of the biggest barriers preventing tourists coming in. Fortunately, solutions including cooperating with TOSM and adjusting the admission fee are being discussed and likely to be approved. Besides, negative comments on the DCG in local public media have also influenced the promotion of the DCG (Morris, 2011).

The challenges discussed are mainly focused on the financial issues from a tourism perspective. The DCG as an educational base to promote Chinese culture has not been viewed as the main purpose in its official description by the DCC in its annual report. However, to retain the original purpose of the DCG, it is necessary to put effort in to enhancing its cultural influence. Considering the population composition of Dunedin, it could potentially be effective to get the Otago University and Otago Polytechnic involved. Confucius Institutes at universities could also be one of the potential partners. The first Confucius Institute in New Zealand was launched in 2007 by the University of Auckland, Fudan University of Shanghai and the Office of Chinese Language Council

International, and then spread to other universities in the country (The Confucius Institute in Auckland, 2007). These institutes, sponsored by the Chinese government are China's equivalent of the British Council and the Goethe Institute. Already Peter Chin has made links with the Confucius Institute of Canterbury University through his recent speech on sister-city relationship (Chin, 2013). By integrating the local resources, including the Botanic Garden, the Otago Museum and other facilities, it is expected that the DCG could tap its potential in the future. The educational significance of cultural heritage helps tourists to have a better understanding of the local culture as a living history with modified presentation. Besides, visitors would develop the idea to compare their own cultural heritage and the visited cultural heritage. Within this dimension, cultural tourists could sense the same comparison in a multicultural society like New Zealand and Australia (C. M. Hall & McArthur, 1996).

6.4. Sister-city relationships

The DCG also serves as the icon of the sister-city relationships between Dunedin and Shanghai, as is the case with most other Chinese gardens built abroad. The construction of the Garden was largely dependent on the relationship with Shanghai, and provided opportunities for both cities to strengthen understanding and cooperation from various aspects. Even though Dunedin and Shanghai do not in reality share much in common, the cultural linkage of the Chinese people has provided the historical connection and thus formed ethnic empathy. The previous focuses of communication and cooperation largely remained on cultural and educational exchange, and have achieved relative success. The recent official delegation in April 2013 to Shanghai, led by Dunedin's mayor, also included representatives from economic and tourism organizations, in addition to cultural and educational groups. This visit highlighted that the sister-city relationship with Shanghai will further influence economic and tourism development of Dunedin. Thus, cooperation at the entrepreneur and business level will be included within the sister-city relationship framework. The DCG could also be involved as a host base for the official visits from Shanghai, as well as the gesture to

show the city's positive attitude towards China. The DCG also could use its sister-garden relationship with Yu Garden in Shanghai to function as the communication channel for both cities, so that the public communities could have more chances to explore and get to know each other, and potentially boost tourism development.

Finally, the community involvement in the sister-city relationship between Dunedin and Shanghai should also be emphasized in the future development. This involvement would need the DCG to act as the Chinese cultural education provider and communicating window through intensive cooperation with Yu Garden in Shanghai. The potentials of this sister-garden relationship need to be explored in future managerial strategic planning and practical adjustment.

6.5. Enhancing Dunedin's heritage image

The DCG could play many potential but quite different roles in Dunedin's development, including as a commodifiable resource for products and services, an enhancer of environmental amenity, a catalyst in local area regeneration and revitalisation and contributor to place image or brand. The hardship which the early Chinese diaspora suffered is an unavoidable part of the history of Dunedin and New Zealand. The DCG represents an important piece in the historical jigsaw puzzle of Dunedin and New Zealand. The city image of Dunedin was designed to present a capital of culture and heritage to the visitors. Thus, the DCG is a special but necessary part of the whole image, and it also indicated the positive attitude towards Chinese culture from both local government and community. On the other hand, the city planning and branding of Dunedin also affect the DCG's development with enhanced landscaping and route planning.

Of eight Chinese gardens built around New Zealand, the DCG is the youngest yet the only 'authentic' and stand-alone garden. More Chinese gardens are proposed to be built in New Zealand in the future. Each of these gardens completes a city image

respectively; a comparative study of those gardens in the future could contribute more to fill the academic gap on Chinese gardens abroad.

