Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre

Lincoln University

Tourism and Maori Development in Rotorua

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Rotorua Case Study

Report No.15/2000

TOURISM RECREATION RESEARCH AND EDUCATION CENTRE

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Tourism and Maori Development in Rotorua

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Glossary of Maori Terms

Aotearoa	Land of the Long White Cloud (Name given to New Zealand by Maori)
Aroha	Love
Haka	War dance
Hangi	Steamed oven meal and more recently refers also to food steamed by geothermal steam
Hapu	Sub-tribe
Haruru	To greet through hongi (pressing of noses)
Hei tiki	Pendant worn around neck
Hoha	Bored, tired of
Hui	Meeting, gathering
Ihenga	A Te Arawa tupuna who discovered much of the Rotorua region
Ihi	Power, authority, rank
Iwi	Tribes
Kaitiaki	Guardians
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship
Kapa haka	Cultural performance of song, dance and haka
Kanohi ki te kanohi,	Face to face
Karakia	Prayer
Karanga	Lamenting call of welcome
Kaumatua	Elders
Kaupapa	Subject, topic
Kaupapa Maori Research	Maori-based research
Kawa	Protocols
Kete	Woven kit
Korero	Talk, speech
Kuia	Elderly woman/women
MACI	Maori Arts and Crafts Institute (at Whakarewarewa)
Mahinga kai	Food gathering place
Mana tane	Men's authority, role
Mana wahine	Women's authority, role
Mana whenua	Authority over land
Manaakitanga	Showing respect for others and being hospitable
Manaaki ki te tangata	Respect for people
Maoritanga	Maori culture
Marae	Meeting ground
Maramataka	Maori calendar
Maunga	Mountain
Mauri	Life force
Mihi	Greeting
Mokopuna	Grandchild/children
Nga mea katoa	All things
Nga Waru Pumanawa O Te Arawa	Eight beating hearts of Te Arawa (reference to 8 tribes of Te Arawa)
Ngawha	Hot springs
Pakeha	White New Zealanders
Pakeke	Adults

Papakainga	Home base
Papatuanuku	Earth mother
Paru	Mud, dirty
Piupiu	Flax skirt
Pou	Carved post
Pounamu	Greenstone
Powhiri	Formal welcome, ceremonial welcome
Rahui	The placing of a tapu on an area to restrict access for conservation, cleansing purposes
Rangatahi	Youth
Rangatira	Chief
Ringa	Hand(s)
Rohe	Place or district
Rongoa	Medicine
Roto Iti Kitenga A Ihenga	Small lake discovered by Ihenga (full name of Lake Rotoiti)
RTAB	Rotorua Tourism Advisory Board
Runanga	Assembly or iwi authority
Tamariki	Children
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Tangata	People/person
Taonga	Property, treasure
Tapu	Sacred, forbidden
Tauiwi	All non-Maori
Te Reo	Maori language
Te Tiriti O Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi
Tikanga	Maori culture and traditions
Tino Rangatiratanga	Self determination
Titiro, whakaronga… korero	Look, listen, speak
Tohunga	Expert, specialist, priest
Tupuna	Ancestors
Turangawaewae	Standing place
Waahi tapu	Sacred, forbidden places
Waiariki	Water of the Gods. Also a name given to the Bay of Plenty region
Wahine	Women
Waiata	Song
Waiata a ringa	Action song
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Waka	Canoe
Wehi	Awe
Wero	Challenge
Whaikorero	Speech
Whakaaro	Thought/idea
Whakahihi	To show off, vain
Whakairo	Carving
Whakama	Shy, embarrassed
Whakangahau	Entertainment, fun
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakatauaki	Proverb

Whakawhanaungatanga	To bond as a group/family
Whanau	Family
Whanaungatanga	Sense of belonging to family
Whare	House
Whare Moe	Sleeping house
Whare Tupuna	Ancestral house
Wharenui	Large meeting house
Whariki	Woven mat

Summary

The objective of this study was to develop an understanding of tourism and Maori development in Rotorua. The research process followed recognised protocols typical of culturally appropriate research and was sensitive to the historic context of Te Arawa[1] in Rotorua. The research was based on three main sources of data: surveys of Maori tourism operators and Maori in the community, focus group discussion with Maori in the community, and interviews with hapu (sub-tribe) representatives.

An historical account of the development of Maori in tourism provided context for the contemporary situation. Current Maori tourism operators cover a wide range of tourism businesses, most market themselves as Maori tourism businesses and the majority have been in operation less than 11 years. Most have relatively low financial turnover and nearly all feature some aspect of Maori culture in their tourism business.

Maori respondents reported both good and bad effects from tourism, with some seeing tourism as promoting their culture and self-determination, and others seeing it as disempowering. There was similar ambivalence regarding Maori adaptation to tourism, however most respondents considered that Maori had adapted well to cultural performances and guiding. Generally, most respondents believed that the presentation of Maori culture has changed over time to cater for tourism demands but not in ways that significantly affects the practice of Maori culture.

Maori respondents were divided in their opinion about the effect of tourism on their relationship with the environment especially with respect to Wairuatanga (spirituality)[2] and Mana Whenua (authority over the land). Some were concerned about ownership and control of natural resources and were seeking greater input into their management. The presentation of Maori culture was seen by a majority of respondents as a misrepresentation. There were concerns about relevance, consultation, control and authenticity.

The report recommends the following to encourage Maori tourism business:

National Level

- Maintain and strengthen Maori involvement in key agencies such as Tourism New Zealand (TNZ), previously the New Zealand Tourism Board. At the operational level there is an ongoing need for Maori staff.

- That Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK) continue its initiatives (e.g., Maori Tourism Directory (1998), Closing the Gaps in Tourism (2000)) to provide a rational policy perspective for Maori Tourism.

[1] Te Arawa are the iwi (tribe) holding mana whenua (authority of land) status in the Rotorua region. A description of the iwi structure is provided in Appendix 2.

[2] Maori terms are, on their first use, accompanied by an English translation, thereafter they remain in Maori, with translations recorded in the Glossary.

- That TNZ fully support the current restructuring of the Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation and assist in resourcing its new role as the marketing arm for Maori Tourism.

- TNZ continue to promote the use of the Maori resource kit to industry to ensure the effective use of Maori images in advertising/promotion. Further to this, TNZ strengthen consultation in this area to include regional Maori Tourism organisations and Trust Boards.

Local Level

This research has focussed at the local Rotorua level and it is here that the most direct practical steps can be taken.

Institutions/Consultations

Consultation is a pre-requisite to understanding. Lack of consultation over resource access and use, tikanga (Maori culture and traditions) practice, and 'image' stand out as key concerns. We recommend that:

- The Tourism Rotorua maintain the Maori tourism portfolio group and support the Maori in (tourism) business group.

- The Te Arawa MTB maintain a register of key contracts and develop and promulgate a protocol for consultation with local hapu (over environmental matters).

- That the Regional Council and DoC continue to improve their consultation programmes.

- Te Arawa Maori Trust Board establish tourism strategies as part of the Te Arawa economic development plan.

- The resource base of Te Arawa trusts and incorporations, which it currently under-utilised be capitalised upon with improved, management facilities.

Business Skills

While there is a slowly increasing number of Maori tourism businesses a number of stumbling blocks have been notified. Key steps to overcome these include:

- Establish a business mentoring programme – whereby well established businesses can be contracted to provide support and guidance to businesses for an established time period. Further research will be needed to ascertain whether this needs to be established on a professional/consultant basis.

- Maori be actively supported to take management courses in business.

- Younger Maori be encouraged (sponsored) to undertake education (Polytechnics/ University) in various aspects of tourism.

- The local 'Maori in tourism' group could initiate a number of practical steps that both advocate for the group and add to business skills. Examples include:
  - Seminars: marketing
    cash flow management
    personnel management

- Advocacy is required to engender positive community attitudes towards Maori business success. New businesses require mentoring in both 'business' and 'Maori protocol'.

Chapter 1

Introduction:
Research Objectives and Background

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research objectives for this study of tourism and Maori development in Rotorua. To understand the effects of tourism on Maori it is necessary to understand the framework or context in which tourism exists. An overview of this context is provided here. For the purpose of this report key definitions are also provided. This chapter also discusses the significance of Maori tourism to Rotorua. An overview of the report's structure is then provided.

1.2 Research Objectives

The main objectives were to:

- Produce an historical account of the development of Maori participation in tourism development and accurately document the current state of Maori involvement in the tourism industry.
- Record and analyse Maori responses and coping strategies to tourism development.
- Identify the current use of Maori culture as attractions.
- Describe and interpret the changes in the expression of Maori culture.
- Record Maori responses to changes in the relationship between themselves and the natural environment.

The outcomes of this research are to directed to enhancing the ability of both new and established Maori tourist operators and their organisations to develop Maori tourism in ways that sustain Maori culture in a manner acceptable to Maori.

This research comprises the central component of Objective 4, "Tourism and Maori Development", of the FoRST Research Programme 'Planning For Tourism Development'. This research examines three stakeholders groups: Maori tourism operators, Maori community (both Te Arawa and non-Te Arawa residing in Rotorua) and hapu representatives of the Te Arawa Confederation of Tribes. The research then forms a key component into the overall assessment of the effects and management of tourism in Rotorua.

1.3 Definitions: Cultural tourism and Maori Tourism

Ritchie and Zin (1978) define cultural tourism as "the consumption by tourists of features resembling the culture of a society". They identified the major variables influencing the attractiveness of a tourism destination. Amongst these features are the social and cultural elements of a destination, including:

- Handicrafts of the region;
- Language spoken by the residents;
- Traditions which characterise the region;
- Gastronomy or food preparation particular to the region;
- Art/music identified with the region: including paintings, sculpture and concerts;
- Methods of work or technology particular to a region (such as forestry, fishing, farming);
- Architecture, both exterior and interior which lends a distinctive appearance to a region;
- Religion of a particular significance to a region including its visible manifestations;
- Education systems which are characteristic of a region;
- Dress styles characteristic of a region;
- Leisure activities reflecting distinctive life styles of a region.

More specifically this report investigates Maori tourism, Maori being the indigenous people of Aotearoa. For this purpose a discussion of indigenous tourism is given here. In their definition of indigenous tourism, Hinch and Butler (1996), highlight the importance of the control locus of tourism development stating "whoever has control can generally determine such critical factors as the scale, speed and nature of development" (p.9). Also contributing to this definition of indigenous tourism is the nature of tourist activity. The extent to which the attraction is focused on indigenous culture is also an indicator of indigenous tourism. The following figure illustrates the intersection of these two key aspects of indigenous tourism.

		Indigenous Control	
		Low Degree of Control	***High Degree of Control***
Indigenous Theme	***Indigenous Theme Present***	Culture Dispossessed	Culture Controlled
	Indigenous Theme Absent	Non-Indigenous Tourism	Diversified Indigenous

Source: Butler and Hinch (1996: 10)

Figure 1
Indigenous Tourism

The following are Butler and Hinch's (1996) classification of the resulting forms of indigenous tourism;

- Culture controlled - tourism enterprises which are both controlled by indigenous people and which feature an indigenous attraction theme;

- Non-indigenous tourism - tourism activity which is neither controlled by indigenous people nor which features an indigenous theme;

- Diversified indigenous - Tourism enterprises which are controlled by indigenous interests but which do not feature a central attraction that is based on indigenous culture;

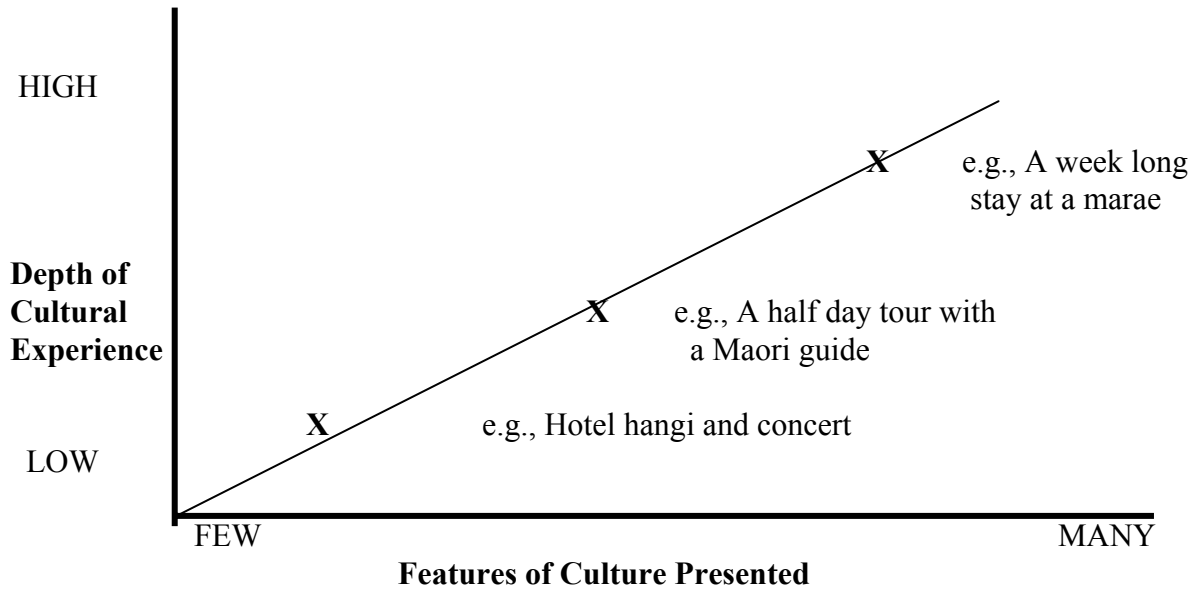
- Culture dispossessed - Tourism activity that is developed around indigenous attraction themes but in which indigenous people themselves have little or no controlling interest.

> Indigenous tourism refers to tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attractions (Hinch and Butler 1996:9).

Having broadly defined the elements of cultural tourism it is necessary to define Maori tourism. Keelan and Hall (1993) define Maori tourism from the locus of control dimension, that is, as "any touristic activities or attractions directly owned, operated or interpreted by Maori people". A local definition broadens this idea to encompass the elements identified by Hinch and Butler. The Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation (AMTF) define Maori tourism as:

> an opportunity provided within the composite tourism product for the tourist to have contact with Maori culture (AMTF, 1996a:5).

They further note that the depth of the cultural experience is related directly to the number of different features of the culture presented – the more features of a culture the tourist is exposed to the deeper the cultural experience. Figure 2 illustrates their interpretation of Maori tourism products. To be an authentic experience a person who has a direct relationship with those features must interpret the cultural features**.** The Federation's above definition as adopted by this report, and allows a broad consideration of Maori businesses, the wider presentation of Maori culture as tourism 'products', and the multiple effects that flow back to Maori communities and their culture.



Source: AMTF Report on the Current Market Position of Maori Tourism Product (1996a: p6).

Figure 2
The Nature of Maori Tourism Product

1.4 The Importance of Maori Tourism to Rotorua and New Zealand

Maori cultural characteristics contribute to the attractiveness of Aotearoa as a tourist destination but nowhere more so than Rotorua. Centred in the Bay of Plenty amongst geothermal activity and its many lakes Rotorua provides a popular destination choice for visitors. Tourism began even prior to Pakeha (European) settlement with other Maori coming in for the curative powers of the Waiariki (water of the gods; name given to the Bay of Plenty region) geothermal waters. It was with Te Arawa, the tangata whenua (local, people of the land) that the long history of tourism began.

