

Present visitors' interest in Māori cultural tourism on Banks Peninsula, New Zealand

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Abstract

While New Zealand is primarily seen as a place to enjoy nature and natural areas, Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) suggests there is potential for developing cultural attractions for international visitors, focusing in particular on Māori cultural products. Māori also see tourism development as a way to utilise their cultural and land based resources for economic development, particularly in rural areas. However, successful cultural attractions in New Zealand, including Māori attractions, need domestic patronage to survive in the longer term, especially in areas away from the main international tourist routes. This paper focuses on research conducted in one such area – Banks Peninsula, Canterbury. We explore current visitor interest in cultural tourism in the region and examine these findings with reference to previous research to reflect on the feasibility of developing cultural tourism, and specifically Māori tourism, in this region.

Keywords: Māori cultural tourism, Banks Peninsula.

Introduction

While nature and natural areas remain strong attractions for visitors (Ministry of Tourism, 2008a) there is growing recognition of the need to diversify New Zealand's tourism product beyond the 'clean green' image. For example, the May 2005 edition of Tourism New Zealand's *Tourism News* focused on the growing importance of 'culture' to the New Zealand tourism product, devoting the majority of the issue to discussion of the appeal of cultural and heritage attractions of New Zealand (TNZ, 2005). Much of this renewed interest in cultural tourism is centred on the potential of developing more Māori cultural products. The current New Zealand Tourism Strategy 2015 sees Māori culture as New Zealand's point of difference (Ministry of Tourism, 2007), and Māori see Māori cultural

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tourism as a means of utilising their cultural and land based resources for economic development, particularly in rural areas (Warren & Taylor, 1999).

Domestic tourism is often viewed as the 'poor cousin' of the more highly valued international tourism market (Scheyvens, 2007). However, in the year ending March 2007, domestic household expenditure on tourism was \$8.7 billion, compared with \$8.8 billion for international expenditure.³ Domestic tourists in the year ended March 2008 made 26.2 million day trips and 14.7 overnight trips, accounting for a total of 43.2 million nights (Ministry of Tourism, 2008b). Arguably, domestic tourism is likely to become more important to the country as fuel price increases and concern about climate change, peak oil and carbon footprints make it more expensive, and perhaps less acceptable for visitors to make the long haul journey to New Zealand, or for New Zealanders to travel overseas (Becken, 2004, 2008; Hansford, 2007; Nippert, 2007).

Undoubtedly, most New Zealand destinations rely on domestic tourism for survival and tourism products in these destinations require domestic support for success, particularly in the off-season and in areas away from the main international tourist routes (Simmons et al. 1998; Wilson et al., 2006; Fitt et al., 2007). Domestic support includes both direct visits and recommendations given to visiting international friends/ relatives. Domestic visitors can also be found at tourist attractions when they are showing 'out-of-towners' around.⁴ However, domestic tourists show significantly less interest in Māori tourism products than international visitors (Ryan, 2002; Ryan & Pike, 2003; Wilson et al, 2006; Ministry of Tourism, 2008c).

This paper focuses on findings of research conducted into the appeal of cultural tourism, especially Māori cultural tourism, to visitors of one region 'off the beaten track' – Banks Peninsula, Canterbury. A survey was conducted in the summer of 2006-7 with visitors to the peninsula and the results of this survey are used as a basis for exploring the feasibility of developing Māori cultural tourism in regions such as this and the potential markets for such products. The paper concludes that it may be worth adding Māori cultural tourism to the repertoire of attractions in the region, but it is important to understand the expectations and perceptions of domestic and international tourists, including their understanding of what constitutes a Māori tourism experience (Wilson et al, 2006), what is a suitable holiday activity, and which places are appropriate for Māori cultural tourism experiences.

³ The latter figure includes international airfares paid to New Zealand carriers, thereby over-estimating the contribution of international visitors 'on the ground' in the country.

⁴ For example, Horn (2002) noted that Rotorua businesses offered local people discounted entry to some attractions when they are accompanying others from out of town and they ran events in which visitors who live locally were offered a discount into some attractions.

Literature review

The natural landscape is the biggest influence on international visitors' decision to visit New Zealand. A study commissioned by Tourism New Zealand found that approximately 90 percent of international visitors chose New Zealand as a holiday destination due the natural landscape and scenery (Colmar Brunton, 2003). The natural environment is also a key driver for domestic tourism (Wilson et al, 2006; Fitt et al. 2007). A secondary motivator for 40 percent of international visitors to New Zealand was the desire to experience the culture and history of the country (AC Neilson, 2002, cited in Wilson et al. p. 8). While not the primary driver of a New Zealand holiday, this cultural experience 'adds value' to the experience of the country (Colmar Brunton, 2003; McIntosh, 2004). For example, Wilson et al. (2006, p.65) report that tourists feel that incorporating historical stories into their New Zealand experience offers a 'richer dimension to the experience'.