However, how to send this positive message of Dunedin's attitude and determination out around New Zealand and even to the world remains a challenge and the city is still searching for an effective method. Sufficient marketing and promoting strategies for the whole city are needed to boost this image. One of the solutions is using the sister-city relationships to achieve its marketing target in the Chinese market, especially the Shanghai market. Yet, there still needs to be more light shed by future researchers on approaches to managing and strengthening sister-city relationships at more diverse and profound levels.

6.6. Wider benefits provided through the DCG

Scott (2008) has described the importance of the surrounding community as the 'authorizing environment' within which a cultural heritage attraction operator must work in order to operate effectively. The active engagement of the local community could provide the cultural asset with a positive environment within which to develop. Referring to the Chineseness of the DCG and the Chinese ethnicity in Dunedin, the connection with local Chinese New Zealanders are obvious and strong. However, the population of Chinese New Zealanders in Dunedin is only less than 4,000, so the understanding and support from wider communities, including Pakeha (white New Zealanders), Maori community, Pacific New Zealanders and other Asian groups, are essential for the DCG. Thus, the benefits of the DCG to wider communities should be identified and highlighted to the locals.

The benefits directly provided by the DCG currently focus on offering cultural experience and recreational pleasure. The indirect benefits are mainly implied from the relationships with Shanghai and China, as most informants agreed. However, the question is still how to make the wider communities understand the symbolic meaning of the DCG and potential profound benefits from Shanghai and China. Are the current

educational programmes the right solution to solve the problem? Are there any other activities that could help with it? The current visitor studies only investigated local residents, while visitors from outside of Dunedin have remained under-researched. More research is needed in the future from the perspective of the Garden visitors, especially visitors from outside Dunedin.

6.7. Suggestions for enhancing visitor experiences

The interviews with the key stakeholders suggest to the author that the DCG could enhance the visitor experience through the following suggestions:

- 1) Cooperation with Chinese culture promotion institutes, like the Confucius Institute, to provide a more 'authentic' cultural activities and programmes.
- 2) Cooperation with the local gardens, like the Dunedin Botanic Garden, to enhance the DCG's performance on horticulture.
- 3) Exploration of possible additional forms for delivering Chinese cultural experiences from culinary culture (cooking lessons), traditional sports and games, and performances etc. to provide changing, fresh and lively content to the site.

These discussions in this present chapter are drawn together in the final chapter which now follows.

7. Conclusions

As demonstrated in the literature review chapter, to date the academic study of the phenomenon of Chinese gardens built abroad had been neglected. Therefore this research aimed to fill one knowledge gap by exploring the case of the DCG with the key research question of “*How far do the key stakeholders on the supply side consider the DCG succeeds in representing Chinese culture to visitors?*” Mixed method research techniques were employed to gain the information required in line with the nature of research questions proposed in the introduction chapter. In this concluding chapter, the seven objectives cited in Chapter One are related to the findings presented in Chapter Four and Chapter Five and discussed further in Chapter 6.

To explore the establishment of Chinese gardens in New Zealand, a list of those already built and proposed Chinese gardens was introduced as a background to the DCG. As the most recent example of this phenomenon in New Zealand, the DCG served as an appropriate example. Key stakeholders in the DCG were identified as the research sample to understand their involvement in the Garden’s development. The connection of the DCG and the sister-city relationships between Dunedin and Shanghai was also explored to further investigate the rationale for its development. It is concluded that, from the key stakeholders’ perspectives, the DCG’s potential to represent Chinese culture in New Zealand was recognized. The DCG was also assessed as a marker of Chinese heritage development in New Zealand, and of the Garden’s relationship to Chinese ethnic identity. Appropriate suggestions were formulated for managing and interpreting the DCG to meet the needs of different groups of users.

In summary, the DCG as a new heritage site plays various potential roles in contemporary development, including as a commercialized tourism product and service, an enhancer of local landscaping and amenity, a catalyst for community revitalization, a contributor to place branding and image formation, and a stimulator for cultural exchange. In the view of the key stakeholders interviewed, the DCG achieves some