At both a national and regional level the significance of Maori culture to tourism is being recognised. Tourists appear increasingly interested in the environment and interaction with local people and customs. Rotorua would not have the recognition, as one of New Zealand's most popular tourism destinations, without the contribution of Maori culture. The Rotorua Strategic Tourism Plan for 1996-2005 developed by the Rotorua Tourism Advisory Bard states that: "Nothing is more central to Rotorua tourism than the uniqueness of Maori culture and craft. Rotorua is perceived in the marketplaces as the centre of Maori culture" (Rotorua District Council, 1996:28).

In recognising the significance of Maori tourism to Rotorua Tourism Rotorua established 'Maori in Tourism' as one of their seven initial portfolio groups. Selected representatives from each portfolio group go forward to the Tourism Advisory Board - the industry body responsible for advising Tourism Rotorua. In the recent restructuring of the portfolio groups the 'Maori in Tourism' group remained as a central component of tourism Rotorua's internal structure, again indicating its importance.

Don Stafford (pers. comm., 1999), local historian, argues that tourism is essential to both Maori and Pakeha in Rotorua. These two groups are mutually dependent on one another. Without the cultural performances, guides, cultural interpretation and so on, the tourism product would be much reduced. At the same time it was the Pakeha residents and infrastructure that brought tourists to Rotorua. As Stafford put it: "They have a fortunate dependence on one another".

There are now many tourism attractions in Rotorua that contain aspects of Maori culture. Zeppel (1998) found that 36 per cent of all international tourists experienced a hangi and concert performance during 1995 and 1996. Various insights into Maori culture are provided across a spectrum of opportunity by the hotels around the town that provide hangi and concert evenings, to the more in-depth attractions such as guided tours through marae (meeting place) and sites of cultural significance often run by local hapu (sub-tribes).

1.5 Background to Maori and Tourism in Rotorua

Tourism development in Rotorua can not be understood in isolation from the wider context in which it operates. Butler and Hinch's (1996) definition of indigenous tourism emphasises a number of key concepts that need to be considered when analysing indigenous tourism. Key contextual components for an analysis of indigenous tourism are illustrated in Figure 3.

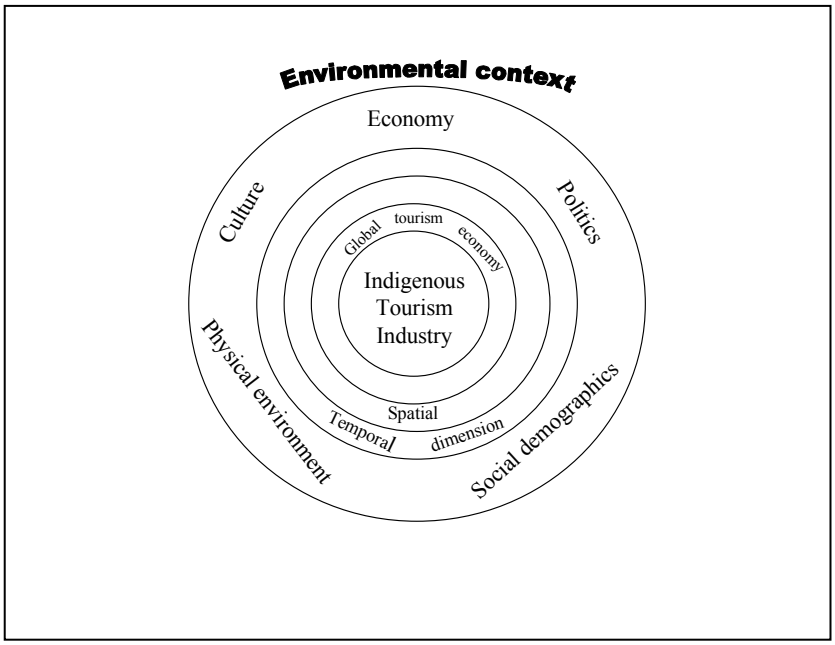


Figure 3
Key Concepts in the Study of Indigenous Tourism

The next section introduces the key local contextual factors - the social demographic make-up of Maori in the Rotorua community and covers information on the Maori population, education, income and employment drawn largely from census data. The physical, political and cultural environments are covered in Chapter 5.

At the 1996 census 21,894 people out of the total Rotorua population of 64,509 identified themselves as Maori. Within Rotorua there is a strong Maori population base – it approximates 35 per cent of the total population while for New Zealand as a whole it is 15.1 per cent. The Maori population of Rotorua constitutes 4.2 per cent of the total Maori population for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Although predominantly from the Te Arawa tribe, other iwi (tribes) are now strongly represented in the area. Although the Maori community is now predominantly urban, there are around 35 marae in the District, at least 20 of which are situated in rural areas. The map on page ?? illustrates the location of Te Arawa sub-tribes indicating where these marae stand.

The population growth rate amongst Maori in the Rotorua District is lower than that for the national figures. Rotorua's Maori population increased by 14.4 per cent in the 1991-1996 intercensual period which is well below the national growth rate of 20.4 per cent for Maori. The proportion of pre-school-age Maori children living in the area is 13.7 per cent, the same as the New Zealand figures, while 5.2 per cent of Maori people in the Rotorua District are aged 60 and over. Again this is close to the 5.0 per cent for all Maori over 60 years of age in New Zealand.

The majority of Maori people aged 15 years and over in the Rotorua District work in services and sales occupations which is consistent with the occupational group for all Maori in Aotearoa. The 1996 the overall unemployment rate for Rotorua was 9.6 per cent, however the Maori unemployment rate in Rotorua is 20 per cent compared with a national rate of 17 per cent for Maori.

For Maori in Rotorua, 67 per cent have an annual income of $20,000, very similar to the 67.8 per cent for Maori in Aotearoa as a whole. There are 40.9 per cent of Maori people aged 15 years and over in the Rotorua District who said they received government benefits in the 12 months before the 1996 census.

Although there are many educational and training opportunities for Maori in Rotorua there is still a large percentage, almost 48 per cent, who have no formal qualifications (Figure 4). This is on a par with the proportion for all Maori in Aotearoa. Rotorua does however have a slightly higher percentage of Maori with tertiary qualifications than Maori elsewhere in Aotearoa.

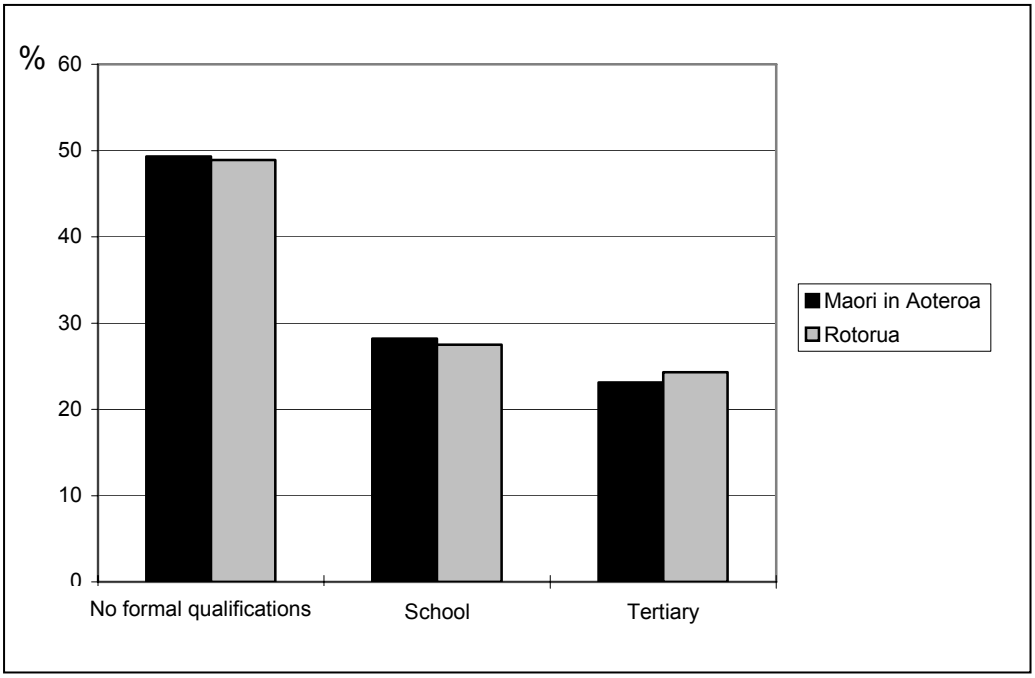


Figure 4
Level of Education for Maori in Rotorua Compared to Maori in New Zealand

1.6 Outline of the Report

Chapter 2 describes both the Maori protocol for research and the three main methods used in this research. Chapter 3 provides a detailed account of the development of Maori in Rotorua tourism culminating in a description of current Maori tourism operators. Chapter 4 presents the results of these various investigations and considers a number of key issues drawing from all available data to give an account that shows both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the topics. Finally, Chapter 5 summarises the results, discusses the issues emerging and develops some implications for policy and for future research.

Chapter 2

Methods

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods employed to investigate the current state of Maori tourism and Maori perceptions of tourism in Rotorua. Given the nature of the research it was imperative that culturally appropriate methods were utilised throughout the research process and these are described first. An account is then given of the three primary methods used to elicit data from three stakeholder groups.

2.2 Kaupapa Maori Research

Many authors have defined a number of concepts that are evident when kaupapa Maori research is conducted. Kaupapa Maori research (Maori based research) is based on a growing consensus that research involving Maori knowledge and people needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate ways, ways that fit Maori cultural preferences, practices and aspirations. To do this it must develop and acknowledge existing culturally appropriate approaches in the method, practice and organisation of research. For example, the research process should be shared with the Maori community throughout, and eventually the research findings should be shared in a way that is culturally appropriate. This approach emphasises the importance of devolving power and control in the research exercise to promote tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) of Maori people.

The approach further challenges researchers to develop cultural competence and address understandings of participatory consciousness in order that they position themselves within the discursive practice that is Kaupapa Maori. Irwin (1994:27) sets out the characteristics of kaupapa Maori research stating research is culturally safe when it involves the mentorship of kaumatua which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research and which is undertaken by a Maori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Maori. Cleave (1997:27) describes kaupapa Maori characteristics as *a template of concepts* which involves the following principles:

Whakapapa (Genealogy)
The role of whakapapa is epitomised in whakawhanaungatanga,

> Whakawhanaungatanga is the process of establishing relationships literally by means of identifying through culturally appropriate means your bodily linkage, your engagement, your connectedness and therefore unspoken commitment to other people.
> (Bishop, 1996:215)

The researchers are responsible for establishing a relationship with the respondents. In this project the relationship developed through the following ways. Firstly, prior to the research starting the primary researcher attended a meeting of Maori tourism operators to introduce herself and the project. Secondly, throughout all other communication with respondents whakapapa was recited to support linkage between the parties. The fact that the two key researchers involved were Te Arawa descendants, both residing in the Rotorua area, proved an important factor contributing to the development of this relationship.

Te Reo

Maori language was incorporated into the research process by allowing respondents the opportunity to respond in Maori. Te Reo was further used to introduce researchers and during the opening mihi (greeting) and karakia (prayer) of all hui (meeting, gathering) and written correspondence. Te Reo Maori was also used in the questionnaire where cultural concepts could not be easily translated into English or for Maori terms that are widely used and understood in the English language. Such terms were mana whenua (authority over land), waahi tapu (sacred, forbidden places), papakainga (home base), mahinga kai (food gathering place) and wairuatanga (spirituality). Although the opportunity was provided only a few chose to respond in Maori and this only occurred in parts of the interview or in parts of the survey responses, for example, in the quoting of whakatauki (proverbs).

Tikanga

Tikanga (Maori culture and traditions) must play an integral part in the research process. Throughout this project, tikanga has been incorporated through whakawhanaungatanga, karakia, kaumatua (elders) involvement, adherence to Te Arawa protocols and the use of marae. Whakawhanaungatanga refers to making connections between the parties involved. So at all hui, the whakapapa and identity of the researchers was made clear to those participating. Kaumatua were involved at all hui to oversee the meetings, provide karakia and whaikorero (speech). Karakia was used to open and close all hui. All hui were conducted at Te Ao Marama, the hall adjacent to Tamatekapua (the paramount meeting house of Te Arawa), to provide a Maori context and familiar environment for discussions. Te Ao Marama is often used by Te Arawa groups for similar purposes.

Individual interviews were conducted in the interviewees' own homes which provided an environment that fostered whanaungatanga. During interviews the interjections and involvement of other whanau (family) members was quite common in the home setting. In keeping with tikanga Maori, the sharing of a meal or refreshments occurred at all hui and in most interviews.

Rangatiratanga
Tino Rangatiratanga refers to the self-determination of te iwi Maori. In terms of research, at a pragmatic level, rangatiratanga involves questions like:

- What research do we want to carry out?
- Who is that research for?
- What difference will it make?
- Who will carry out this research?
- How do we want the research to be done?
- Who will own the research?
- Who will benefit?

Rangatiratanga is further discussed by Bishop (1994:175) who argues research needs to be framed within the context of the Treaty of Waitangi:

> In the context of research empowerment means that Maori people should regain control into the investigations into Maori peoples' lives.

Whanau
The kaupapa Maori research concept of whanau includes acknowledging the roles of mana wahine (women's authority, roles), mana tane (men's authority, roles), gender and age. By doing this one should ensure that kaumatua are included and protocols pertaining to each of these roles is adhered to.

During this project the principal researchers were well aware of their roles as both rangatahi (youth) and women. In acknowledgement of this kaumatua were used as mentors throughout the process and at no time were the correct protocols compromised.

Maori Cultural Ethics
There are some culturally specific ideas incorporated in Kaupapa Maori practices. These are not prescribed in codes of conduct for researchers but tend to be prescribed for Maori researchers in cultural terms. They are:

1. Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people);
2. Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face);
3. Titiro, whakaronga…korero (look, listen…speak);
4. Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous);
5. Kia tupato (be cautious);
6. Kaua e takahi te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people);
7. Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge).

In respect of 4, 5 and 6 above this project began with a consultation hui with key kaumatua and influential people of the Te Arawa Tribe. At the hui, the project leader presented the overall research plan for Rotorua and the Maori researchers presented the draft research plan for the Maori objective and allowed for kaumatua input. Considerations and concerns were taken on board and incorporated into the final research plan. The principle researchers made themselves accountable to this group and with this a number of accountability mechanisms were set in place. These included the mentoring of the project by a respected kuia, Huhana "Bubbles" Mihinui, who is renowned within the tourism sector and very knowledgeable on Maori tourism in Rotorua. The mentorship evolved through regular weekly meetings with the principle researcher and the mentor. The mentor also made herself available for all hui that were conducted.

The second mechanism for accountability was a second hui with the initial consultative group to validate the findings of the research. Only after this occurred was this written report approved for wider public circulation in the manner that it is here.