Cultural tourism incorporates a range of experiences, including heritage tourism, educational tourism, indigenous tourism and food and wine tourism (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; White et al, 2008). Tourism New Zealand defines cultural tourism as any experience that includes 'those dimensions that enable more depth of interaction with and understanding of our people, place and cultural identity' (Colmar Brunton, 2003 p.20). Thus, guided trips into the natural environment may be considered forms of cultural tourism, in which guests are learning about a culture that is part a landscape (Wilson et al, 2006).⁵ Given the wide array of cultural attractions and activities listed, it is not surprising that most domestic and international tourists participate in at least some of these attractions.

Tourists visiting cultural attractions are not necessarily deeply interested in the cultural component of the experience. McKercher and du Cros (2002) identify five types or 'shades' of cultural tourists who differ in the depth of cultural experience they seek, as well as the importance of cultural tourism in their decision to visit a destination. At one extreme, the purposeful cultural tourist visits a destination primarily because of its cultural aspects and seeks a deep experience; these tourists might be considered the 'ideal' cultural tourist. By contrast, the incidental cultural tourist participates in some cultural tourism despite little interest. McKercher and du Cros (2002) found that two categories account for more than half of all cultural tourists; the sightseeing cultural tourists and casual cultural tourists. These groups differ in how important cultural tourism is to their experiences, but both seek only shallow encounters. Other researchers have also distinguished between 'specialised cultural tourists' for whom

5 Where the guide is Māori, the cultural element of tourism is unquestioned – for example Footprints in which Māori guides take people into a Northland kauri forest would be seen by most as a form of cultural tourism.

cultural tourism is 'serious leisure' (Stebbins, 1996, 2001) and 'accidental cultural tourists' (Silberberg, 1995; see also Bywater, 1993).

Māori cultural tourism as a subset of cultural tourism is similarly complicated by a range of supply and demand-side definitional issues (see Barnett 1997; Ryan, 2002; Ryan & Pike, 2003; McIntosh, 2004; Kanara-Zygadlo et al., 2005; Wilson et al., 2006). Currently, tourism suppliers, host communities and Tourism New Zealand exhibit significant interest in developing Māori cultural attractions. The New Zealand Tourism Strategy 2015 highlights scope for growth of Māori tourism opportunities, asserting that "Māori culture provides a distinctive element" which combined with our natural attractions "gives New Zealand its unique position as a tourist destination" (Ministry of Tourism, 2007, p.20). They continue:

Demand for authentic Māori products is increasing, particularly those that combine traditional values and knowledge within a contemporary product. This means there is a huge potential for greater Māori participation in the sector, but infusing Māori cultural elements across the whole range of tourism products (Ministry of Tourism, 2007, p.23).

There are some challenges to meeting this vision and it is no clear evidence that there is a growing demand for 'authentic Māori products'. A range of issues exist surrounding the expectations and perceptions of domestic and international tourists, including their understanding of what constitutes a Māori cultural tourism experience. Both Wilson et al (2006) and Fitt et al (2007) found that international visitors they spoke to knew very little about Māori culture and did not recognise forms of Māori experience outside of the traditional concert party (see also McIntosh, 2004). While overseas visitors will recognise the Māori aspect of a kapahaka performance for example, they are unlikely to recognise Māori aspects of hospitality in a Māori run backpackers or the Māori elements in a horse trek run by Māori on Māori land. Wilson et al (2006) note that when this happened, guests enjoyed the Māori aspects, but it was not something that initially drew them in.⁶

Some researchers have argued that the *quantity* of Māori cultural elements may matter less than the *quality* of the experience and in particular, the sincerity of the interaction or the sense of connection that guests feel with their Māori hosts at the time when the experience is produced (Taylor 2001; McIntosh, 2004; McIntosh & Johnson, 2005). While this may be the case for some participants, another issue that Māori tourism businesses must resolve is that tourism is a commercial activity and most tourists are primarily interested in entertainment. As such, the requirements of tourism means that what is presented is often a stereotypical, superficial package (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Just as cultural tourists differ in how much they want to be involved and in the depth of experience they seek, so too do tourists seeking a Māori cultural experience; many see it as merely a "tick off" item to do when in New Zealand, usually in Rotorua

⁶ Records kept by a number of businesses show that tourists are drawn to the business on the basis of the activity or the primary service offered and only discovered its Māori nature after they arrive (pers. Comm.).

(McIntosh, 2004; Wilson et al, 2006). Having done it, they do not usually explore further possibilities and/ or they may be unaware of the variety of possibilities that exist (Wilson et al. 2006).⁷ Thus, while *some* tourists may be seeking a sincere, deep connection with Māori culture, others prefer an entertaining performance.