success as a means for representing Chinese culture and Chinese diaspora in New Zealand but more could be done. The interpretation of the DCG should be enhanced to provide with visitors authentic and ‘flow’ cultural experiences, and local communities with more interactive educational programmes. This study concluded that the DCG was constructed and developed because its social, cultural, political and economic value is recognized by New Zealand society today. However, the New Asian perspective is under-represented in this study. A further conclusion is that the DCG has been produced and managed through organisations that perceive the Garden differently; and the differences in their management and involvement emphasis causes some tensions in terms of the categorization and presentation. The DCG has the potential to be further developed as a tourism product, educational base and cultural heritage asset. However, this potential is currently constrained by a lack of budgets and large-scale Chinese heritage products to form a compelling package. In terms of the market potential, it is concluded that the locals are the suitable main market for the DCG, provided that a programme of events and activities can be offered to attract repeat visitation. The findings from the two visitor studies (Loewe, 2012; The Dunedin People's Panel, 2012) suggested that at present the DCG is a place that locals only visit once. The potential of the Shanghai market still merits some further exploration. The key to addressing the question of effectiveness of the DCG in representing Chinese culture is to look at the effectiveness of the management, especially in relation to its respective Chinese stakeholders.

One approach for evaluating the effectiveness of the management of the DCG as a heritage site would be to follow Hockings et al.'s model (2000). Their model identified six elements to be evaluated:

Context: including the DCG's values, the threats that it faces and opportunities available, its stakeholders, and the management and political environment;

Planning: established vision, goals, objectives and strategies to conserve values and reduce threats;

Inputs: (i.e. resources) levels of staff, money and equipment to work towards the objectives; implements management;

Processes: the process of management, the process of consultation, communication and cooperation with its stakeholders including the various Chinese communities of interest;

Outputs: goods and services delivered, which would usually be outlined in management and work plans;

Outcomes: achievement of the intended goals and objectives.

In the case of the DCG, *outputs* would refer to the delivery of identified activities or work programme targets (e.g. garden plantings and buildings maintenance, numbers of activities in cooperation with China, especially Shanghai, and levels of participation in activities). *Outcomes* would reflect whether the long-term objectives are met (e.g. Are plants, buildings, activities and snack offers ‘authentic’? Are sister-city relationships functioning well? Are cultural values being maintained?). The distinction between these is important because it is possible to have the DCG meeting all its *output* targets, while failing to deliver the *outcomes* (suggesting that the management strategies or activities need to be changed), or poorly managing the visitor attraction, yet nonetheless maintaining the broader cultural values. The findings of this study, while tentative, suggest that the product is good but, in terms of outputs, the relatively low visitor numbers could indicate a need for better marketing through Chinese networks both within New Zealand and in Chinese communities overseas. In terms of the DCG intended outcomes, the garden’s perceived authenticity as an historic Scholar’s Garden was not yet convincing for Dr. Jiang as the sole representative for New Asians in this exploratory study. The Garden met its second intended outcome of celebrating the

Chinese influence on Otago's history and heritage for all informants. The third outcome of symbolizing Dunedin's Sister City relationship with Shanghai has been achieved, but there is potential to develop this aspect further through collaboration with the tourism sector.

Tourism is both a supply- and demand-driven activity (MacKercher & Cros, 2002); the analysis of any tourism attraction has to be based on the perspectives of both the demand and supply sides. Due to the limitations of time and available resources, this research focused on a supply side perspective, which in itself is a valuable contribution. Without studying the visitors, this research is only able to provide insights into key stakeholders' perceptions on the DCG through interviews, and the potential of each possible market still remains largely unknown. It is, therefore, important also to understand why potential visitors choose to visit (or not) the DCG, what they are expecting and what they gain from consuming a Chinese cultural product in New Zealand. Future research into Chinese gardens built abroad from the demand perspective is needed to answer these questions further. Researchers might consider the following aspects that are beyond the scope of this study:

- How 'authentic' are the experiences of Chinese culture delivered by the DCG's activities and programmes as perceived by visitors?
- Comparative study both within New Zealand and with other Chinese gardens abroad on how they contribute to their host city's image.
- An exploration of the multiple roles of Chinese gardens in sister-city relationships.
- The responses of non-local visitors to the DCG and in terms of expectations, satisfaction and learning experiences.
- Extensive visitor survey with international and domestic visitors to find out about the actual demand for Chinese cultural tourism products in New Zealand. These surveys will need to be conducted at several locations to ensure a good coverage of visitors with different interests.

- Interviews with a range of New Zealand’s tour operators to find out about their perceptions about the tourism potential of Chinese gardens in New Zealand, and the likelihood of including Chinese gardens and heritage tourism attractions in their itineraries.
- Qualitative research with Chinese New Zealanders and New Asians to identify any differing perspectives.
- Comparative study both Chinese gardens and Maori villages in New Zealand on how they functioned as cultural heritage attractions.