In adopting the above principles, the research presented in this report was developed by proceeding through the following 14 steps:

1. Initial meeting of the research team to clarify objectives, framework and other issues such as intellectual property.
2. Hui with Te Arawa kaumatua and overall research programme and Maori research leaders to discuss framework and gain support at Te Ao Marama hall.
3. Appointment of kaumatua mentor, Kuia Huhana 'Bubbles' Mihinui, for research process.
4. Establishment of sample size and sample identification.
5. Attendance at Maori tourism operators hui and 'Maori in Tourism' Portfolio meeting to inform and gain support.
6. Participant observation.
7. Mail out survey to Maori tourism operators.
8. Focus group conducted with Maori tourism operators.
9. Hapu representative interviews conducted.
10. Focus group conducted with Maori from the community.
11. Surveys administered to Maori from the community.
12. Analysis.
13. Draft findings presented to hui a iwi.
14. Final report completed.

Data were elicited from three stakeholder groups including: Maori tourism operators, hapu representatives and Maori in the Rotorua community. The primary methods were (respectively) semi-structured questionnaires, personal interviews and focus groups (Table 1).

A semi-structured questionnaire (Appendix 1) was employed to gather general data from the Maori business operators. This was followed by a focus group of Maori business operators to provide more qualitative data. Second, in-depth interviews were conducted with key representatives of the tribe to gather information from a hapu perspective. To determine Maori community perceptions of tourism two focus groups were conducted and surveys were administered. Secondary data were also utilised to assist in producing the historical account of wider Maori community participation in tourism. The main data sources and methods are shown below.

Table 1
Summary of Methods

	Method	Numbers	When
Hapu representatives	In-depth interviews	12	30 April - 30 June
Maori tourism operators	Survey Focus group	20 15	27 February - 20 April 16 April
Maori in the community	Focus group 1 Focus group 2 Survey	13 10 18	12 June 12 June 1 June - 20 July

2.3 Maori Tourism Operators: Survey Design and Administration, Focus Group Design and Administration

The sample of Maori tourism operators was identified from the distribution list of 'Maori in Tourism' maintained by Tourism Rotorua. This is an industry association made up of all businesses identifying themselves as Maori tourism operators. A total of 43 mailout surveys were sent out inviting operators to both complete the survey and attend a focus group. The total response rate for the surveys was 46 per cent and focus group participation 41 per cent. Prior to the data collection, efforts were made to cement a relationship with Maori tourism operators. This was made easier because the researchers are widely known by most of the group. However further efforts to inform the Maori operators included the researchers;

- attending a social gathering of operators to introduce themselves and the project 6 months prior to the primary research beginning

- making a presentation to the Maori in Tourism Portfolio group of Tourism Rotorua

The survey collected quantitative data from Maori tourism operators using a questionnaire (see Appendix 1). A questionnaire was considered an appropriate tool to use for the operators because they were used to paperwork and had some experience of participating in surveys. A combination of open-ended questions, closed-ended questions and Likert scales were used. All surveys had an introductory note assuring respondents of confidentiality and informing them of a later hui to present the draft findings. A self-addressed envelope was provided for ease of return or surveys could be returned at the focus group. Each business was asked to reply and for those that were unable to attend the focus group were asked to complete and return the questionnaire by post.

In keeping with the culturally appropriate research methods, kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face), manaakitanga (the art of extending hospitality), whakawhanaungatanga (to bond as a family, group) and to enhance the response rate all operators were invited to attend a brunch at Te Ao Marama Hall, during which a focus group was facilitated to gather qualitative data from the operators. The questionnaire covered a number of key issues facing the tourism industry (Figure 5) which were also aligned to the research objectives. These issues were explored further during discussion at the operators' focus group.

Figure 5
Key Issues Facing Maori Tourism

The operators/focus group was held on Friday 16th April and ran for two hours. It gave the respondents the opportunity to meet the researchers in person (kanohi ki te kanohi). Here respect (manaakitanga) was shown to the operators by the researchers through their hosting and the sharing of a meal together. The hui began with a mihi (greeting) to those in attendance and was followed by a karakia. A karakia was also performed to close the day's events. Discussions were led by one of the researchers while the other made notes on the whiteboard. This gave the operators the chance to validate or clarify any issues and findings as they arose.

2.4 Hapu Representatives: Personal Interviews

Theoretical sampling was used for the purpose of these interviews. That is the sample attempted to involve a range of sub-tribes that were both directly and indirectly involved in tourism. Four hapu were selected for the research based on their involvement in tourism. Appendix 2 shows these four hapu in the context of Te Arawa hapu located in Rotorua. The spectrum (Figure 6) indicates the level of involvement for each of these hapu. Ngati Pikiao occupy the territory bordering both the Eastern and Western shores of Lake Rotoiti. They have had very little involvement in tourism however more recently a number of their marae have been used for cultural experiences. Their rohe (place or district) is rural and away from the main geothermal areas and Rotorua township. Ngati Rangiwewehi occupying a semi rural area adjacent to Lake Rotorua, and have had a small involvement in tourism mainly during around the 1950s. They provided a number of services around the Hamurana and Taniwha Springs, which were both operated as tourism businesses. More recently their renowned cultural party, of the Ngati Rangiwewehi name, has been sought after to provide performances for tourism events. One of their marae is used regularly as a tourist operation providing a typical hangi and cultural experience (traditional welcome, cultural performance and meal).

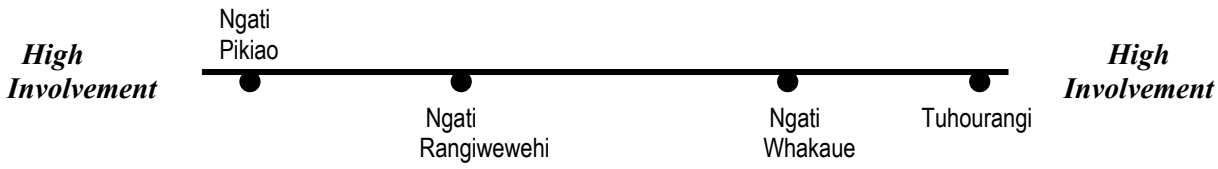


Figure 6
Tourism Involvement by Hapu Sample

Both Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi are extensively involved in tourism. Each of these hapu have been directly involved in tourism historically providing many of the first tourism operations and services. They have also been indirectly involved in that area within their rohe have been attractions in themselves either because of their location or because of their natural geothermal resources. The two areas referred to in this study are Ohinemutu which borders Lake Rotorua, and Whakarewarewa home to one of Rotorua's finest geothermal valleys. Tuhourangi's tourism began at Te Wairoa with the famous Pink and White Terraces and after the Tarawera's eruption in 1886, which destroyed these terraces and their marae the iwi, shifted to Whakarewarewa. Ohinemutu on the southern shores of Lake Rotorua was in the early days the obvious stopover for visitors into the region, and providing lodging facilities.

Both of these hapu maintain many traditional Maori living arrangements, however, are today situated in urban areas. They are distinct both in their built form and because they are occupied almost exclusively by members of the constituent tribe.

2.4.1 Hapu Matrix

A number of in-depth interviews was conducted with key people from the four selected tribes of Te Arawa. Theoretical sampling was used to ensure that a range of kaumatua, rangatahi, pakeke (adults) and influential people were participating. Interviewees were therefore selected according to their relevance to the subject at hand. The matrix in Appendix 3 outlines the make up of this sample.

2.5 Maori in the Community - Focus Groups

Two focus groups were held on Saturday 12 June 1999 to elicit data from Maori within the Rotorua community. Focus group participants were made up of a sub-sample from the general community survey (FoRST objective 2) and marae and runanga (iwi authority) representatives. This method was used because it allowed for kanohi ki te kanohi, collectivism rather than individualism and the incorporation of the marae and tikanga into the research process.

From the wider Rotorua resident's survey (FoRST objective 2), which involved 500 respondents, those that identified themselves as Maori were asked if they would like to participate further in a focus group to discuss Maori tourism issues. It was anticipated that 100 Maori would be willing to participate further. However a total sample group of twenty-seven was identified and only four from this group were available for the proposed focus group times.

Given the low response rate, alternative efforts were made to increase the focus group numbers. A letter of invitation was sent to strategic organisations, for example those with a high concentration of Maori. These included marae committees, runanga, schools, Maori Land Court, Rotorua District Court, and Training providers. This effort secured a further 19 participants for the focus groups. While this group cannot be held to be representative of all sectors of the Maori community, the self registration process would suggest that participants were highly motivated to Maori culture and its interface with tourism.

To enhance the data from the Maori community, surveys were also included in letters of invitation. These could be completed by those unable to attend either of the focus groups. The survey was adapted from the tourism operators' survey by excluding the questions specific to tourism operators. A total of 18 surveys were returned by this method. By surveying both operators and the community, direct comparisons could also be made as can be seen in Chapter 5.

Two focus groups were held back-to-back at Te Ao Marama Hall each being run over a two-hour duration. Issues identified in the survey were explored further during focus group discussions. Respondents were shown similar respect and hospitality by their hosts through whakawhanaungatanga and the sharing of a meal.

2.6 Secondary Research

Secondary research was conducted using other research reports, articles, published and unpublished research. Most resources were obtained from the Rotorua Public Library, Waiariki Institute of Technology and private collections. Of particular value was Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's (1981) doctoral thesis, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on Te Arawa. This presented an excellent account of the historical involvement of Maori in Rotorua's tourism industry. Don Stafford's publications also provided insightful information in terms of historical development.

Chapter 3
An Account of the Development of Maori in Tourism

3.1 Introduction

The Maori community and its culture and traditions have a very significant influence in Rotorua, and are of major interest to visitors and residents alike. Maori tourism has therefore been a contributing factor in shaping Rotorua as a tourist destination. This chapter provides an overview of Maori tourism since its inception in the 1800s. It draws heavily on the 1981 work conducted by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku for her doctoral thesis entitled: "Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism on Te Arawa". A timeline presents a summary of key events in the shaping of Maori tourism with more detailed discussion following, giving attention to the Tarawera eruption and the role of Maori women in tourism. Issues impacting on Maori tourism are then highlighted. Finally a description of contemporary tourism operators is provided including their definitions of Maori tourism business and describing some characteristics of the businesses and the current use of culture as attractions.

3.2 Timeline of Key Events

c1350	Arrival of Te Arawa
1800s	Other iwi visit Rotorua
1870s	First tourist to Rotorua recorded
1886	Tarawera eruption
1881	Thermal Springs Act was passed to enable the establishment of the Rotorua township
1890	Establishment of rail service
1910	Department of Tourist and Health Resorts began to licence Maori guides to operate the Government Reserve
19xx	Cultural performances established at town theatre
1965	NZ Maori Arts and Crafts Institute opened
1979	Hotels begin offering cultural performances
1981	Manaakitanga Conference
1981	Maori Tourism Taskforce Report
1988	Conflict arises over a Ngati Kahungunu cultural group securing a hotel contract
1995	Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights Position Paper
1996	Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation Current Position of Maori Tourism Product
1996	Maori in Tourism Rotorua Association established
1997	Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation dissolved

3.3 The Arrival of Te Arawa

Prior to Te Arawa's arrival in Aotearoa the tribe was known as Ngati Ohomairangi which was a sub-tribe of the people from Hawaiki. It is from Ngati Ohomairangi that the Te Arawa people of Rotorua descend. Te Arawa is the name of the canoe upon which a group of Ngati Ohomairangi navigated the Pacific Ocean landing in Maketu the Eastern Bay of Plenty in Aotearoa. It is with Tamatekapua, descendant of Te Ohomairangi, that the story of Te Arawa people begins.

> It was he who sparked off the last trouble of a long and bitter series which finally caused a group of Ngati Ohomairangi to leave their homeland of Hawaiki and travel to the land discovered by Kupe - Aotearoa. (Stafford 1967:10)

The scarcity of land and food in Hawaiki had brought about considerable squabbling and unrest amongst the people. As the situation intensified, the idea of migration, became a dangerous but compelling option. Tamatekapua added to these troubles and so caused the great migration south. Tamatekapua's dog named Potakatawhiti was captured killed, cooked and eaten by an irate elder, Uenuku, who was angered by the dog's intrusion into his gardens. Distressed with the disappearance of his pet, Tamatekapua spent hours searching. While searching he came across the whare of the tohunga and called to Potakatawhiti. Annoyed with the racket the old man appeared to shoo away the noisemakers and as he did a screeching howl could be heard coming from his belly. Tamatekapua knew it was the cry of Potakatawhiti, so he immediately planned revenge. By night Tamatekapua and his brother Whakaturia, elevated by stilts, would sneak into the old man's orchard and steal the ripest of fruits. Before long Uenuku realised something was prohibiting his fruit from ripening and set about to stop the stealing. Tamatekapua managed to escape being captured by Uenuku and his people although his brother was not so lucky. It was not long after that Tamatekapua deviously won back his brother and this seemed an appropriate time to begin a new life, thus the voyage to Aotearoa began.

3.3.1 Settling the Land

It was about 1350 when the Te Arawa canoe landed firstly at Whangaparaoa, then Moehau and finally Maketu in the Bay of Plenty region to the north. It was from Maketu that Te Arawa began their explorations.

Mai Maketu ki Tongariro
From Maketu to Tongariro

This well-known Te Arawa proverb denotes the tribal boundaries of the Te Arawa Canoe. It is said the bow of the Arawa canoe rests at Maketu and the stern at Tongariro, meaning that the descendants from that canoe may be found all over this area. The extent of the territory today can be gauged approximately by drawing a line from Papamoa on the coast, to Atiamuri in the south, and from Atiamuri to Kaingaroa in the east, and then north again to Matata where the Tarawera River reaches the sea. The general name Te Arawa, embraces almost all of the people living within this roughly defined boundary.

Ihenga, a great explorer who arrived on the Te Arawa canoe was responsible for the discovery of much of the Rotorua and surrounding areas. The first of the lakes, Rotoiti, was found during a food gathering expedition for his pregnant wife. Ihenga's dog Ohau who had run on ahead of his master, returned and vomited up inanga, the small freshwater whitebait. It was then that Ihenga realised there was a body of water close by. During his initial sighting of the lake he perceived it to be small and accordingly named the lake *Roto - Iti - Kitenga - A - Ihenga*, which means the small lake found by Ihenga. From here many of the surrounding lakes were also discovered. Rotorua, was the second of these.

It was at this same time that the geothermal resources were also discovered. The beginning of thermal activity is captured in the history of Ngatoroirangi's travels. Ngatoroirangi, the tohunga (expert, specialist, priest) responsible for navigating the Te Arawa canoe, ventured south to the lake shores of Taupo and beyond. While exploring the region he climbed Mount Tongariro and became very weak because of cold and pressure from the high altitude. He began to perform karakia, to bring him warmth and strength. Te Arawa legend records that his sisters swam the Pacific Ocean bringing him fire and warmth. On their journey inward, they stopped at a number of places now marked by geysers, mudpools and thermal waters.