Claims made in the New Zealand Tourism Strategy of a growing interest in Māori cultural tourism products are not clearly backed by evidence. While the number of international tourists participating in Māori cultural experiences is increasing, the *proportion* participating has remained largely unchanged for close to a decade. Between 1998 and 2003, the proportion of international visitors who participated in Māori cultural activities declined from 22.9 percent to 17.8 percent (Ministry of Tourism, 2005), although this had increased again to 20 percent by 2006 (Ministry of Tourism, 2008c). Colmar Brunton (2004) found that Māori cultural products rated relatively poorly compared with other cultural tourism experiences. Recent Ministry of Tourism (2008a,c,d) statistics reinforce the role of culture, and specifically Māori culture, to the New Zealand tourism experience. Data from the International Visitor Survey (IVS) and the Domestic Tourism Survey (DTS) suggest that nature based tourism is by far the biggest sector in the tourism industry with visitors participating in 15.7 million nature based activities (occasions) during 2006. In comparison, the same year, 1.7 million tourists visited museums, 567,200 visitors participated in a Māori cultural experience such as a marae stay or cultural performance and 507 500 tourists visited a winery.

Another challenge to growing Māori tourism is the limited interest exhibited by domestic travellers (Ryan, 2002; Ryan & Pike, 2003; Wilson et al, 2006). The Ministry of Tourism (2008c) reports that only 0.2 percent of domestic tourists undertook Māori cultural activities during their travels between 2001 and 2006. They estimate that 80 percent of the tourists experiencing Māori cultural tourism in 2006 were international (Ministry of Tourism, 2008c). A number of explanations have been given for this low domestic interest. One issue is the stereotyping of Māori in current tourism products with little appeal to New Zealanders, resulting in the marginalisation of current Māori-based tourism product for the domestic market (Ryan & Pike, 2003). For example, in their analysis of Australian aboriginal representation in tourism, Ryan and Huyton (2002) point out the failure of marketers to take into account the popularity of contemporary aboriginal music.⁸ Another issue for many New Zealanders is the 'ambiguous relationship' they have with Māori, due to media coverage of Treaty of Waitangi claims, land rights issues that sees some New Zealanders prefer to ignore Māori culture, including in their holiday activities (Ryan, 2002, p.960).

⁷ This issue may be quite deep seated. Wilson et al (2006) note, for example that some visitors did not consider that they needed a Māori experience whilst in New Zealand because they had been to a concert party on one of the Pacific Islands and they felt it would offer them nothing new.

⁸ Perhaps a similar point could be raised regarding the heavy involvement of Māori in creating a pacific based reggae sound. New Zealanders are the second biggest consumers of reggae per capita in the world, after Jamaica, but there is little evidence of this arguably Māori cultural product in the tourism products promoted to international or domestic tourists.

There is some evidence that migrant New Zealanders are more interested in Māori cultural products than those born in the country (Ryan, 2002). This may relate to spatial proximity (Ryan, 2002), and the exposure New Zealanders have to Māori culture in their day to day life. For example, Wilson et al. (2006) report that New Zealand visitors sometimes noted that they had already stayed on a marae or learned about local Māori history through work or school trips in the area, so they did not feel that such visits were part of a holiday activity (see also Fitt et al, 2007).⁹ Despite this, a small group of domestic visitors *do* participate in Māori cultural activities as part of a holiday experience (Wilson et al. 2006). These tourists are interested in a highly authentic experience in a culturally safe environment. Arguably, any Māori cultural offering developed for this group would need to differ substantially from the cultural tourism product aimed at the majority of tourists.

A final challenge to developing Māori tourism nationally is the fact that Rotorua dominates in New Zealand tourism as the place where tourists experience Māori culture; 86 percent of all international Māori cultural tourism experiences occurred here in 2005/06. Auckland (3%), Canterbury (2%) and Northland (2%) were the next most popular Māori cultural destinations (Ministry of Tourism, 2008c, p.1). The domestic pattern was similar but less pronounced, with less than half (43%) of all domestic Māori cultural tourism experiences taking place in Rotorua, followed by Northland (17%), Auckland (11%) and Waikato (7%; Ministry of Tourism, 2008c, p.1). Hence, many regional areas attempting to develop Māori cultural tourism face two stumbling blocks. First, they are not Rotorua, and if they are known for anything, it is usually for their natural attractions, making it difficult for cultural tourism products – Māori tourism included – to be noticed. Second, the primary market for these regions is domestic; a market little interested in what Māori tourism products offer the holiday experience.

Research Setting

Within this context Banks Peninsula is introduced (See Figure 1). Banks Peninsula lies east of Christchurch city, providing the city with many tourism and leisure opportunities. Lyttelton Harbour, the largest inlet on the Northern side of the Peninsula contains Christchurch's main port of the same name. The Harbour contains both permanent houses and holiday homes, predominantly owned by residents from the neighbouring city. There is little in the way of commercial tourist accommodation in the vicinity, except from some campgrounds and small bed and breakfast operations. As a popular daytrip destination, Christchurch residents visit for mostly non-commercial activities such as relaxing on the beaches, sailing, walking, or picnicking.

⁹ Fitt et al (2007) observed that some domestic respondents reacted to questions about marae stays by commenting that “you have to be asked to stay on a marae”. For many marae, this is true but for those trying to appeal to a tourism market, this may not be the case. Such confusion may make the idea of experiencing Māori culture less attractive and less accessible than tourist operators may like.