The potential and profile of other markets (besides locals) remains largely unknown and future research on the demand for the Chinese garden as a heritage attraction is needed. This exploratory study has offered an initial supply side perspective on one garden unique in New Zealand. A more careful and systematic analysis of the cultural aims underpinning the development of the DCG—as understood and articulated by the stakeholders interviewed—vis-à-vis the garden’s current or possible future cultural “achievements” should be undertaken. The cultural heritage of both Chinese New Zealanders and New Asians will continue to offer fertile ground for future tourism studies. This dissertation can serve as an early contribution to research in this field.

8. References

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Invitation to Participate in Research

Invitation to participate in research



Dear XXX,

Project title: The Dunedin Chinese Garden as Chinese Cultural Heritage (Postgraduate student research program)

My name is Jing Cui (Chinese: 崔婧), (in New Zealand everyone calls me Jing), and I am a Master's student at Auckland University of Technology. I am conducting research on Chinese heritage in New Zealand and the Dunedin Chinese Garden. This research is part of my Master of Tourism Studies degree and I would be very grateful if you could volunteer your time to participate in this research.

I am contacting you to request your participation in the research for my dissertation. I have found your name as being associated with Tourism Dunedin.

This research project is entitled "The Dunedin Chinese Garden as Chinese cultural heritage". This is an exploratory study of the representation of Chinese heritage in New Zealand. The aim of the research is to contribute to the understanding of the Dunedin Chinese Garden as a tourism product. In particular, the effectiveness of this garden in conveying aspects of Chinese culture (local and China Chinese culture) to visitors both New Zealand and international visitors in the Dunedin Chinese Garden. Based on the research result, suggestions will be provided which can enhance the visitors' experience.

Your participation would include a face-to-face or telephone interview about your perceptions of the Dunedin Chinese Garden. I will be seeking your personal perspective on the Chinese Garden (not those of the Tourism Dunedin).

I would be grateful to hear from you within ten days whether you would be willing to participate in this research.

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

Researcher: Jing Cui (varekai_cui@hotmail.com, ph: 0221001524)

Supervisor: Dr.JaneLegget (jane.legget@aut.ac.nz, ph: 09-921-9999, ext: 8625)

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

Look forward to hearing back from you.

Yours sincerely,
Jing Cui

Master's student, (ID: 1101028)
School of Hospitality and Tourism
Auckland University of Technology
Email: varekai_cui@hotmail.com

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced: 27 February 2013

Project Title: Dunedin Chinese Garden as Chinese cultural heritage

An Invitation

My name is Jing Cui (Chinese: 崔婧), (in New Zealand everyone calls me Jing), and I am a Master's student at Auckland University of Technology. I am conducting research on Chinese heritage in New Zealand and the Dunedin Chinese Garden. I am contacting you to request your participation in the research for my dissertation. This research is part of my Master of Tourism Studies dissertation at AUT and I would be very grateful if you could volunteer your time to participate in this research.

What is the purpose of this research?

The aim of the research is to contribute to the understanding about the Dunedin Chinese Garden as a tourism product. In particular, the effectiveness of this garden in conveying aspects of Chinese culture (local and China Chinese culture) to visitors both domestic and international visitors to the Dunedin Chinese Garden. Based on the findings, suggestions will be provided to assist the Garden's managers to enhance the visitor experience. This research will also result in a dissertation for my Master's degree at AUT.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have been contacted as a prospective participant in this study because you are currently, or have in the past been, directly or indirectly involved with the Dunedin Chinese Garden. I found your contact information through the Web Site of the organization with which you are associated (or I have received your contact information through the main public contact of your organization). With your help, the results of this research will assist further development of the Chinese Garden in the ways that meet the needs of different groups of tourists and local people. Your participation is voluntary. In order to reduce and eliminate bias, the management team of the Dunedin Chinese Garden will be excluded from the potential informants. However, they have approved the study and will receive a summary of the findings.

What will happen in this research?

Your participation in this research will involve a 30-45 minute interview with me, at a location and time that is convenient for you in March or April, 2013. I would like to ask you about your experience related to the development, management and promotion of the Dunedin Chinese Garden in representing Chinese heritage in New Zealand **from your personal perspective, not that of your organization**. The interview will be recorded only with your permission.

You will be asked to sign a Consent Form to acknowledge your voluntary participation in the study.

What are the discomforts and risks?