The abundance of natural resources in the area was well received by Te Arawa, but with the rights of access and use, came the responsibilities of kaitiakitanga. Te Arawa believe they to be the kaitiaki of all these natural resources. This practice of guardianship is illustrated through observation of the maramataka (Maori calendar), the exercise of rahui (the placing of a tapu on an area to restrict access for conservation, cleansing purposes), and the exercise of karakia before and after the access and use of natural resources.

3.3.2 Nga Waru Pumanawa O Te Arawa

> Most whakapapa recited on the marae today reach down from Rangitihi, that eponymous patriarch whose descendants together form Nga Waru Pu Manawa o Te Arawa – the eight hearts of the tribal nation of Te Arawa. (Te Awekotuku, 1981:13).

Rangitihi bore eight offspring from which all Te Arawa hapu descend. The offspring were – Rangiwhakekehau, Kawatapuarangi, Ratorua, Rakeiao, Apumoana, Rangiaowhia, Tauruao, and Tuhourangi. Today, the hapu (sub-tribes) of Te Arawa are Ngati Pikiao, Ngati Rangiteaorere, Ngati Uenukukopako, Ngati Whakaue, Tuhourangi, Ngati Kea and Tuara, Ngati Ngararanui, Ngati Rangiwewehi and Ngati Tarawhai. The map (Figure 7) illustrates the locality of each of these sub-tribes.

Figure 7
Map: Location of Te Arawa Hapu

3.3.3 The Beginning of Tourism in Rotorua

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Rotorua-Taupo region was famed far and wide for the curative powers of its hot pools and was visited by Maori from all over the country. In this respect tourism always been a traditional or customary use of geothermal resources (Boast 1992) for the iwi and hapu of Te Arawa. Catering to European visitors therefore, became simply an extension of an established practice.

Unlike many other areas within Aotearoa, Rotorua did not provide a desirable place for immigrant European settlers, nor did access into the District make it easy for arrivals. Few Pakeha visitors were recorded prior to the 1800s. Although it was not perceived as a place to settle, its many natural attractions, in particular the Pink and White Terraces situated at Te Wairoa, on the shores of Lake Tarawera, provided the lure for visitors to the area. With this, Rotorua's tourism was focused on its two greatest assets, the geothermal features and the people, including their culture.

Missionaries were amongst the few who did enter the District, with the first mission house being established at Te Ngae some time in the 1830s.

> The fifteen years following the establishment of Chapman's mission in Rotorua saw a dramatic increase in the popularity of Rotorua reaching a high point with the arrival of Sir George Grey, the then Governor General, and his party at the end of 1849. (Stafford, 1986).

At this time the tourist trade was operated and controlled mainly by Ngati Tuhourangi, the sub-tribe occupying Te Wairoa where the Pink and White Terraces were situated. The first formal record of tourists to Rotorua was in the 1870s (Stafford, 1986). Local Maori soon identified this as an opportunity to participate in what they envisaged to be a lucrative trade. Te Arawa claim to be the first entrepreneurs in the hospitality industry, focusing mainly in accommodation, guiding and the souvenir trade (Te Awekotuku, 1986). This opportunity was capitalised further with the development of cultural entertainment. The initial performances were staged and housed at the Rotorua Maori Cultural Theatre. Unlike many of today's performing groups these were managed around the whanau or hapu group. This factor aligned stringently with the Maori value of whanaungatanga (sense of belonging to family, group).

Te Arawa's historical involvement in tourism now spans 200 years. The most noted historical involvement was that of the people of Ngati Tuhourangi, one of the eight hapu that make up the Te Arawa Iwi. They were the guardians of the eighth wonder of the World (Pink and White Terraces), located at Te Wairoa east of Rotorua. The Tuhourangi people of Te Wairoa had been quick to realise the potential of the tourists and their money, and had an effective monopoly on the tourist industry during this period. Local Maori acted as guides to European visitors and they were also responsible for organising the transport, and for levying the charges, to be paid by visitors. Stafford (1986) and Boast (1992) both describe how tourism in the Rotorua Lakes Districts was wholly controlled and jealously guarded by the iwi and hapu of Te Arawa.

Although Maori were not perceived as entrepreneurs by outsiders, the following accounts are evidence they were business people in their own right. They were the first hotel and storeowners in the District.

> Hone Werahiko, who came into a small fortune through a discovery in the Karangahake goldfields, built the first hotel. This was in 1872. Prior to this Werahiko and his wife ran a store in Ohinemutu; Gilbert Mair was known to have purchased from the store often. The hotel was built on a land holding called Utuanga. Once the success of the hotel began to flourish the multitudes of shareholders wanted a part of it. Werahiko struggled to make ends meet whilst satisfying the shareholders and was forced to sell to Isaac Wilson (Stafford, pers. comm.).

Elsewhere Stafford (1997:26) described the commercial activities of the Tuhourangi people and their desire to eliminate competition in the following way:

> Regardless of the comments concerning social conditions at Te Wairoa village, the Maori people were all aware of the commercial advantage they held in being the owners of the Pink and White Terraces, and they were determined to brook no rivals in their domain. Though costs could never be accurately estimated beforehand, it was normal to expect to pay two pounds for one person to be rowed the nine miles from Te Wairoa to Rotomahana, with a sliding scale to 5 pounds. The boat journey generally produced another incidental charge or two such as a payment at a certain spot where the boat always paused to appease the gods, who might otherwise cause all sorts of trouble, and a stop at the village of Moura where food was expected to be purchased. In addition, extra

> charges were levied at the Terraces and on Lake Rotomahana and if an exhibition of the haka (war dance) was required a further fee was needed. According to contemporary reports the haka increased in its display of indecency in direct relation to the fee tendered. No boats other than those belonging to the Te Wairoa people were allowed on Lake Tarawera, in case passengers were carried at a competitive rate, and a Mr Bell was employed as a boat builder at Te Wairoa so they could adequately service the growing traffic. To also protect the uniqueness of the Terraces the Maori were very loathe to allow photographs, paintings or drawings to be made. A fee of 5 pounds was demanded for the merest negative or drawing and should a surreptitious sketch or the like be detected, the culprit if caught either had to pay the fee or have the item taken away and destroyed.

In determining their ownership rights to natural resources Tuhourangi sought to protect the further commercialisation of these through the requirement of additional fees for photography or painting rights.

> Those professionals who wished to paint or photograph in considerable detail would have to meet the Te Wairoa people in sometimes weeks of negotiation before the figure for a lump sum payment was decided upon. Even this was not always final for those living near the Terraces would also demand a fee plus a per diem payment to "protect" the artist from similar demands from others in the area. (Stafford, 1977:27).

The extent to which Tuhourangi benefited from the tourism industry is well described by Peter Waaka in his 1980 paper written for the exhibition marking the centenary of the Tarawera eruption.

> Tuhourangi under their chiefs Rangiheua and Rangipuawhe held complete authority over Tarawera, Rotomahana and the Terraces, controlling both the tourist traffic and the accompanying recompense. Organised guiding took place from Te Wairoa Village at Tarawera across Lakes Tarawera and Rotomahana to the Pink and White Terraces. It was a highly profitable profession in those days and it was inevitable that this would inspire a measure of competition. From guiding and boat fees alone, it is estimated that the tribe has an annual income of 6,000 pounds…. Te Wairoa (now known as the Buried village) was developing as the main Tarawera settlement to service the tourist industry. It had two hotels, a schoolhouse and a Tuhourangi flour mill and bakery. So affluent were our tupuna (ancestors) of this period that the eyes of the carved figures on the meeting house, Hinemihi, were made of gold sovereigns. (Waaka, 1980:16).

It was not long after the tourist trade began to flourish that Pakeha also saw the opportunities for Rotorua as a tourism destination. Thomas Cook & Sons sent a representative here from the UK in the late 1800s to assess tourism's potential in Rotorua. It was agreed then that the place would develop into a tourism town. Sir George Grey, the then Governor of New Zealand, had Judge Fenton appointed as commissioner to arrange an agreement with the Arawas as to which land would be made available in Rotorua for settlement. In the 1880s, negotiations took place with Te Arawa tribal leaders over the establishment of a Rotorua

township. Judge Fenton, as Chief Justice of the Maori Land Court, met in 1880 with the Great Committee of Arawas and agreed that the Ngati Whakaue Arawas retained the freehold of land that would form the basis of a future town. Any land disposed of could be leased for a 99 year term. In addition to this, the Arawa chiefs gifted 1,047 acres for public reserves. This was to ensure the protection and preservation of lands not only for current iwi members but also for future generations.

In 1881, The Thermal Springs Act was passed which manifest this agreement. On 12th October, 1881, Rotorua was proclaimed a township. A large percentage of the Rotorua township site was leased to the Government and in the 1900s, this lease was transferred to the Rotorua District Council. Judge Fenton showed respect to the Ngati Whakaue Chiefs for their support and generosity in the formation of Rotorua township, in the naming of the first streets such as Arawa, Haupapa St., Pukuatua St., Eruera St., Amohau St. and Pererika St.

In 1922 the Rotorua town was formally established although central Government representatives remained on the various Councils until the 1950s.

3.4 Tarawera Eruption and Later Developments

As time passed, the tourism economy flourished and there was an increase in the participation of Pakeha in the industry. Maori businesses lacked the experience and financial resources to compete with these new operators. This factor coupled with the devastating eruption of Mount Tarawera, which obliterated the Pink, and White Terraces in 1886, saw the decline of many Maori businesses.

The Tarawera eruption had a devastating effect on Tuhourangi and their tourist trade. "The eruption wrecked the very attraction which had lured tourists to the area, the terraces, and killed a large number of people" (Steele, 1980:14). Some believed the Tarawera eruption was caused by Pohutu, a powerful tohunga, who was disgusted by the effects of tourism on his people.

> He saw the ruin of Tuhourangi demoralised by the Pakeha's grog, the young women debauched; a tribe fast going to perdition to make the Pakeha tourist's holiday. (Steele, 1980:15).

With the devastation of the Tarawera eruption, other little pockets of geothermal activity, Whakarewarewa, Tikitere, Waiotapu, Waimangu, were identified and explored by tourists. Tarawera itself remained as strong an attraction as it was prior to the eruption, with visitors climbing to the top to see the crater.

Ngati Whakaue offered their homeless cousins the site of Whakarewarewa immediately after the eruption. This gift was later ratified in the Maori Land Court. After the displaced Tuhourangi of Te Wairoa moved to Whakarewarewa, they soon became integrated with the thermal landscape of the area. As Whakarewarewa became more widely known and was developed as a scenic reserve, Tuhourangi once again guided tourists around thermal areas. One of these tourists included the Duke of Edinburgh in the 1870s who was reported to have had a wonderful time being hosted by the Maori in Rotorua (Stafford, 1999, pers. comm.).

Accessibility was made easier with the development of roading and the opening of the rail service from Auckland to Tirau. This railway was crucial to the expansion of visitor traffic to Rotorua (Steele, 1980). Prior to this all of the tourist traffic came in from Tauranga. Maori guides and horses were required for this journey. Upon arrival at Taheke, visitors would transfer to canoes, as there were no bridges crossing either the Kaituna or the Ohau channel. This too provided a lucrative trade for local Maori. The railway development, coupled with the establishment of a Government Sanatorium resulted in 2,500 officially reported tourists to Rotorua in 1890 (Steele 1980).

Tourists could observe Maori living a lifestyle fundamentally the same as it had been for hundreds of years. To promote cultural performances, representatives, usually women dressed in traditional costume, would go into all the boarding houses, motels and hotels to promote the evening cultural performances and to sell the tickets. Transport from the boarding houses to the performances was also standard procedure. This custom disappeared perhaps because with the introduction of public transport which was provided by the government (Stafford, pers. comm.). As had first happened with transport to Rotorua government led infrastructure designed to facilitate tourism development within Rotorua also had the unintended consequence of displacing Maori from key jobs and income earning opportunities in the tourism supply chain. Notwithstanding these developments, Rotorua has developed into a hub of Maori Culture and few tourists have left the area without experiencing some aspect of Maori culture.

3.5 Te Awekotuku's 1981 Assessment of Maori and Tourism

In a comprehensive analysis of Maori tourism in Rotorua Te Awekotuku concluded that "tourism has not hurt Te Arawa, in many instances it has helped us" (p.285). However, she identified a number of issues relating to Maori tourism:

> More confidence is evident in the sphere of arts and crafts and entertainment, where vital aspects of Te Arawatanga have continued within a precarious symbiosis with tourism. The practitioners all insist there is no contradiction in their relationship - the end, conservation and dissemination of traditional cultural practices and forms, justifies the means, which is some reliance on tourist funding (Te Awekotuku 1981:285).
>
> Participation of Maoris (sic) in decision and policy making in the Rotorua area has been very limited, and not actively canvassed in the past two generations. Input has been minimal or prejudiced, even on issues of specifically tribal significance. This may be illustrated by the rezoning, or renegotiation, of reserves and Crown Lease Lands, such as the Rotorua Airfield, originally a recreation reserve gifted by Ngati Whakaue in the 1881 Agreement and rezoned and subdivided as hugely profitable residential real estate in the 1960s by the City Council. Other examples include the leasing of the Government Ward Baths by the Crown to private enterprise in 1974, the Ohinemutu Village Streets land alienation in 1974, and the currently boiling controversy over the Government's lease of the Waimangu Thermal Valley to a very wealthy private developer. (ibid.).

> Many Maori owners are also firmly convinced that, due to multiplicity of ownership, high rates (local taxes), apparently prohibitive overheads, and the lack of necessary skills and expertise, their choices are limited. As a result, they lease potential or developed thermal resorts, trout springs, or uniquely scenic lands to Pakeha enterprise. A few examples are Waiotapu, the summit of Tarawera, where helicopters visit the gaping volcanic slash of the sleeping craters, Tikitere, the Mokoia Island launch service, Rainbow and Fairy Springs, and just recently the crater late of Rotokawau (ibid.).
>
> Over the last ten years, an increasing number of "outsiders" - Maori people from other tribal areas - have become lucratively involved in tourism, as entertainers, and souvenir retailers. Their presence is gaining visible strength, and there is a rarely discussed but nevertheless increasing suspicion that they are "taking over the scene". The offerings of these people, while still Maori, inevitably lack the uniquely Te Arawa sense of place - an orientation born of the volcanic earth itself, an aspect that makes the show, or the souvenir, special to Takiwa Waiariki and its indigenous tribespeople. At the time of writing, little organised or funded effort is underway to challenge the new influences and innovative enterprise of the newcomers (ibid.).

It is now 18 years since Te Awekotuku's analysis. The greatest changes in New Zealand tourism has been in the sheer volume of visitors now arriving on our shores. In an intervening period international visitor arrivals have grown from 0.49m to 1.6m (Dec 1999), more than a threefold increase. Throughout this period Rotorua has maintained its role as a key New Zealand destination. Maori, in Rotorua, as elsewhere, continue to look to tourism as a valid and viable form of development. To this end the discussion now turns to review contemporary participation and issues in Maori tourism development.

3.6 Contemporary Issues in Maori Tourism

In the last two decades there have been a number of issues in Maori tourism that have been expressed in a series of reports. Each of these is reviewed below.