Akaroa Harbour, on the south side of the Peninsula, has been a favourite visitor destination for more than a century. Akaroa is approximately 90kms from Christchurch and like the rest of the Peninsula is a favourite holiday spot for Christchurch people and a popular destination for international tourists. The various townships around the Peninsula incorporate many holiday homes and there is a range of holiday accommodation facilities particularly focused around Akaroa Harbour. The remainder of the Peninsula is made up of a number of small bays, known collectively as the 'Outer Bays'. These bays are predominantly farmed, but also contain camp grounds, holiday homes and small commercial accommodation providers (bed and breakfasts, backpackers). Most visitors to the Outer Bays are New Zealanders.

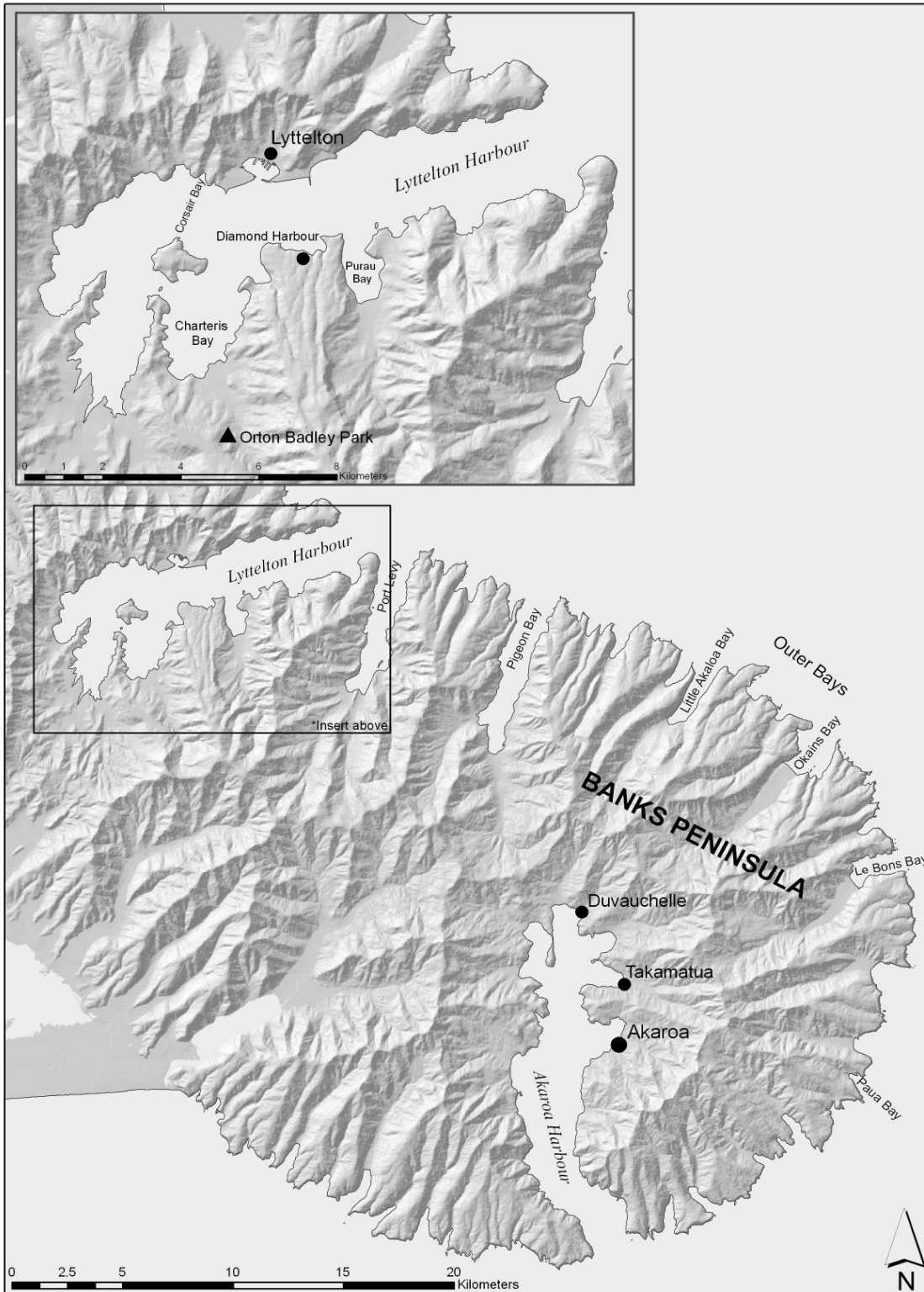


Fig. 1 Map of interview sites on Banks Peninsula (Source: White et al. 2008).

Reflecting trends in New Zealand as a whole, most domestic and international visitors to Banks Peninsula visit for the natural attractions, including the wildlife (especially the Hector's dolphins) and scenery, or for the nature-based recreational opportunities afforded in the hills and on the waters of the Peninsula. Academic research over the past decade confirms the dominance of nature-based activities (mostly non-commercial) as the motivating factors for visitors to the district (Hay, 1998; Wilson et al, 2006; White et al, 2008).