This research may elicit various views on the aspects of the Dunedin Chinese Garden as representing Chinese heritage in New Zealand. You may feel uncomfortable discussing some internal debates, or aspects of the past discrimination of early Chinese immigrants in New Zealand's history.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

You need only respond to questions which you feel comfortable about. You will be asked to sign a Consent Form to acknowledge your voluntary participation in the study. You may decline to answer any question, and you may withdraw your information up at any time prior to the completion of data collection. If you do withdraw at any stage, any information you have provided will be destroyed. You will have the opportunity to decide whether or not you wish to be identified by name in my dissertation.

What are the benefits?

By participating in this research, you can have the opportunity to reflect on the effectiveness of the Dunedin Chinese Garden as a presentation of one aspect of Chinese cultural heritage, and its place in Dunedin's tourism offerings. The insights may also enhance the management of the Dunedin Chinese Garden.

This research will also benefit me in a way that I will have a better understanding on the status of Chinese heritage in New Zealand, gain practical experience of qualitative research, and obtain a Master degree in Tourism Studies in AUT.

Moreover, the findings have the potential to improve the visitor experiences of the Dunedin Chinese Garden for local and international visitors.

How will my privacy be protected?

To ensure confidentiality, only my research supervisor and I will have access to your consent forms, and only my supervisor and I will have access to the information you provided. All consent forms and information will be kept separately under lock and key and password protection.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no costs other than 30 to 45 minutes of your time for an interview with me.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I would welcome a response from you within 10 days.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

When you have contact me indicating your willingness to participate, I shall send you a consent form and ask you to sign it.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

If you wish, you will be sent a transcript of your interview to ensure it has been accurately recorded and you are happy with the content. A summary of the research findings will also be sent to you on completion of the study.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr. Jane Legget, jane.legget@aut.ac.nz, 09-921-9999 ext 8625. Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, ATEC, Dr. Rosemary Godbold, rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz, 09-921-9999 ext 6902.

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

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Jing Cui (varekai_cui@hotmail.com, ph: 0221001524)

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr. Jane Legget (jane.legget@aut.ac.nz, ph: 09-921-9999, ext: 8625)

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 28
February 2013, ATEC Reference number 13/13.**

Consent Form



*Project title: **The Dunedin Chinese Garden as Chinese cultural heritage***

*Project Supervisor: **Dr. Jane Legget***

*Researcher: **Jing Cui***

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated **18th January 2013**.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I agree to be identified by name (family name only) in the research report: Yes ☐ No ☐
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature :

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

Date:

*Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on **28 February 2013***

*AUTEC Reference number **13/13***

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

Appendix 4: Indicative Questions for Interviews

Indicative Questions for Interviews



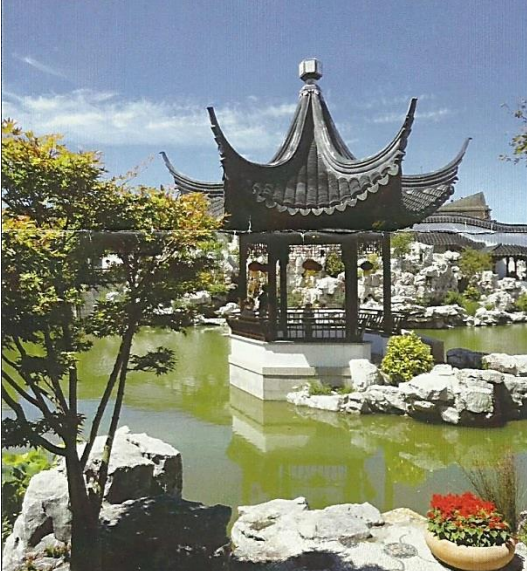

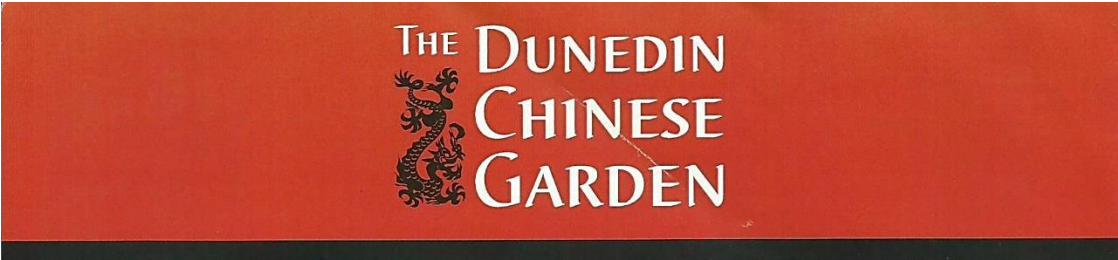
Research project: *The Dunedin Chinese Garden as Chinese Cultural Heritage*

Interviews with Key Stakeholders of Dunedin Chinese Garden.