A Maori Tourism Taskforce was commissioned after the Manaakitanga Conference in 1981. Its primary purpose was to identify the issues facing Maori tourism and recommended the following strategies to address these:

1. To address barriers which hinder full Maori entry into the tourism industry.
2. To target the Maori initiative in tourism so as to achieve a visible, and authoritative presence in the industry.
3. To obtain from the government of the day a priority status for the growth of a Maori commercial presence in Tourism.
4. To make the maximum use of opportunity, be it Maori or Pakeha, from private or from public sector activity and from industrial association activity.
5. To ensure that tourism development in the Maori dimension supports the revival and maintenance of the culture and the society. To ensure that the definition and use of Maori culture in the tourism industry lies firmly in responsible Maori hands.

6. To direct the Maori tourist initiative within an organisation framework established and centred on a partnership between the private and public sectors. Each sector makes a unique contribution to the full agenda of Maori tourism growth and development; neither is independent of the other.

Unfortunately, the recommendations were not well supported by the then Minister of Maori Affairs and the Minister of Tourism and Publicity. This lack of support could have been because the recommendations came at a time when many activities of the ministry of Maori Affairs were transferred to mainstream providers and their function became purely policy development and monitoring. The only recommendations that were fully implemented were the establishment of the Aotearoa (Maori) Tourism Association which received financial support for a period of three years, and a Maori Tourism Officer's position that was created in the Department of Tourism and Publicity.

In 1983, the Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (ACORD) published a paper on the racist nature of souvenirs in Aotearoa. Reference was made to the exploitation of Maori culture:

> Pakeha traders have not been slow to realise the money that can be made from the production of heaps of cheap, sentimental mementoes sold to tourists all too willing to embrace our brand of souvenir racism. (ACORD, 1983:1).

The committee stated that souvenirs consistently depict the Maori people in a racist way, promoting and perpetuating negative stereotypes, showing crass insensitivity to Maori culture and Maori values. The publication provided guidelines to souvenir manufacturers setting out clearly sensitive aspects to avoid, such as the use of the head, the portrayal of Maori women as sex objects. The paper was widely distributed amongst the tourism industry and aimed to stop this state of affairs.

The Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation (AMTF) (1994:5-6) outlined five threats posed to taonga. The overall concern with these threats was that tourism and commercial activities endangered Maori ethnic authenticity in New Zealand. The threats are as follows:

1. Dilution of Taonga
   Making allowances to cater for commercial demands of the tourism systems which alter Maori concepts and roles of manaakitanga ki te tangata (respect for people), kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and tapu (sacred, forbidden) such as restrictive time frames, inappropriate use of the marae, waiving of marae formalities, the nature of a gift, for example, that a gift is returned to the giver should the circumstances change.

2. Misuse of Taonga and Information Regarding Taonga
   Misuse of names and language, mispronunciation, inappropriate use of images on souvenirs and photographs, incorrect and inappropriate versions and communication of tribal lore and history, threats to biodiversity-plant varieties, craft materials, methods for the use of and sources of rongoa (medicine).

3. Exploitation of Taonga through Fake Reproduction
   Mass produced machine carved souvenirs, non-recognition of indigenous quality. Reproduction by outsiders of cultural manifestations and objects of spiritual importance. False representations. Contracts for commissioned works need to reflect Maori values.

4. Threat to Ownership and Control of Taonga
   Lack of acknowledgement of ownership rights over Maori cultural and intellectual property.

5. Depreciation of Taonga Maori
   Export of Taonga Maori - there are currently no controls to ensure an indigenous product source is acknowledged and not disguised. Trade off between dollar value and cultural value. Commercial viability does not support the protection and care of the intrinsic Maori value of taonga - i.e. the manufacture of plastic hei tiki (greenstone ornament, pendant) in Hong Kong.

This position paper acknowledged that being able to control and regulate activities should be seen as an exclusive right of Maori under the Treaty of Waitangi. As a result the AMTF recommended that:

- The process of introducing new legislation to provide blanket protection over taonga Maori be initiated as soon as possible;
- Steps to establish an Authority on Maori Authenticity with functions as described above be taken immediately;
- A consultation process with iwi be undertaken as soon as the other relevant organisations involved in this sphere of work have been contacted;
- A steering committee to see these tasks through be appointed.

A steering committee was appointed and a series of hui were held with iwi to discuss the establishment of a trademark of authenticity. Although much discussion took place regarding the criteria of such a trademark no one set of criteria could be agreed upon. Unfortunately there has been no tangible outcomes to date as a result of the position paper.

3.6.1 Current Position of Maori Tourism Product

A second discussion paper was prepared by the Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation in 1996, which conducted an analysis of Maori tourism products. The key findings of that review were:

- That the utilisation of Maori Tourism Product by the industry is very narrow and allows for only superficial contact between Maori sectors.
- That the use of Maori image in tourism promotions is also narrow and based on stereotypes. (AMTF, 1996b: 51).

As a result the report recommended that:

- A Strategic Marketing Plan for Maori Tourism Product be written and made widely available to iwi, industry and relevant government agencies;
- A standard be introduced to identify an authentic Maori tourism product from a non-authentic Maori tourism product;
- Industry and government value authentic presentations of Maori culture to visitors and recognise appropriate iwi consultation procedures;
- A co-ordinated Market Research Programme for Maori Tourism be developed between Maori tourism operators, The NZ Tourism Board, private sector research consultants and academia;
- The development of innovative, commercially viable and quality Maori tourism product be encouraged and supported.

Although much has been spoken and written of Maori tourism in the past two decades – little tangible progress appears to have been made. The general conclusion is one of ongoing gradual attrition of Maori roles within tourism production and distribution systems. Vexatious issues over such matters as intellectual property rights definitions of authenticity and when to compete or co-operate remain. Much of this has to do with the public and intangible nature of "culture" and the need for strong leadership and advocacy within Maori of how culture might be deployed for development through tourism. In terms of Butler and Hinch's (1996) analysis these tensions are manifest along the locus of control axis – with the outcome a resultant tension between "disposed" or "controlled" cultural tourism products.

3.7 Current Maori Tourism Business

Having looked at the history of Maori participation in tourism, and the issues associated with it, this section looks at current Maori Tourism Businesses. This section covers three topics. First, attention is given to describing the nature of the businesses, and their characteristics, before describing their current use of culture as attractions. Data from the Maori Tourism Operators' Survey (n=20) and focus groups (n=15) are presented here.

3.7.1 The Nature of Maori Tourism Business

An initial issue is the classification of Maori tourism businesses. Respondents were asked to tick a stand list of sectorial activities (Collier 1997) categories that apply to their business and to indicate the main one. Most operators viewed their operation as situated in more than one classification. In most responses, however, the latter request was overlooked. Based on this, and other information the researchers have classified business types based on the Maori Tourism Directory (Table 2).

Table 2
Classification of Tourism Businesses

Classification	Frequency	%
Cultural performance and hangi/feast	9	30
Cultural performance	4	13
Cultural experience	4	13
Accommodation (homestay, marae stay and hotel)	5	17
Geothermal attractions	2	7
Retail travel	3	3
Nature/cultural tour	1	3
Adventure tourism	1	10
Retail – Maori art, clothing and souvenirs	1	3
Total	**30**	**99**

Cultural performances (n=13, 43%) were the principal form of Maori tourism business.

It should be noted that all cultural groups that provide performances to hotels were classified as entertainment while cultural experiences provided in full by Maori (i.e., outside of the hotels) were classified as an attraction. Of those in the accommodation bracket one was a hotel type accommodation, two were homestays and the remaining two marae stays.

Sixty per cent of respondents (n=12) indicated that they promote themselves as a Maori tourism business because they felt that culture features considerably in their product/service offering (Table 3). Another reason given for identifying themselves as a Maori tourism business was that it is a way to distinguish themselves from other businesses.

Table 3
How Maori Business Market Themselves

	Do you market as a …..	
Response	**Frequency**	**%**
Maori business	1	5
Maori tourism business	12	60
Or just a business	7	35
Total	**20**	**100**

During the operators' focus group, a number of participants noted the "uniqueness" of being a Maori business and said that this could be used as a marketing ploy just as the eco-tourism label has been adopted by some.

Data in Table 4 result from the open-ended responses as to why and when Maori tourism businesses promote themselves as Maori. Most respondents promoted themselves as a Maori tourism business because a cultural experience was their main product offering. Others made the distinction because it is perceived as a unique selling point. From a marketing perspective they need to be able to differentiate themselves from other tourism operators and secondly to cater for customer demand. Some tourists are wanting a cultural experience operated by Maori during their visit to Aotearoa and these businesses see themselves serving these needs.

One operator said that the nature of that customer group would determine the message he sent out. In comparison, another business operator saw his/her operation as 'just a business'.

Table 4
How Maori Culture is Presented

How Is Maori Culture Presented In Your Tourism Business?
Why? - we are proud of our heritage and believe we can do a good job promoting this unique feature.
When? - all the time.
The company name indicates that my business is Maori.
Maori - because that is what we are.
Business run by Maori. Core product as Maori cultural group attached to hotel to provide Maori entertainment to tourists. Ability to be contracted to provide cultural entertainment outside of the Hotel.
Our business is based in the Maori Art field, embraces Maori kaupapa, although at times we respond to requests other than Maori.
Presenting a specific type of world culture. Attracts tourists more than local people.
Consider Maori (culture) to be New Zealand's only true point of uniqueness (in a product differentiation sense). Consider the home a role in enlightening New Zealander's on Maori Arts/Crafts/Culture.
Marketing as a Maori business makes it distinct, as opposed to other non-Maori businesses - offers a unique perspective.
Targets market demand i.e. Looking for Maori tourism (visitor) experience – also adds value to what we offer.
Experience attracts visitors who want to interact with indigenous culture of New Zealand.
Essentially just a business but aspects of Maori are highlighted wherever possible.
Depends on the type of tour – i.e., Aboriginal ruby tour I market as a Maori business to appeal to the indigenous angle.

3.7.2 Characteristics of the Business

Table 5 shows how long individual businesses have been operating. The majority of Maori tourism businesses surveyed (17 out of 20) have been operating fewer than 11 years and eight had been operating fewer than five years. During the focus group with operators a number of those present indicated that they had been involved in tourism for a much longer period but had more recently begun their own operations. Of those who have been operating for less than five years two were Maori trusts and one a marae operated venture. This indicates a noticeable change in Maori tourism and perhaps a return to how tourism development first began at Te Wairoa, where operations were run communally.

Table 5
Time in Business

Period	How long has your business been operating?	
	Frequency	%
Less than 2 years	1	5
2-4 years	7	35
5-7 years	4	20
8-10 years	4	20
11-13 years	1	5
14-16 years	0	0
17-19 years	0	0
20 or more years	3	15
Total	**20**	**100**

The financial turnover for Maori tourism businesses is reasonably low. Table 6 shows that eight (50%) of those who responded to this question indicated that their turnover bracket was less than $100,000 for the last year. Five (32%) had a turnover between $100,000 and $300,000 while only two businesses had a turnover greater than $500,000. Attention is drawn to the fact (see Table 2) that a number of these businesses are cultural groups who have contracts with hotels. Because they are part-time businesses, that in effect offer a component of a larger product, their turnovers are likely to be low. The other contributing factor to the seemingly small turnovers could be that some of these businesses are in the early stages of development where financial turnover is often low.

Table 6
Turnover Bracket

Turnover	In the last year what turnover bracket was your company in?	
	Frequency	%
Less than $50,000	7	43.8
$50,000 - $100,000	1	6.3
$100,000 - $150,000	2	12.5
$150,000 - $200,000	1	6.3
$200,000 - $300,000	2	12.5
$300,000 - $400,000	0	0.0
$400,000 - $500,000	1	6.3
Greater than $500,000	2	12.5
Total	**16**	**100.2**

The operators' survey provided data which indicate how many, and in what capacity, staff were employed in Maori tourism businesses. Table 7 shows that Maori tourism businesses are made up of mostly part-time staff. The majority of these business operate cultural performances which are usually during evenings therefore they do not need full-time staff. Of the 15 businesses employing part-time workers, eight (53%) of them employ more than 20 people on this basis. Again these are likely to be the cultural groups. Although operating in the hotels these groups have their own business entity so are responsible for the hiring and management of all personnel.

Table 7
Number of Staff Employed

Position	How many staff are employed?				
	Total Staff		Maori Staff		Maori % of total staff
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
In full-time positions	130	30.0	103	29.0	80
In part-time positions	278	63.0	234	66.0	84
In management positions	30	7.0	19	5.0	63
Total	**438**	**100.0**	**356**	**100.0**	

Although these business promote themselves as 'Maori businesses', only 63 per cent of those in management positions are Maori. As reported during the focus group, "the ultimate is to have Maori managers but at the end of the day we need the person who can best do the job".

A considerable number of Maori cultural performers are employed by several businesses. By juggling time employees are able to perform up to three times a day. The going rate is $20-$30, after tax, per performance. Some people have been known to make a living out of performing, earning up to about $350 per week.

3.7.3 Current Use of Culture as Attractions

Culture is used in a number of ways by different businesses.

The most predominant feature of Maori culture in Rotorua's tourism is undoubtedly the hangi[3] (steamed meal) and kapa haka (performing arts concert). Most of the groups have a similar repertoire comprising waiata a ringa (action songs), haka (war dance performed by men) and the poi dance. The hangi however, while being steamed, because of the scale of operation is largely prepared behind the scenes. For most performances there is a compare (MC) introducing songs and providing an interpretation of the words and actions. This is usually made up of 'good fun' whakangahau (entertaining performance). On any one evening there could be up to 15 of these experiences being run simultaneously throughout Rotorua. A standard time for most performances is approximately 30 minutes. All of the major hotels offer this combination of 'hangi and concert' as an evening's entertainment, while marae and other businesses provide a fuller cultural experience. A few motels, marae and restaurants provide nightly concerts also.

[3] Although traditionally the hangi referred to the meal prepared in the earth oven more recently the term hangi has been applied to steamed food also.

In an extended cultural experience (marae visits), unlike the hotel experience, visitors are treated to the unearthing of the hangi (traditional earth oven). Here a full explanation of this cooking method is provided and tourists are able to see the food as it comes out of the hangi. Although the hotels' provide hangi, most are cooked in the steam boxes rather than the earth oven. In some instances hotels' have chosen to replace the word 'hangi' (earth oven) with 'feast' to reflect this.

The traditional powhiri (welcome process) has been adopted by several of the businesses providing a cultural experience both inside and outside of the hotels. The powhiri involves a wero (challenge) performed by a male warrior whose job it is to ascertain whether the visitors have come in peace. This is followed by the woman's karanga (lamenting call of welcome). From here the visitors walk on to the marae where they take their places and await the whaikorero (speeches) made by the males normally kaumatua or rangatira (leaders of the hapu). All whaikorero are supported by waiata which are generally of the more traditional chanting style. Visitors are then invited to haruru (sharing of breath through pressing of noses). To cement the newly established relationship between tangata whenua and guests a meal is normally shared together. The shared meal is normally always preceded by a karakia to give thanks.