Despite this, Banks Peninsula has a rich cultural heritage. Some of the district's history has been in promotion since the nineteenth century. Early visitors to Akaroa were told of the unique history of French settlement in the district and of the Māori history of the district, particularly vignettes which highlighted a violent past. During the 1960s and 1970s, the French history of Akaroa district was repackaged into 'The French Connection', which is still a prominent, if not dominant, tourist narrative in Akaroa today (Fountain, 2002). More recently, some tourists will engage with local Māori history through visiting Onuku Marae or the Akaroa or Okains Bay museums. Many Christchurch residents remember school fieldtrips and projects to study the early history of Māori in the region. Throughout the remainder of Banks Peninsula, little has been made of the region's cultural heritage in tourism promotion, despite its important role in Māori and early European history.

Methods

Face-to-face interviews were used to survey a total of 395 visitors between December 2006 and February 2007, in Akaroa, Takamatua, and Duvauchelle in Akaroa Harbour, and at Corsair Bay, Diamond Harbour, Orton Bradley Park, Quail Island, Charteris Bay and Purau within Lyttelton Harbour. People were also interviewed in the 'Outer Bays', including Okains Bay, Paua Bay, Le Bons Bay and Little Akaloa (see Fig. 1). Table 1 shows the number of surveys conducted in each location.

Interviewers approached people in public places. During the latter stages of interviewing, participants were chosen more selectively to gain a good representation of age, gender and place of origin (eg. surveyors would ask to speak to the male when approaching a couple, as the number of female participants was higher). Before completing the survey, interviewers checked that a potential respondent was at least 18 years old and living outside of the Banks Peninsula area (see Appendix 1). Participants were also informed that the surveys were anonymous and voluntary. Data gathered from the survey were later entered into a spreadsheet and analysed using SPSS (statistics package for the social sciences).

Participants were asked a range of questions about their interest in cultural heritage tourism in general. They were asked questions also regarding their interest in learning about Banks Peninsula's general history, settler history and Māori history, and in experiencing Māori culture such as hangi and marae visits while in the region. These results are presented below.

Findings

Of the 395 visitors in our sample, 54 percent were domestic visitors and 46 percent were international. Most domestic visitors (70%) came from Christchurch. Of the 182 international visitors, 31 percent came from the UK while the next largest group came from the USA, at 14 percent. Table 1 shows the overall proportions of the different groups in the sample.

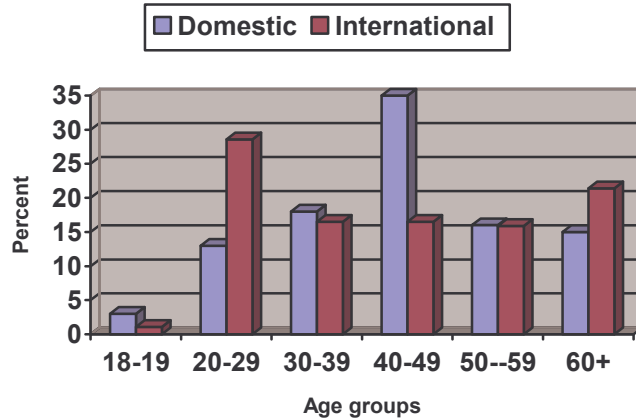
Table 1
Place of origin of visitors

Place	Frequency	% (n = 395)	Place	Frequency	% (n = 395)
Christchurch	149	37.7	Other Europe	18	4.6
Canterbury	31	7.8	Canada	9	2.3
New Zealand	33	8.4	Switzerland	9	2.3
UK	56	14.2	Israel	7	1.8
USA	26	6.6	Asia	6	1.5
Germany	25	6.3	other	2	0.5
Australia	24	6.1			

Most international visitors in this survey (68%) were interviewed in Akaroa, the most well known tourist destination on the Peninsula. Of the 199 people interviewed in Akaroa, 62 percent were international in origin. In comparison, around the Lyttelton Harbour basin, only seven percent of the 101 people interviewed were international, while 81 percent of them came from nearby Christchurch.

International and domestic visitors in the sample differed in their education, age distribution, travel patterns and their visit histories. International visitors in the sample have higher levels of education than New Zealand visitors, with 66 percent having tertiary level education compared with 52 percent for domestic visitors. The age ranges of domestic and international visitors varied. Most domestic visitors were in the 40-49 age group, whilst most international visitors were in the 20-29 age group (See Figure 2).

Figure 2: Percentage of domestic and international visitors in each age group



Many visitors (49%) were in the area on day trips and this pattern increases for visitors from Christchurch of whom 65 percent were visiting for the day only. Of all those staying overnight, 56 percent were staying in either campgrounds or private (holiday) homes. Private or rental car were the most popular form of transport, used by 77 percent of the sample (with 43% and 20% of international visitors travelling in rental cars and private cars respectively, whilst 85% of New Zealanders were in private cars), and 71 percent of the sample were travelling either with their partner/ spouse or family, with 49 percent of international visitors travelling with their partner and 53 percent of New Zealanders travelling with their families.