INTERVIEW PURPOSE: The designed interview will focus on gaining general information on the Dunedin Chinese Garden (history, development, management, marketing, visitation), an understanding of the key stakeholders' involvement in the Garden, and their view of the effectiveness on representing Chinese culture in New Zealand.	
Interview structure	Key topics shaping the interview structure e.g.
<i>Introduction</i> <i>Context setting</i>	Brief description of participant's organisation's objectives of and relationship to the Dunedin Chinese Garden.
Discussion theme 1 <i>Dunedin Chinese Garden as a means to represent Chinese culture</i>	What specific aspects of the Dunedin Chinese Garden do you consider to be significant as 'heritage'? Please describe and explain why. How do these relate, if at all, to the Chinese community, the City, the wider New Zealand community? How do you characterise the aspects of the Dunedin Chinese Garden which you consider as representation of Chinese culture? Examples please.
Discussion theme 2 <i>Elements contributing to the Dunedin Chinese Garden</i>	What role(s) did your organisation play (if any) in the development of the Dunedin Chinese Garden for the complex of Chinese culture in New Zealand? What prompted your organisation's participation? Please explain how this happened. How far was this influenced by internal or external factors (e.g. current responsibilities/legislative requirements/Council policy/community pressure, other developments/ concern for heritage /other factors)?
Discussion theme 3 <i>Visitation of the Dunedin Chinese Garden</i>	From your perspective, who are the target visitors to the Dunedin Chinese Garden? (New Zealanders? Chinese New Zealanders? International tourists? Chinese?) To what extent, do you think the Dunedin Chinese Garden has reached the targeted market? What factors do you think have contributed to the marketing segmentation?
Discussion theme 4 <i>Status of Chinese heritage and the Dunedin Chinese Garden in NZ</i>	Do you and your organization recognize an increasing understanding and concern from both government and community to Chinese heritage in New Zealand? (If yes: What do you think are the factors that are leading to this trend?) What role do you think has the Dunedin Chinese Garden played in gaining significance to the Chinese heritage in New Zealand? How far do you think the Dunedin Chinese Garden has succeeded?

Discussion theme 5 <i>Future considerations for the Dunedin Chinese Garden as Chinese heritage.</i>	What do you consider to be the main considerations or issues for maintaining or developing the Dunedin Chinese Garden as a heritage site and touristic attraction? How might these be addressed? Who should be involved and what roles should they have?
Any other comments	Any other relevant issue(s) that the informant would like to raise or share.

Appendix 5: The brochure of Dunedin Chinese Garden



OUR OWN OASIS IN THE CITY

The Dunedin Chinese Garden is an authentic example of a late Ming, early Ching Dynasty Scholars Garden. It celebrates the Chinese influence on Otago's history and heritage from the goldrush days of the 1860s and Dunedin's Sister City relationship with Shanghai.

It is one of only three that exist outside China and the only one in the Southern Hemisphere, making it a truly unique visitor attraction. Situated near similar attractions and the centre of the city, it provides a relaxing time out from a busy day.

The Tea House serves traditional finger food and beverages and the Gift Shop gives people a chance to take away an authentic memento of their visit.

The Garden is disability-friendly and there are toilets and free car/bus parking onsite.

Visitors can explore the Garden by themselves or guided tours are available.

If your clients are looking for options in their free time, talk to us about special offers we can give you to pass on.

www.dunedinchinesegarden.com

The front page.