Maori arts and crafts also contribute to the attractions. Te Whare Taonga O Te Arawa (Rotorua Museum) exhibits many Te Arawa taonga: pounamu (greenstone carvings), pou whakairo (carved posts), waka (canoe), kete (woven kits), parts of a whare tupuna (carved meeting house), bone carvings, whariki (woven mats). The story of Te Arawa, the people of this land, is interwoven throughout the displays. The New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute provide a detailed insight into the carving and weaving of Maori.

Marae are commonly featured as attractions. One of the most visited is Te Papaiouru Marae, where Tamatekapua (paramount marae of Te Arawa) stands. Visitors are able to walk freely around the marae, however the doors of Tamatekapua remain closed, unless a performance is held there. Also in walking distance from Tamatekapua is St Faiths Church, the Maori Anglican Church serving the Ohinemutu and other Rotorua residents. The carved altar and woven panels contribute to the attractiveness of this site. No charge is required at St Faiths, however, a donation box is housed at the entrance way. Two other marae offer year-round cultural experiences (powhiri, hangi concert, information) where explanation of the marae structure and usage is given.

The lifestyle of Maori is a key feature in those businesses offering homestays, marae stays, and village tours. Tourists get to share in the day to day lives of Maori, seeing their leisure activities, their education, how they relate to each other and with their environments.

Table 8 reports a range of responses from tourism operators on how Maori culture is featured in their businesses.

Table 8
Presentation of Maori Culture

How is Maori culture used or presented in your tourism business?
It is a living everyday thing. We have artefacts on show and we promote Maori.
From a Whanau perspective - Whanau lifestyle – Whare Moe - Whanau hospitality.
Cultural entertainment, staff are all Maori.
Performing arts and normal day to day hospitality and humour.
Nightly - hour show.
Entertainment/performing Arts of Maori – Whanaungatanga.
An evening of Maori hospitality, meal and entertainment, while gaining an insight into Maori culture.
Culture – performances.
Welcome and opening ceremonies, entertainment.
Traditional cooking wairua, manaakitanga, kapa haka, waiata and welcome. Visitors experience from traditional protocol on a marae to current day portrayal of Maori lifestyle.
Core aspect/unique quality to the destination appeal/significance/history.
Arts and Craft - teaching/displays.
The culture often has to be appropriately explained e.g., - names, places, ceremonies.
Visitors taken through wharenui and up on our maunga.
Our narrative is based on a tribe's affinity with a thermal valley.
I would explain all aspects of our culture before we go out sightseeing and all along the way as significant places (areas) come up. I would do a Maori show later with eats.

3.8 Conclusion

The overall history of Maori in tourism in Rotorua is one of ongoing movement from an early position of control to one of less direct control. In the late 19th century Maori played a significant role in tourism development. At this time not only did they provide the attractions; geothermal and Maori culture; but they also provided much of the required infrastructure such as transport and accommodation. Changes in transport and marketing technologies and increasing sophistication of tourist tastes, have however slowly and systematically seen Maori marginalised from the 'mainstream' of tourism sector provision. Today there is an identifiable core of 'Maori Tourism Businesses' but the focus is primarily in the entertainment/culture

sector. In recent decades, there has been some recognition of issues associated with Maori in Tourism. These include the way Maori are portrayed for tourists, the way Maori culture is used in tourism and the benefits (or lack of) that accrue to Maori from the use of the cultural and intellectual property in tourism. Some initiatives have been put in place but at present, it appears that there is still considerable scope for further development of Maori business in tourism. Maori tourism businesses in Rotorua tend to be new, relatively small and nearly all feature Maori culture in some way.

Chapter 4

Maori Views on Tourism Issues

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the broad effects of tourism's relationship with Maori and their culture. As this theme is a central component of the report data are drawn from all data sources (Table 1). It includes data from in-depth interviews, all focus groups and the surveys of the three stakeholder groups namely: Maori tourism operators, Maori in the community and hapu representatives. For each topic, all the available data sources are used to examine it as thoroughly as possible. In this way, the multiple data sources serve to cross-check and validify each other, in a search for commonly held meanings and interpretations. The main topics addressed include Maori adaptation to tourism (covering kapa haka, guiding and changes in the presentation of Maori culture), Maori relationship with the natural environment and management of natural resources. Also examined are souvenir production and ways to improve Maori tourism. However, it is necessary to examine first some definitions of tourism as understood by Maori.

4.2 Defining Tourism and an Assessment of its Effects

Because tourism means different things to different people, at the beginning of all community and business operators focus groups participants were asked what 'tourism' and 'development' meant to them. The following data present the responses to these questions and illustrates the diversity of views.

Table 9 presents responses to questioning about the definition of tourism. In determining the meaning of tourism, participants provided various responses. Most saw tourism as the process of providing attractions and sights for visitors.

Table 9
Definitions of Tourism

Definitions		
People wanting to come here	Industry	Resources – abundance
People	Service	River - Puarenga
Sightseeing	Information	Resources
Travel	Communication	Sharing - of resources
Tourists - overseas visitor	Technology	Commercialisation
Languages	Education	Modification from traditional
History	Products	Racism
Manaakitanga	"On to it" people	Concern/Frustration.
Performing Arts	Money	Hoha – nuisance
Crafts	Progress	Development
Responsibilities of our resources; tikanga/kawa	Innovation	Retention

Source: Focus group of community: open 'brainstorm'

Those participating in the focus groups perceived tourism as being both good and bad. It is worth noting that the discussion during this part of the focus group centred on the negative aspects of tourism rather than the positive. This is consistent with human nature. Where people are unhappy they tend to be far more vocal and critical but when accepting of things, little is said. Table 10 lists good and bad perceptions of tourism. Of the positive aspects the most noticeable was the opportunities to sustain and promote Maori cultural heritage. Participants also noted that tourism represented good things, particularly new opportunities for Maori, they also felt that Maori were not capitalising on these opportunities. Some suggested that more guidance and direction was needed for those wanting to enter the industry.

Table 10
List of Good and Bad Things About Tourism

Good		Bad	
Self-determination	Cultural retention	Disempowerment	Ownership – do not receive annuity
Self-empowerment	Cultural heritage	Little control over our resources	Limited parking
Development	Rejuvenation of arts and crafts	Lack of consultation	Legislation
Entrepreneurs	Performing arts – top performers	Lack of information and communication	Compromising tikanga
Opportunities	Promotion of culture	Fiscal risk	Labelled as plastic
Initiative	Exposure	No stability	Dial a kapa haka
Investment	Sharing who we are	Seasonal business	Exploitation
Finance	Pride	Increased rates	
Alliances	Confidence	Expensive	
Co-operation	Community beautification	Big players are non-Maori	
Employment	Entry to attractions	Barriers to entry	
Upskill		Social problems	
Education		Racism	
High level of expertise			

Tourism was seen as an avenue to promote and sustain cultural heritage - it is a platform where Maori can be confident and proud about who they are. Participants also felt they had an obligation to share their resources (nga mea katoa) with others (Pakeha, Maori and Tauiwi [all non-Maori]). *"Doors are open to everyone and we have to share all that"*. Participants felt strongly, however, that if this was to happen successfully, they needed some control over these resources.

Several of the hapu representatives saw tourism as an advantage to their hapu. One kuia referred to the attainment of English language through their interactions with tourists. So although Maori only was spoken in the homes, children of this hapu had acquired the English language by the time they began school. She stated that:

> One advantage to Tuhourangi specifically is that most of us from Whaka went to school at the age of 5, but we were bilingual. We were products of our own environment, where we were interacting with tourists all the time. We're playing marbles all day in front of the people and children have no inhibitions - people come along and talk to them and they talk back to them too. We played around the pools and played marbles and people would come and talk to us. We spoke English with the visitors but as soon as we got home we spoke Maori.

On the other side of the equation, respondents were concerned at a lack of Maori control in the industry. One interviewee was concerned about the lack of managerial positions held by Maori in the tourism industry.

> Tourism sector hasn't been good for Maori here, because to look at the managerial jobs, CEOs - there is very little (sic) Maori in those roles. The majority of Maori are employed as tour guides, hotel cleaners, taxi drivers - not necessarily the people pushing the world. We are making sure that the world keeps turning, but we're certainly not the ones saying it'll be in this direction. Bouncers, waitresses and waiters all those sort of menial tasks as opposed to being in control of the industry.

One respondent strongly emphasised the lack of information and communication regarding tourism. This makes it difficult for Maori should they be considering a tourism business. There was considerable discussion about how 'closed' the tourism industry is which presented a further barrier to Maori entering the industry. Some of the comments relating to the entry barriers warranted further discussion at both the focus groups of community members and tourism operators so this concern was discussed in some depth. The point that big players controlled the tourism industry was made repeatedly.

> This group has established the industry and they have all the strengths and the power.

This concern was highlighted further in one of the hapu representative interviews.

> The tourist industry is a closed industry - there is no doubt about it. If you don't own - you're not in. It's the old boys network. If you (tourists) go to the church - St Faiths, there's nothing of interest to the tourists, because the tourist has paid before he leaves the country, to all the sites that he goes to. It's the tourist operator who is a Pakeha, who runs the bus, who takes the money and there's no way we can break into it. It's closed, unless you have an inside track - you've got nothing.

Social problems were also noted as a negative aspect of tourism. One focus group participant made the following comment in relation to social problems associated with tourist environments.

> Penny divers - performance of its own at the bridge at Whaka - children then started drinking [alcohol] and sniffing [glue] at that same river - showing the tourists the bad side of Maori culture. Young people performing (doing the poi) to raise money for themselves at Whaka creates a begging, dependency mentality for some of our rangatahi.

They felt this problem would be difficult to break because the people in Whakarewarewa have had such a long history of penny diving. Thirty to fifty years ago penny diving provided additional income to some of the village families, which could be spent on school provisions. A recent New Zealand television documentary (circa October 1999) indicates that children no longer spend their earnings on school provisions. According to the children in the documentary, the money they get from penny diving is spent on electronic games (e.g., space invader/arcade games).

A parallel set of questions focus on 'development', key dimensions of which are presented in Table 11. The main point to emerge is that there was general recognition that development was an ongoing process of growth. The group agreed that this process involved many interdependent factors, and in doing so tourism development could not be isolated from the wider notion of development. Tourism development therefore is related to the cultural, social and environmental development of Maori.

Table 11
Definitions of Development

Definitions		
Tino	Understanding	Whakaaro nui - "Ma te whakaaro nui i hanga te whare ma te matauranga e whakauu"
Rangatiratanga	Willingness	Unity – Kotahitanga
Control	Passion	Creating a history of goodwill
Freedom	Enjoyment/Fun	Vision – working towards
Communication	Growth	Relatedness - all the words relate to each other/Holistic gains
Preparation	Maturing	Community – services
Timing	Nurturing	Family, marae, planning
Education	Rebirth	Evolving through progress
Restructuring	Enterprise	
Change	Industry	
Economic, financial		

The following quote emphasises this notion of holistic gain:

> Relatedness - all the words relate to each other. Tourism development represents a bigger world out there - it's not exclusive and it can be added to everything - the gains of such development have to be holistic gains

In summary, the picture that emerges is one of a potentially positive relationship between tourism, and development.

4.3 Maori Adaptation to Tourism

Table 12 shows how well Maori believe they have adapted to tourism. A majority of those surveyed thought that Maori had adapted very well to tourism, and provided comments and examples of this.

Table 12
Maori Adaptation to Tourism – How Well

	How well have Maori adapted to tourism?					
	Operators[1]		Maori[2]		Total	
Response	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**
Very well	8	40.0	7	41.0	15	40.5
Well	5	25.0	4	23.5	9	24.5
Neither badly nor well	5	25.0	6	35.5	11	30.0
Badly	2	10.0	0	0.0	2	5.0
Very Badly	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	**20**	**100.0**	**17**	**100.0**	**37**	**100.0**

Notes: 1. From Business sample (total n=20)
2. From Maori community members survey (total n=18)

A number of commentators suggested Maori have not had to adapt that they are just a natural part of tourism and that tourism is a natural part of them. The following two quotes illustrate this idea.

> Tuhourangi is synonymous with tourism and last century as far back as 1830 Tuhourangi were in the tourism business, in fact I think they were the only business happening at the time, the township of Rotorua hadn't even been created. Tuhourangi back then were based on the shores of Lake Tarawera and conducting guided tours of the area.

> I don't believe it's a question of how well Maori have adapted to tourism particularly in Te Arawa - It is a way of life for them, Maori is tourism in Te Arawa.

For those living in the villages that tourists often visited, tourism became an integral part of their daily lives. Interaction with the tourists was a natural part of their day:

> I think it is quite relevant to say that we found it easy to mix and if we didn't feel that comfortable we would distance ourselves from various things say like some Pakeha perspectives. If we did feel comfortable, we'd go along with that as well. The children found it simple to talk to any nationality whether they understood English or not as they

> came through. They still do today. This is why it is always interesting to see people who are not with the guide and children are playing there and they stand there for hours talking to the children. They probably got the real insight of things better than they would have with a guide. It is a little bit difficult for we who were children there. But that's not quite the same today.

Respondents also thought that more recently Maori had adapted to the business environment. Maori tourism businesses were seen as increasing in number and becoming more professional. There are now more tourism products and services being provided outside of the traditional hangi-concert sector such as adventure tourism and homestay accommodation. As well as individual Maori operators, there are more trusts and incorporations entering or considering tourism nowadays.

Although Maori are adapting to tourism it was also acknowledged in focus groups and most interviews that there were many areas and opportunities remaining untapped by Maori.

In terms of negative impacts a number of statements referred to authenticity issues suggesting that tikanga, and therefore authenticity, had at times been compromised. This idea is captured in the following quotes.

> It has become more touristy and less Maori.
>
> The focus of our culture has steadily slipped away from being authentic. We are being portrayed as performing seals that are only giving what the tourist wants.

Table 13 shows responses to a second question asking for elaboration on the aspects of tourism to which Maori have adapted well. The question allowed for multiple responses. According to survey respondents the aspects of tourism to which Maori have adapted well are: cultural performances, guiding and visitor interpretation.

Table 13
Positive Adaptations to Tourism

	What particular aspects of tourism have Maori adapted well to?					
	Operators		Maori		Total	
Aspects	**Frequency**	**% sample (n=20)**	**Frequency**	**% sample (n=15)**	**Frequency**	**%**
Employment	10	50.0	6	40.0	16	45.7
Cultural performances	14	70.0	15	10.0	29	82.9
Souvenir production and retail	10	50.0	7	46.7	17	48.6
Entrepreneur	10	50.0	8	53.3	18	51.4
Guiding and visitor interpretation	13	65.0	13	86.7	26	74.3
Tourist planning	6	30.0	4	26.7	10	28.6
Natural resource management	5	25.0	6	40.0	11	31.4
Other	2	10.0	0	0.0	2	0.6
Total Responses	**70**		**59**		**129**	

Note: 1. Totals allow for multiple responses.

The following subsections address cultural performances, guiding and changes in the presentation of Maori culture in more detail to illustrate Maori adaptation to tourism.

4.3.1 Cultural Performance and Tourism

Cultural performance is one area to which that Maori have adapted particularly well in Rotorua (Table 13). This point came through strongly in both formal and informal measures from each of the three stakeholder groups. Cultural performances have provided additional income to individuals and families and it has also enhanced Te Arawa performance in national competitions. Although data from hapu representatives are not shown on the table, several also commented on kapa haka during interviews.