Repeat visits were common, with 58 percent of all visitors having visited the area at least once previously and 86 percent of all visitors from Christchurch having visited the Peninsula more than 20 times. For New Zealanders from further afield, 80 percent had visited previously. Of those who have visited the area before, 94 percent of Christchurch people and 78 percent of New Zealanders from further afield report coming to the area more than once in the last year. Unsurprisingly, 82 percent of international visitors were on their first visit to the region (see Table 2). These findings echo earlier research (Hay, 1998).

Table 2

Prior visitation to Banks Peninsula

Previous visits	Visitor origin						Totals
	Christchurch		Other NZ		International		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
one	2	1.3	13	20.3	150	82.4	165
1-5 times	6	4.7	14	21.8	23	12.5	44
6-20 times	12	8.1	13	20.3	3	1.6	28
>20 times	128	85.9	24	37.5	6	3.3	158
Totals	149	100	64	100	182	100	395

The appeal to the respondents of various activities and attractions on Banks Peninsula is outlined in Table 3 below. Activities were rated on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 meant 'not at all appealing' and 5 meant 'very appealing'. The highest rating activities involved natural features such as viewing natural landscapes, viewing dolphins, going for walks or hikes, and going to the beach. Overall, the lowest scoring activities were visiting a marae, trying a hangī, going horse trekking and experiencing Māori culture, echoing earlier research (Hay, 1998; Wilson et al 2006).

The interests of domestic and international visitors in this sample vary. For Christchurch people, going to the beach rated highest followed by viewing natural landscapes, whereas for other New Zealanders and international visitors, the most appealing activity was viewing natural landscapes with viewing dolphins as the next most popular activity.¹⁰ As a general rule, New Zealanders, and particularly those not from Christchurch, were more interested than international visitors in physical activities such as mountain biking, kayaking, boating and fishing. This may in part reflect the fact that New Zealanders, particularly those travelling in family groups are less likely to participate in commercial activities compared with other visitors (Ryan & Pike, 2003, p.311). International visitors were more interested than domestic visitors in learning-based activities such as learning about native plants and animals, experiencing Māori culture, or visiting a museum. International visitors also show more interest than domestic visitors in Māori cultural attractions such as visiting a marae, trying a hangī, learning about Māori history or experiencing Māori culture.

¹⁰ The timing of this survey, in the summer months, will have influenced the appeal of the beach.

Table 3

Mean scores for level of appeal of various attractions, measured on a 5 point scale

How appealing is?	Visitor origin			Overall mean
	Christchurch (mean)	Other NZ (mean)	International (mean)	
Viewing natural landscapes	4.33	4.38	4.66	4.49
Viewing dolphins	3.94	4.14	4.29	4.13
Going walking or hiking	3.97	4.05	4.14	4.06
Going to the beach	4.42	4.13	3.66	4.02
Eating a restaurant meal	4.18	3.98	3.79	3.97
Going on a scenic boat cruise	3.93	3.94	3.81	3.88
Learning about Banks Peninsula's history	3.59	3.69	3.63	3.63
Finding out about native plants & animals	3.33	3.39	3.74	3.53
Learning about Banks Peninsula's early settlers	3.49	3.47	3.47	3.48
Kayaking or yachting	3.40	3.80	3.32	3.43
Visiting gardens	3.26	3.22	3.55	3.39
Visiting a craft shop or gallery	3.44	3.41	3.27	3.36
Learning about Banks Peninsula's Māori history	2.93	2.98	3.46	3.18
Experiencing Māori culture	2.69	2.61	3.52	3.06
Going jet boating or jet skiing	3.26	3.47	2.74	3.05
Visiting museums	2.96	2.94	3.10	3.02
Visiting a Marae	2.51	2.63	3.37	2.93
Going fishing	3.26	3.53	2.40	2.91
Going mountain biking	3.14	2.91	2.62	2.86
Trying a hangi	2.57	2.61	3.16	2.85
Going horse trekking	2.66	2.71	2.62	2.65

Interest in cultural heritage attractions

Participants were asked how interested they were in learning about the cultural history of places they visited while on holiday and 76 percent of respondents stated they were either 'very interested' or 'quite interested' in cultural history, with most of these being only 'quite interested' (Table 4). Differences in interest in cultural historical tourism are apparent based on place of origin, age, and education.

International tourists reported more interest in cultural history whilst on holiday than either domestic tourists or Christchurch residents. Only 18 percent of people from nearby Christchurch and 20 percent of New Zealanders from further afield reported being very interested, compared with 33 percent of international visitors. Similarly, Christchurch residents were the most likely to report disinterest in cultural history (see Table 4).