DUNEDIN CHINESE GARDEN RATES

Retail Rate

Self Guide	\$9.00
Guided Tour	\$20.00

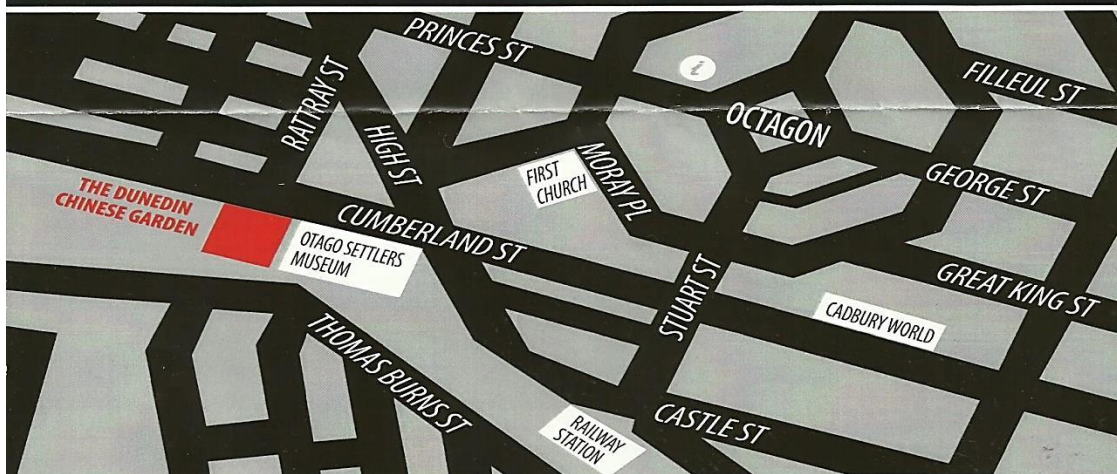
Wholesale Rate

Self Guide	\$7.20
Guided Tour	\$16.00
Guided Tour (more than 20 people)	\$15.00

Opening Hours

7 days a week	10.00 ^{am} – 5.00 ^{pm}
Wednesday evenings	7.00 ^{pm} – 9.00 ^{pm}

For guided tours booked in advance we can open outside normal operating hours and find that early morning tours starting from 8.00am – 8.30am are very well received by customers.



THE DUNEDIN CHINESE GARDEN

phone +64 03 477 3248, fax +64 03 474 3594

email chinesegarden@dcc.govt.nz

Corner of Rattray and Cumberland Streets (next to the Otago Settlers Museum)

PO Box 5045, Dunedin 9058, New Zealand

www.dunedinchinesegarden.com

Margo Reid 玛戈 里德

Manager 经理

Phone 电话: 03 471 7358

Cell 手机: 027 225 4969

Email 电子邮箱: mreid@dcc.govt.nz

A DEPARTMENT OF THE DUNEDIN CITY COUNCIL

www.dunedin.govt.nz

The back page.


Appendix 6: The sister-garden agreement between the Dunedin Chinese Garden and Yu Garden in Shanghai

The Sister-Garden agreement between the Dunedin Chinese Garden and the Yu Garden in Shanghai

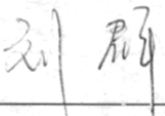
According to Clause 6.2 of the Memorandum of Understanding and Co-operation between Dunedin City and Shanghai City 2008-2010, about the horticulture exchanges between the two cities, the Dunedin Chinese Garden and the Yu Garden in Shanghai, based on the principle of equality and friendship, agree to establish a sister-garden relationship and reach the following agreement:

1. The sister-garden relationship will be formally established on 25 March 2010, out of the good intention, equality, mutual benefits, and frankness between both parties.
2. Based on the principle of equality and cooperation, both parties shall try their best to improve Dunedin Chinese Garden's state in security, architecture maintenance, display of objects indoor, layout of gardening, and reception as well.
3. The Management of Shanghai Yu Garden will assist the Dunedin Chinese Garden to establish a comparatively complete administration system and provide the necessary assistance in realizing the Chinese Garden supporting itself as soon as possible.
4. Once the agreement is put into effect, both parties will send their professional staff to each other's premises for exchanges.
5. Regular contacts of both parties, including mails, emails, telephones, and faxes shall be established in order to smoothly communicate with each other.

This agreement will be signed by the following respective representatives:



Dunedin Chinese Gardens, New Zealand



The Management of Shanghai Yu Garden, China

Appendix 7: Examples of Chinese garden built abroad

Garden	Location & Year built	The main purpose
<i>In Asia</i>		
Jurong Gardens	Singapore, 1975	Built by local Chinese immigrants.
Tiger Balm Gardens	Singapore, 1937	Built by local Chinese immigrants.
Fukushūen (Fuzhou Garden)	Naha, Okinawa, Japan, 1992	Sister-city relationship with Fuzhou.
Chinese Garden Enchoen	Yurihama Tottori, Japan, 1995	Sister-city relationship with Hebei Province.
<i>In Europe</i>		
QianYuan in the Botanischer Garten	Bochum, Germany, 1990	Sister-city relationship with Shanghai.
Chinesischer Garten	Berlin, Germany, 1994	Sister-city relationship with Beijing.
Chinese Garden of Serenity	Santa Luċija, Malta, 1996	A gift from China.
Chinese Garden	Zürich, Switzerland	Sister-city relationship with Kunming.
Der Chinesische Garten in Luisenpark	Mannheim, Germany, 2001	Sister-city relationship with Zhenjiang.
<i>In Oceania</i>		
Chinese Garden of Friendship	Sydney, Australia, 1995	Sister-city relationship with Guangzhou.
Yi Yuan Gardens in Golden Dragon Museum	Bendigo, Australia,	Sister-city relationship with Baoding.
Dunedin Chinese Garden	Dunedin, New Zealand, 2008	Sister-city relationship with Shanghai.
<i>In the United States of America</i>		
The New York Chinese Scholar's Garden in Staten Island Botanical Garden	Staten Island, New York, USA, 1999	The idea emerged from the needs of the botanical garden.
Portland Classical Chinese Garden	Portland, Oregon, USA, 2000	Sister-city relationship with Suzhou.
Garden of Flowing Fragrance in Huntington Library	San Marino, California, USA, first phase finished in 2008, and the second phase is still on-going.	The idea emerged from the need of the library for a scholar's garden.
Seattle Chinese Garden	Seattle, USA, 2011, more phases are on-going	Sister-city relationship with Chongqing.
The Astor Court in the Metropolitan Museum of Art	New York City, USA, 1981	The first permanent cultural exchange between the U.S. and the People's Republic of

		China.
<i>In Great Britain</i>		
Kew Gardens	London, 1761	A Chinese pagoda, house and garden were built by William Chambers.
Chinese-inspired garden in Biddulph Grange Gardens	Staffordshire, 19th century	A Victorian vision of China created by British architects.
Beggar's Knoll Chinese Garden	Newtown, Westbury, Wiltshire, undated	Chinese pavilions, gateways, statues and dragons built by local gardeners.
<i>In Canada</i>		
Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden	Chinatown in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, 1986	The first full-size Chinese or "scholars" garden built outside of China by local Chinese community with the help from China.
Dream Lake Garden in Montréal Botanical Garden	Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 1990	Sister-city relationship with Shanghai

Appendix 8: Gallery of the Dunedin Chinese Garden



Image 1. Pailou, the main entrance of the DCG.



Image 2: A corner of DCG in TOSM



Image 3. The main entrance hall from inside



Image 4. The heart of the lake pavilion



Image 5. Mountain and half pavilion



Image 6. Pond, climbing corridor and arch bridge

Note: the above pictures' all rights reserve to the author.

Appendix 9: List of relevant websites

Name	Website
Key stakeholders	
The Dunedin Chinese Garden	http://www.dunedinchinese garden.com/
Dunedin City Council	http://www.dunedin.govt.nz/
Tourism Dunedin	http://www.dunedinnz.com/visit/corporate
Toitū Otago Settlers Museum	http://www.otago.settlers.museum/
New Zealand Chinese Association Inc.	http://www.nzchinese.org.nz/
New Zealand China Friendship Society	http://nzchinasociety.org.nz/#
OCTA Associates Limited	http://www.octa.co.nz/index.pasp
Otago Southland Chinese Association	http://www.osca.org.nz/
Otago University	http://www.otago.ac.nz/chinese/
The DCG's Facebook page	https://www.facebook.com/TheDunedinChineseGarden
Other related and useful organizations and websites	
New Zealand Gardens Trust	http://www.gardens.org.nz/
New Zealand- China FTA	http://www.chinafta.govt.nz/
Foreign Affairs Office of the Shanghai Municipal People's Government	http://wsb.sh.gov.cn/wsb/2013english/index.html
Sister Cities New Zealand	http://sistercities.org.nz/
Chinese Poll Tax Heritage Trust	http://www.communitymatters.govt.nz/Funding-and-grants---Trust-and-fellowship-grants---Chinese-Poll-Tax-Heritage-Trust
Otago Daily Times	http://www.odt.co.nz/
Statistics New Zealand	http://www.stats.govt.nz/
Historic Cemeteries Conservation Trust of New Zealand	http://www.cemeteries.org.nz/
New Zealand History Online	http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/
Yu Garden in Shanghai	http://www.yugarden.com.cn/yugarden/