Employment in kapa haka groups has been beneficial to many Maori living within Rotorua. Of all those spoken to everyone had either performed or knew of others (friends, relatives and associates) in such groups. Thousands of Maori have entertained and gained experience of tourism through Kapa haka groups (Stafford, pers. comm.). Some have done particularly well out of kapa haka employment as noted in the following quote.

> Some are making in excess of $350/week from doing concerts alone. Doing 2-3 concerts a day and they are making good money. For a lot of them it is very important. For quite a few of them, it is their main source of income. If they do pick up other work - day work, they will still keep up their concerts one or two nights, as it is good spending money. It has helped a lot of families.

When asked if it was a gratifying career several indicated that it was not. The repetition of programmes was often frustrating for employees. Should the performers allow their frustrations to be exhibited, this in turn can be counter-productive for the tourism industry.

> It can become boring. They have to be able to change their concerts (keep that zip in it) or they become very complacent in their jobs. If that happens - what sort of culture are they portraying to people? Most have good leaders - it comes back to the leaders or the teachers. If they are good leaders they will change the programme to keep the interest in there. There is a 'burn out' from performing all the time in concerts, "not appreciated", lose zest.

Respondents also perceived kapa haka in a positive light as a vehicle for learning and training in the cultural arena.

> It is fulfilling for them being in the kapa haka groups - they use it as a training ground for whaikorero (speech), karanga (lamenting call of welcome) and all those things. When we come from this perspective, it helps them in their performance, self-esteem, opening up and being able to do these things, whereas others who have never done these things before find it quite threatening. At the same time it helps the rangatahi to learn those things for their time when they will be there and have to stand up and take the role of the elders. It's a good training ground and good practice.

> Tourism is helping keep some of our tikanga alive - makes me feel good. To compromise your tikanga is to compromise yourself and we are not like that! The concerts keep the old things going.

The presentation of performing arts has changed considerably according to one interviewee. It has become far more standardised. The respondent however indicated that this was not due to tourism alone but also due to international influences and pressures emanating from colonisation.

> The old people used to be rough looking with their actions - but at the same time they had a different charisma/character that has been lost. That was the Maori character. Maori today are so heaped with Pakeha ideas and whakaaro (thoughts/perceptions) "I'm not going to do that, that is the Pakeha coming out" because it is unacceptable in YOUR world you live in. But in their time, they let everything hang out and it was fun for them. You have a different wairua (spirit) - in the people at the fore. They can perform the same as the old people did, but the old people will do it with style and charisma, character and fun and you feel the atmosphere emanating from them. The atmosphere that is electrifying - you can charge it up. We can charge it up with haka but as far as the character - we've lost it. A lot of it is because of the language. The language is gone. You talk their language. It is a very strong sort of because things around us like the TV influence us. The old people were very rough and uncut but they had charisma and power in the way they thought.
>
> The old performance style is much different from what we do now. It's hard to bring that back. It is in a lot of us - the personality is still there. You have the Pakeha things - external influences. You're not Maori culture total; it's Pakeha culture within you now. You are thinking two worlds. That's the difference - Its not what you do - its the way you do it in everything! You can take a song that was beautiful. Maori of today can do the same song and its dead, there's nothing in it, and there's no wairua.

Neither of the above respondents thought that tourism was an appropriate vehicle to revive this aspect of performing arts because in a business environment this original style may be perceived as neither high quality nor as a professional performance.

Given that there are a large number of groups performing for tourists it was asked whether competition amongst them was considered an issue. Representatives at the tourism operators' focus group did not perceive competition to be a problem amongst them. The competition, if any, comes from the hotels themselves. Several of those employed are employed by more than one group. Some of the groups actually worked together in providing performers for one another's groups when situations required it.

Some research participants mentioned the vision of having all performances operating out of the one establishment. This idea is not new to Maori tourism operators and has been tabled at a number of hui. However, the group felt that this idea would not work for three main reasons:

- Hotels would just approach alternative people to provide the service;
- It would not allow for individual and entrepreneurial flair;
- Not all groups are in agreement.

Rotorua groups are always well represented in the biennial national Aotearoa Maori Performing Arts Festival. Every year since the festival's beginning, a Te Arawa group or groups have featured in the top three placings. Some respondents said that part of this could be attributed to Te Arawa involvement in tourism. Two of the hapu representatives interviewed are involved with competing groups and spoke strongly in favour of groups performing for tourists. Tourism provides a vehicle for them to practice and develop for competitions. They also indicated that many of those involved in the competing groups also participate in tourism performances.

> About 80 per cent of our group are in cultural groups performing to tourists. Most of the kapa haka groups around here are about the same ratio. That is why the groups are so strong in competitions, because coming to the stage they are already used to the stage. So it is a matter of fine-tuning and honing in, creating the programme - you need the vehicle to take you there, so you have the performers. The only thing is that some people tend to (very minor things - trivial) stamp both legs, so you have to get that concert laziness out of there, and sharpen them up again as they get this relaxed attitude that it's not 'just another concert'. Tidying up - stamping their feet, shoulders, stance - everything.
>
> It makes our job as tutors easier. The confidence is there. The training, the voice technique, the voice training is there like the power, constant use develops those vocal chords - it's all there. Just a matter of opening it up and utilising those talents

Respondents said there were differences between performances for tourists and those conducted at a festival competition.

> They have a different wairua. There is more ihi, wehi and mana during these performances. There is much more at stake when you are performing in front of your own.

Focus group participants mentioned the whakaaro held by other iwi. For example, other iwi sometimes view Te Arawa as "plastic" because of their tourism involvement.

> I know they tend to think of Te Arawa as being plastic Maori. Mainly because of the plastic entertainment that we have - plastic piupius, performing to the tourists.

Given that Te Arawa groups have a great record of success at the Aotearoa Performing Arts Competition, such comments are possibly connected to tribal jealousies. However it was also noted that although there are some negative perceptions by other iwi, Rotorua groups are also seen by many as very strong in the area of kapa haka and kawa.

A final area of comment involves the fact that cultural groups are often called upon to provide performances for public and private events. This has sometimes caused concern and frustration to those involved because they are not always fairly acknowledged or compensated for their services. They do not want to be perceived as a *"Dial a kapa haka"* group and when they are, there is a feeling of resentment and exploitation. This issue may not be directly related to tourism (per se), but may relate to the high visibility of local kapa haka groups.

4.3.2 Guiding and Tourism

Maori have adapted particularly well to guiding. The beginnings of tourism evolved around the guiding of visitors through the natural resources. Among the research participants, there was a strong view amongst Maori participants that Maori guides have made a large contribution to Rotorua's tourism industry. This was supported in later findings where the guides are listed as being amongst the leaders of Maori tourism. Traditionally women took on the role of the guide, although more recently males have also been guiding. Women were perceived as the obvious choice as guides because they have a natural role in manaakitanga. Maori guides have also been amongst Rotorua's greatest ambassadors resulting in many repeat visits by tourists.

Although Maori were seen to have adapted well to guiding there are some noticeable differences in the guiding of today. One interviewee referred to some of these changes. She talked about the naturalness, environmental knowledge and the spontaneity of old time Maori guides and how this is was less apparent now.

> I would say for those earlier tourists, they were able to get more insight into our lifestyle, which was the product we were marketing. Pohutu (the principal geyser at Whakarewarewa) was very spectacular, but it did things that you could tell the environment in its time is going to do. Your guiding skills depended on understanding the environment for telling people what the variations would be in Pohutu's activity - it would depend on the weather conditions and wind direction. I know the records, taken by the vulcanologist, started pretty late but their findings were not always revealed to us, so what we were telling the people was our perception of it from day-to-day observation. I doubt that guides of today, (although some may), have that same understanding, because the fact (is) that we lived in it and we were able to see it 24 hours, where the guides today only see it for the six or seven hours that they are on the grounds. We'd be having a bath nine o'clock there at night and suddenly say "Gee it's raining!". It's not raining at all. It's Pohutu playing and the spray's being carried down by the wind. We had that little extra from living in it.

Some respondents felt that the increasing commercialisation of guiding, larger groups meant that tourists of today are getting less of an experience. During interviews there was ongoing reference to early guides being better able to read the needs of their groups because they were smaller in size than many of those shown through Whakarewarewa these days. The following quote illustrates this.

> You have to sort of learn to read your tour group. I think we were able to do it a little better because in those days we were restricted to parties no bigger than six people and with that you have a very close contact and it can become personal. I think we are more able to read the needs of the people that we are selling to.

There was a general feeling that Maori guides should continue to play an important role in Rotorua's tourism. Several of those participating in the hui said they would be against the introduction of technology that would result in personal guiding becoming redundant.

4.3.3 The Role of Maori Women as Guides

The Maori guides are a notable group of people who have attracted an incalculable number of visitors to Rotorua or, at least, have made them want to return. Te Awekotuku (1991:1) notes that tour guiding became an almost exclusively female profession, particularly after the 1890s. This may be because many of the Maori males had jobs working outside the villages in road developments and forestry. Maori women took a more prominent role in tourism.

> Women took up guiding here because the growth of the tourist business coincided with the opening of the forestry. All the men worked there, planting trees and clearing land, and there was no one else around to guide. Especially on such a casual system. There were steady incomes in forestry, all year round, but guiding was just for a limited time of the year. So that is what women did, though a lot worked in forestry too. (Te Awekotuku, 1991:81).

Their involvement included the guiding, hosting and entertaining of guests. Although their time was spent guiding the visitors through the geothermal valley much of the communication between guides and visitors, centred on the lifestyle of the Maori.

> I found as a guide that many of the overseas tourists were far more interested in the Maori than most Pakeha realised. They asked more questions about the Maori way of life than about the geysers. (Dennan, 1968:23).

It was at Whakarewarewa that guiding as a characteristic of Maori tourism was further developed and the guides became an attraction in their own right. A number of Tuhourangi guides have been outstanding in the long history of tourist guiding. Guide Sophia, Guide Maggie Papakura and Guide Rangi are amongst some of the most renowned guides. They demonstrated and expressed manaakitanga to their guests. Many of the guides were known to have taken tourists into their own home where they were provided bedding and food for the night. The sharing of personal space, manaaki ki te tangata, looking after the people, is a Maori expression, which attracted the tourists in the early years of tourism. This generosity of spirit led to tourists asking for guides by name on their return to Rotorua.

> Women have played an essential and decisive role in the shaping of Te Arawa tourism. Their strong influence and entrepreneurial endeavours, however low key, firmly belie the submissiveness and docility that the reconstructed "traditions" of today dictate and idealise. Instead, the woman guide has dominated this cross-cultural market place for almost a hundred years, challenging such notions of "a woman's place". (Te Awekotuku 1981:285).

4.3.4 The Presentation Of Maori Culture in tourism

This section discusses the issues that arise from the presentation of Maori culture in tourism. In Rotorua, many different aspects of Maori culture are presented to tourists. Underlying these issues is the collective nature of the "ownership" of culture. Issues include changes made in the culture to cope with the constraints of tourism, the importance of tikanga, Kawa, and Te Reo Maori (the Maori language).

While five of thirty-three survey respondents (15%) felt that the presentation of culture had not changed, twenty-three survey respondents (70%) said that it had changed over time (Table 14). A further five respondents (15%) did not know whether changes had occurred.

Table 14
Opinion About Changes in the Presentation of Maori Culture

Response	Has the presentation of Maori culture in tourism changed over time?					
	Operators'		Maori		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Yes	11	64.7	12	75.0	23	69.7
No	4	23.5	1	6.3	5	15.2
Don't know	2	11.8	3	18.8	5	15.2
Total	**17**	**100.0**	**16**	**100.1**	**33**	**100.1**

One interviewee felt that the presentation of culture had not changed because it had been successfully managed in their hapu.

> I don't think it has changed all that much. Tuhourangi has contrived a very careful balance in terms of what is called 'tikanga', what remains within the laws of Te Arawa, and what is available for performance and demonstration to visitors to our country. We have even now, in 1999 the performance Mita Taupopoki and Maggie Papakura and the likes were doing back in their time. A lot of the poi dances, the haka, the action songs are what we would term as 'safe'. They are musical, entertaining, they don't contravene any laws of tapu, it's straight out 'whakangahau' - 'good fun!'. Even when we have introduced new compositions over the years we found that the 'fall-back' position is always the material that was first performed at the shows that is really the best 'back-stop' on the tourism performing circuit.

For some the presentation of culture was reported to have changed to cater for tourism demands such as time constraints, and parallel business constraints such as having to pay people to be there for longer periods. To them such performances are interpreted as "entertainment" and are largely divorced from their cultural setting and meaning.

Other respondents also perceived changes positively. They noted that:

- Maori tourism operations have become more professional, more innovative, and have adapted to commercial realities;
- The depth of sharing with tourists has increased;
- Maori have capitalised on technological and global trends;
- The portrayal of women in tourism promotional literature has improved[4];
- Some cultural performances (e.g., the 'Tamaki Village') have moved back to the natural environment, which has gone a small way towards gaining more control.

[4] There has, for some time, been concern that Maori women were historically portrayed as the "native (sensual) maiden", however contemporary images are slowly moving in line with appropriate Maori representatives.

Another respondent noted that:

> We must own our own enterprise, copyright our ideas, patent our inventions, and guard our own creativity. In terms of cultural retention we must maintain our wairuatanga, heritage, whakapapa and traditional beliefs.

Tikanga, Kawa and Te Reo Maori (the Maori language) are all aspects of culture that affect and are affected by tourism. The following korero (excerpt), from one interviewee, highlights the importance of tikanga and kawa to Maori.

> The most important thing with regard to embracing traditions, kawa, whakatauki is really the value system that is inherent in all of these things. Underpinning all of that is the huge sense of respect for lessons of the past, respect for that knowledge, respect for people - for each other, respect for the environment, respect for other people's property. Ultimately, respecting yourself, basically learning to like yourself a little bit more. While it is great encapsulating all the knowledge of the waiata, whakapapa, te kawa o te marae, whakatauki - really what that is telling you or giving you is a code of behaviour and how you implement that is really up to yourself as a whole person.

4.3.5 Tikanga, Te Reo Maori and Tourism

Tikanga and kawa play very important roles in Maori culture and also need to be adhered to in tourism operations.

Table 15 shows that most survey respondents thought that tikanga has an important role in tourist attractions involving Maori culture.

Table 15
Importance of Tikanga

	Is tikanga an important role in tourist attractions involving Maori culture?					
	Operators'		**Maori**		**Total**	
Response	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**
Yes	16	80.0	16	94.0	32	84.0
No	2	10.0	0	0.0	2	5.5
Don't Know	2	10.0	1	6.0	4	10.5
Total	**20**	**100.0**	**17**	**100.0**	**38**	**100.0**

Participants indicated that the role of tikanga and kawa in tourism businesses is largely dependent on the type and nature of that business. For example, businesses operating in a marae clearly have a duty to ensure tikanga and kawa are upheld. Even where businesses are not marae-based they cannot discount tikanga completely, as the following points outline. One respondent quoted an example where the presentation of culture had not adhered to tikanga and how this resulted in poor visitor interpretation.