Table 4

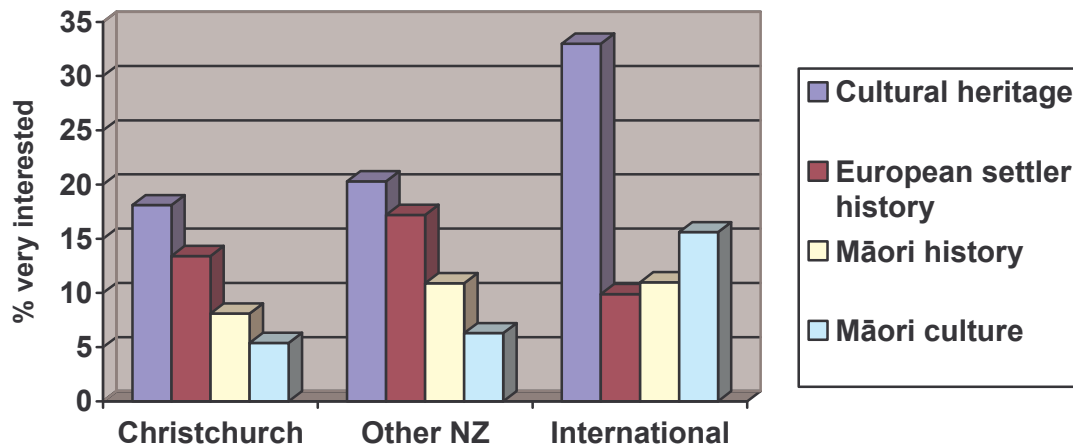
Interest in cultural history vs visitor origin

Interest in learning about the cultural history of places?	Visitor origin						Totals
	Christchurch		Other NZ		International		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Very interested	27	18.1	13	20.3	60	33.0	100
Quite interested	74	49.7	37	57.8	89	48.9	200
Neither interested nor disinterested	37	24.8	12	18.8	30	16.5	79
Disinterested	8	5.4	2	3.1	2	1.1	12
Very disinterested	3	2.0	0	0	1	0.5	4
Total	149	100	64	100	182	100	395

The differences between the three visitor origins in terms of levels of interest in cultural history was significant, with 81.9 percent of international visitors stating they were very or quite interested compared with 78.1 percent of visitors from New Zealand and 67.8 percent of visitors from Christchurch ($\chi^2 = 19.017$, $df = 8$, $P = 0.015$).

Interestingly, this general relationship of increasing interest the further away respondents live from Banks Peninsula does not hold when one explores interest in the various forms of cultural tourism available in the region as Figure 2 shows. Thus, international visitors were less interested in early settler history on Banks Peninsula than were New Zealanders, but they were significantly more interested in learning about Māori culture.

Figure 3: Visitor origin by interest in Banks Peninsula cultural heritage, settler history, Māori history and experiencing Māori culture



Older people were significantly more interested in cultural heritage attractions than younger ones. Thus, 38 percent of respondents aged over 50 reported being very interested in cultural history, whilst the figures for 30-49 and under 30 year olds were 21 percent and 15 percent respectively ($X^2 = 22.886$, $df = 4$, $P = 0.000$). Older people also showed more interest in visiting museums and in learning about Banks Peninsula’s early settlers than younger people.

Age is also connected with family life cycle stage, a characteristic that affects tourism and recreation patterns (Fodness 1982; Lawson 1991; Booth & Peebles, 1995). In comments to interviewers, some respondents suggested that their interest in cultural historical attractions would be different if they were travelling on their own rather than as part of a family with dependent children.

In terms of education, people with degrees or higher degrees were significantly more likely to report being very interested or quite interested in cultural history than people without these qualifications ($X^2 = 11.964$, $df = 4$, $P = 0.018$) (see Table 5). Looking in more detail, 32 percent of people with a degree or higher degree reported being very interested, 19 percent of those with trade or other tertiary qualifications were very interested, and 20 percent of those with high school qualifications or less reported being very interested. This correlation between qualifications and greater interest in cultural heritage may partly explain the greater interest of international tourists, who were more qualified than the other respondents.

Table 5

Interest in learning about cultural history by level of education

Interest in learning about cultural history	Highest educational qualification						Totals
	High school or less		Trade/other tertiary		Degree/higher degree		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Very/quite interested	74	65.5	79	75.2	147	83.1	300
Neither interested nor disinterested	33	29.2	22	21.0	24	13.6	79
Very/quite disinterested	6	5.3	4	3.8	6	3.4	16
Total	113	100	105	100	197	100	395

Interest in Māori culture and history

There is less reported interest in Māori cultural attractions than other cultural heritage attractions by all groups of visitors, but international tourists displayed significantly more interest in Māori cultural attractions in the region than domestic visitors with 53.8 percent of international visitors saying they found learning about Māori history quite or very appealing while only 36.2 percent of domestic visitors rating it that way ($X^2 = 26.008$, $df = 2$, $P = 0.000$). Similarly there was a significant difference in interest in experiencing Māori culture between the two groups. Only 21 percent of domestic visitors found Māori culture appealing or very appealing while 53 percent of internationals did so ($X^2 = 57.073$, $df = 5$, $P = 0.000$).

Some international visitors reporting a lack of interest in Māori cultural products put this down to having experienced it already elsewhere in New Zealand. This would indicate that some international visitors cannot distinguish between the many kinds of Māori products that might be available to them and see them instead as a single entity – a box to tick (cf. Wilson et al., 2006). Domestic visitors are affected by their previous experiences also, usually in other, non-leisure settings (Ryan, 2002). Thus some reported visiting historic sites or marae through a school or work trips and pointed out that these activities had little appeal while on holiday (see also Wilson et al., 2006).

Gender appears to influence interest in Māori cultural experiences, with 42 percent of females rating these as very or quite attractive and only 29 percent of males rating them this way ($X^2 = 20.145$, $df = 5$, $P = 0.001$) (see also Fitt et al., 2007, and Wilson et al., 2006). Interestingly, there were no differences between males and females in their interest in Māori history on Banks Peninsula.

Education appeared to have little bearing on interest in local Māori history and culture. While age showed some connection with interest in cultural history as outlined above, there were no significant differences in interest in Māori history or culture by age.

Discussion and Conclusions

When one looks across the spectrum of tourists in New Zealand, there is much less participation in activities classified as cultural tourism than there is in activities associated with our natural landscapes (Ministry of Tourism 2008a,c,d), even taking into account the possible vagaries of definitions. Furthermore our work and the work of Wilson et al. (2006) indicates that the interest in Māori history and culture is generally lower again, with domestic visitors expressing less interest than international visitors in such products, a fact that does not appear to be unique to the New Zealand context (Ryan & Huyton, 2000, 2002).

Our findings lend some support to Ryan's (2002) suggestion that cultural proximity may be part of the reason why New Zealanders are less interested in Māori tourism. There may however be more to add to this explanation. For example visiting historic sites or museums as part of studying history at school may mean that local people do not see these activities as holiday activities. In the same way, New Zealanders visit marae, try hangi, and learn about Māori culture in other non-tourism contexts (education and work were both things our respondents talked about), so these activities may not be seen as authentic when seen as part of tourism. Of course these observations indicate that there may be opportunities to offer products such as those provided by Onuku Marae, which caters for groups wanting to come and stay on a marae for a range of reasons. Such products may not be considered tourism by those staying, and the marketing of those products will need to reflect that. These products may not differ markedly from what is provided for tourists at other times. Domestic visitors are also notoriously price sensitive, particularly on family holidays, therefore products which are expected to cost something may be less popular than those which are free.

Informational or educational activities such as visiting museums or historic sites are unlikely to be repeated frequently which may have a significant effect on the propensity of local people to visit cultural attractions. In fact, repeat visitors may visit attractions on Banks Peninsula as many times (if not more) over the course of their travel lives as an international visitor or a New Zealanders from further away. However, because they come to the area relatively often, they are less likely to participate in these activities than their international counterparts on a per trip basis.

Repeat domestic visitors are likely to have regular pattern to their visit, and therefore arrive with a particular set of activities in mind. They may come to relax or spend time on the beach, or go fishing. Domestic visitors who visit frequently do not see themselves as tourists or as customers for tourist activities. In comparison, international visitors are more likely to participate in a range of activities because they are unlikely to return to the

area. New Zealanders from further afield lie somewhere in between these two groups in terms of their holiday patterns.

A somewhat related issue that might be considered is the fact that all past surveys of visitors to Banks Peninsula have taken place in summer, which is when visitors are most plentiful. It is the case also that this is the season when the weather is most suitable for outdoor pursuits, like sailing, tramping and visiting the beach. Arguably visitors at this time of the year, particularly repeat visitors, may not consider cultural heritage (a largely indoor pursuit) as appealing as it is in the winter months. Perhaps a comparative survey completed in winter might show different visitor characteristics at this time of the year.

Those with an interest in developing Māori tourism may be disappointed in the relatively low interest shown by visitors in Māori culture and history. However, activities such as horse trekking, mountain biking and fishing have low appeal for international tourists, but many viable businesses are based on these activities. Therefore, there is a market for cultural tourism and Māori tourism in particular, but work will have to go into learning how to reach visitors with the relevant interests and into crafting products that appeal to different markets and that different markets understand (Wilson et al. 2006). Over time it would appear possible to grow demand for Māori tourism by providing excellent products, and with the provision of interpretation that profiles local Māori history and culture and helps to raise the awareness of both international and domestic visitors.

Another issue that may need to be addressed is the lack of visibility of Māori cultural heritage on Banks Peninsula or in promotion of the region, dominated as it is by images of dolphins and the 'French Connection' for the main tourist town of Akaroa. The contribution of Māori to Banks Peninsula is arguably much greater than that of the French, however traditionally it has not been seen as having the 'pulling power' or uniqueness of the gallic influence. Greater awareness of visitors in the rich history of Māori involvement in the development of Banks Peninsula may encourage visitors, particularly international ones, to seek out Māori experiences in the region.

While Banks Peninsula is unlikely to have the kind of Māori tourism profile that Rotorua does, it might be possible to create a niche product that builds on the unique environment provided by the Peninsula and the interests of visitors to this area. Here one might draw a parallel with the "French Connection" branding of Akaroa. As Fountain (2002) points out, there is in fact very little that is French about the town and yet this is a successful brand. One must assume that given that the level of Māori history and current culture in the area, developing, raising the profile of local Māori in the area is a distinct possibility.

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