> I know of one case where a pou (carved post) is inset in a brochure. The brochure, quoting the business owner, states that this is an ancestor of his. But he does not know the whakapapa pertaining to it. Is it appropriate that pou be displayed in this manner or without at least consulting with the descendants of it?

This comment solicited a great deal of discussion. Overall participants in the research thought that without whakapapa knowledge the operator should not be using the pou. The issue here is that if culture is to be used commercially the users need to have a good understanding of it. The group agreed that the lore, as prescribed by tikanga and kawa, could assist in addressing such issues.

Those that indicated changes had been made in regards to tikanga said that this had taken place only after consulting with kaumatua, hapu members or the marae committee. The following quote supports this.

> There are rangatahi out there right now doing the karanga. […] Well they have to, as the old people can't be there all the time, the same as the whaikorero. It has been sanctioned by the old people. They can continue with that because the old people can't come down, and someone has to do it - permission has been given. It is good practice for them - it's amazing for them really.

Several acknowledged that protocols have been allowed to change for tourism however they were equally as quick to mention that these protocols are still mostly intact when they are participating in an iwi or Maori environment. Both tourism operators and Maori agreed that there existed a stage for tourists and a stage for Maori. This has been a way of adapting to tourism demands and while maximising tourism opportunities – a coping strategy.

Focus group participants said that culture is collectively owned and an individual does not have the right to use it as they see fit, particularly if there are serious consequences to their actions. There needs to be effective consultation with the appropriate groups to endorse the usage.

There was a re-emerging message coming through in focus group discussions and interviews in relation to the control of tikanga again supporting the notion of collective ownership. According to respondents the control of tikanga must remain with hapu and iwi. Kaumatua were seen as the most suitable to be involved in monitoring tikanga and kawa to ensure it is being used correctly. The importance of the tangata whenua and their kawa is captured in the quote below.

> [Maori] Tourism products must take into account local kawa because this is the area you're in, and you can't/shouldn't have a product being offered that goes against local kawa.

Tikanga was also seen as a positive enhancement to tourism products. Several comments suggested that the appropriate use of tikanga and kawa would ensure authenticity and integrity in the portrayal of Maori culture.

> If Maori are involved in tourism and Maori culture is at the forefront they should always make decisions based on tikanga and not commercial gains, or profits. This will ensure authenticity, which in turn will bring the tourists in.
>
> Tikanga is the roots of Maoritanga. Everything should revolve around these concepts.
>
> [If your business is based on tikanga,] a good wairua permeates your entire business, employees and business dealings.

4.3.6 Language (Te Reo Maori)

An important feature of the presentation of Maori culture is Te Reo. Te Reo Maori was seen as important to tourism, particularly in relation to Maori place names. Correct pronunciation of these place names was seen as very important to focus group participants. Some had felt that tourism provides a vehicle for increasing cultural understanding and a vehicle by which to share cultures. However they felt that in terms of Te Reo, this had not happened in Rotorua and if anything tourism had led to the promotion of mispronounced Maori place names.

> Local tourism operators need to be getting it [pronunciation] right so the right message is getting out there to tourists.

Some focus group attendees asked: if the correct pronunciation and meanings were not reaching visitors, have we contributed to increasing cultural understanding? Another concern in relation to Te Reo was the fact that many Maori employed in Maori tourism do not have Te Reo which can at times cause frustration and upset to Maori as illustrated by the quote below.

> We guide in English, we narrate in English, and we perform in Maori with little or no knowledge of the meaning of the poi or waiata-a ringa.

Tourism could be an educational vehicle for Maori also. Participants generally felt that tourism could be used to promote Te Reo in a far more positive light. One of the other impacts on Te Reo was the tendency to use transliterations because the depth of reo Maori "proper" would require more explanation and may be too complex for tourists to comprehend.

Thus, tourism is seen as a mixed blessing for Te Reo, with positive outcomes requiring a more concerted effort overall.

4.4 Images Used in Tourism Marketing

Respondents were asked about representation of Maori in current images used to market New Zealand to visitors. Table 16 shows that the majority (71%) thought that sometimes Maori were (still) being misrepresented in the current images used to market New Zealand, while all of the remaining sample thought Maori were misrepresented all the time. No participant indicated that Maori were always appropriately represented.

Table 16
Assessment of Misrepresentation of Maori Images

Response	To what degree are Maori being misrepresented in the current images to market NZ to visitors?					
	Operator		Maori		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Sometimes	14	73.7	10	66.7	24	70.6
Always	5	26.3	5	33.3	10	29.4
Total	**19**	**100.0**	**15**	**100.0**	**34**	**100.0**

Further concerns for imagery noted from the surveys can be seen in Table 17.

Table 17
Comments About Images of Maori

Comments
Relevance and Accuracy A need to: • Showing everyday life of Maori. • Maori should be promoted more for how we live today not just haka boogie. • Market Maori in a more positive light. • Show Maori in everyday life - not just in a piupiu, paddles and waka. • Not only showing Maori in traditional outfits but showing how Maori are developing and incorporating their culture in a European environment. • Maori wear clothes like white kiwis not just piupiu – stop portraying New Zealand as having continental cities with only white people living in it except when a waka paddles past. • Include and involve our young ones, our mokopuna, our reo, our kohanga reo our kura kaupapa – lawyers, doctors, teachers etc. • Refine the past, not as a primitive piupiu wearing race. • Use Maori in ALL areas of marketing not just culture. The Warrior, the Maori maiden, the geyser, carving are appropriate – Don't change it – Make clear the message and be more creative with the camera – not static. • Portrayal needs to be more discerning - not just Maori cultural significance 'Pre-European' but just as importantly Post-European and TODAY imagery should be clear, succinct and inviting warm with a feeling of 'Manaakitanga'. Using imagery alongside other iconic NZ images/product – they are on in the same.

Table 17 - Continued
Comments About Images of Maori

Comments
Consultation: • Consultation with the people would be a good place to start by the NZTB. • Consultation and management by Maori. • Perhaps more consultation with the appropriate sectors - i.e. group set up for this purpose. **Control of Marketing:** • Create a separate Maori advertising agency to work hand in hand with mainstream. Any imagery of Maori would need to come through the Maori ad agency for validation. • Give total control of New Zealand Maori marketing to Maori. • That Maori have control over how we are represented in the media, imagery featuring Maori and the culture. **Authenticity:** • Authenticity should be considered, but if this is not appropriate, then do not offer souvenirs that do not portray Maori in positive light. • Labelling indicating more authenticity. • Maori owned tourist operations should be marketed as most authentic to New Zealand. **Other:** • I think the image of Maori has changed for the good. It's gone past the sort of "pornographic" images of our women which is more respectful. • Need to relate generic scenic images to the cultural/spiritual inter-operation of Maori with their land. • There needs to be relevant exposure of Maori culture in all NZTB publications as of right. • Authorities will recognise and acknowledge the Maori component is important but won't promote it. • Use Maori images more because we are unique to New Zealand.

Some of the negative comments in relation to the marketing of New Zealand that were recorded include the following quotes from interviews:

> Our men look ferocious and savage. We are promoted as "come and see these ferocious natives". I don't think the whole haka image has been entirely positive, but it has been a necessary evil to promote the uniqueness of our culture.

> If there is control and done properly, it is OK to be used as a draw card. But at the same time they are using it as a draw card for the whole of Rotorua tourism. Then Maori need to be benefiting from that, and that is not what is happening.

As indicated in Table 17, discussion surrounding tourism imagery highlighted the need for Maori to be portrayed in more of a contemporary light:

> They way the 'face' of Maori is represented in almost all tourism publications could be said to be misrepresentative of today's Maori culture. For example the traditional costume of the Maori are no longer prominent today except for performances, however this is what is being portrayed in visual publications
>
> We have the confidence to now be "who we are" and just take that with us. Therefore our postcards should be able to project us in any day and way of life.

There was also some reference to Maori having to take more responsibility for getting appropriate messages out to the market place:

> It is our responsibility to promote and send out the right message. Not just send out that we can stand on marae and poke our tongues out. We do ourselves an injustice that way.

Although Maori recognise this responsibility it was noted that other non-Maori groups marketing New Zealand using Maori images must also acknowledge this responsibility. To this end it was suggested that more consultation with appropriate groups be facilitated and also that control and management of such marketing be devolved to Maori.

It was generally agreed that 'traditional images' were more acceptable where the attraction promoted actually provided this in their products and services. The greatest concern was for areas where this is not the case, for instance promotional literature by the New Zealand Tourism Board. The effects of not promoting the right images is of concern to Maori especially when they come into contact with foreigners and are not perceived as Maori. Many of those in attendance at the focus group said they had experienced the following situation when interacting with tourists:

> When people come here, they expect to see us on the streets wearing piupiu, or with (Maori) drawings on their faces - but they don't see them and when they see me, I'm not seen as a Maori. I want to be seen as a successful gardener, a farmer or on a fishing boat.

As indicated by one respondent, imagery if used appropriately could be an effective aid to the self-determination struggles.

> The use of our designs in and around the city and the ability for us to visit sites dedicated to the preservation of our culture like the Institute gives Te Arawa strength of identity. Tourism can be a vehicle for many things one being a positive identity for Maori.

4.5 Maori Relationship With the Natural Environment

Maori have a special relationship with their environment.

The Maori world view it based on philosophical premises, very different to those held by western European people. In Maori philosophy creation plays a fundamental role. All things in the natural world are seen as the progeny of Papatuanuku (maternal earth) and Ranginui (paternal sky). Because there is a common bond recognised in this order, Maori interrelate to the surrounding environment accordingly. Maori perceive the environment in a holistic way and see themselves as an intrinsic element of that environment. The holistic view is also reflected in the different dimensions that all aspects of the universe are understood to have. The dimensions include:

- Te taha wairua (spiritual)
- Te taha hinengaro(mental)
- Te taha tinana (physical and economic)

Wairuatanga refers to the spiritual dimension of Maori relationship with the environment. Mana whenua refers to the authority a tribe has over the land. Waahi tapu refers to sites of spiritual or cultural significance. Kaitiakitanga means guardianship and includes aspects of care and wise management. If a tribe has mana whenua over certain lands they concomitantly have the responsibility to act as caretakers/guardians.

Table 18 shows that most (70%) Maori indicated that the relationship that they have with the natural environment is very important. For Maori the environment is a part of who they are. It is a source of identity, strength, spirituality and nourishment.

Table 18
Importance of the Relationship that Maori have with the Natural Environment

Response	How important is the relationship that Maori have with the natural environment?					
	Operators'		Maori		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not at all important	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not important	0	0.0	1	5.9	1	2.7
Neutral	2	10.0	3	17.6	5	13.5
Important	3	15.0	2	11.8	5	13.5
Very Important	15	75.0	11	64.7	26	70.3
Total	**20**	**100.0**	**17**	**100.0**	**37**	**100.0**

In focus group discussions the key elements of Maori relationship with the natural environment were: wairuatanga, mana whenua, waahi tapu, kaitiakitanga and mahinga kai. Respondents were then asked to rank in order of importance the key elements of these relationships. Wairuatanga was recorded as the most important, followed by mana whenua, waahi tapu and kaitiakitanga. A point worth noting here is because of the interconnectedness of aspects in Maori culture the notion of wairuatanga actually encompasses elements of each of mana whenua, waahi tapu and kaitiakitanga.

The element of least importance to the survey respondents was 'good resource management' followed by mahinga kai and papakainga. The reason good resource management may have received little response could be because this concept is actually captured in kaitiakitanga which itself is an all-embracing term. There was some discussion of these inter-related terms with agreement that in protecting the wairuatanga element of the relationship Maori will actually be practising good resource management. Although translations of these terms are inexact, there is no doubt, however, that Maori have a strong interest in protecting the environment.

Another topic examined was the effect of tourism on the relationship that Maori have with the natural environment. The results indicate that respondents were split on this issue (Table 19).

Table 19
Effect of Tourism on Environmental Relationship

	Has tourism affected the relationship that Maori have with the natural environment?					
	Operators'		**Maori**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**
Yes	8	40.0	9	52.9	17	45.9
No	8	40.0	6	35.3	14	37.8
Don't know	4	20.0	2	11.8	6	16.2
Totals	**19**	**100.0**	**17**	**100.0**	**37**	**99.9**

One of the key issues for respondents, interviewees and survey responses was the ownership of the natural environment. Respondents felt that ownership was often not acknowledged by tourism operators nor some of the local and regional authorities. As a result Maori were not always been adequately consulted and involved in decision-making. As one respondent put it:

> Kaitiakitanga is not ours in some areas. We need a licence to fish on our own lakes.

While another respondent noted concerns about ….

> The overuse of areas that are special. Legislation and Ministers of the Crown making decisions without consultation and land use by creating reserves and putting DoC in charge.

Ownership issues are illustrated by the stories told by representatives for Ngati Pikiao who feel frustrated by their lack of input into the management of the Kaituna River. Because government has failed to recognise Ngati Pikiao's cultural and spiritual relationship with the river, the Tribe have had to take action through the Waitangi Tribunal and the Environment Court. They are frustrated by the bureaucratic systems and legislation, which they consider to be working against the best interests of iwi.

> Legislative restrictions and bureaucratic systems keep us, Te Arawa, disempowered.

The recent efforts of Te Runanga O Ngati Pikiao to control commercial activity on the River illustrate these problems. The Kaituna Report by the Waitangi Tribunal recognised Ngati Pikiao as the owners of the river. However Ngati Pikiao have not been able to exercise their rights as guardians of the river. Frustrated, Te Runanga O Ngati Pikiao sought alternative measures to gain control of their river. Under the Resource Management Act they filed for a Heritage Protection Authority over the upper Kaituna River. The then Minister of Environment did not support the application for reasons that remain unclear to the hapu. Te Runanga O Ngati Pikiao appealed the decline of their application for a Heritage Protection order which resulted in a judicial review. This review reversed the Minister's previous decision and Te Runanga O Ngati Pikiao were awarded court costs accordingly.

These dealings have left the hapu sceptical of future resource management and partnerships with the Crown. More recently, good working relationships have been established between the commercial operators and Maori land trusts occupying the Kaituna area, however, this has not involved the Crown.

Other respondents also noted problems associated with access to resources and waahi tapu:

> One of the biggest impacts has been the Crown's ownership of huge tracts of the environment, largely known as the DoC Estate, which restricts any hapu access to natural resources. The bush, for example, to gather paru (dirt, used for dying), other dying materials and rongoa. The other impact on Tuhourangi [is] Treaty claims in terms of having access. Once more, we have been restricted to visiting for many years. It's not so much the ownership. You don't personally own it, in terms of individual asset ownership - it's ours to enjoy. We want to be able to access it when we want to, not when others say we can. I get hoha (tired of) being treated like a minority - we are the Treaty partners. Sometimes the other partner like DoC think they own the bush, and they don't. They have a Kaitiakitanga role too, but the high-handedness and attitude shown by such Government agencies to iwi Maori, is unacceptable.

Thus local iwi are deeply frustrated about their lack of involvement in the management of many local resources.

Although sometimes tourism has had a negative effect on the natural environment, there have been times when problems have been addressed. It appears that in fact, tourism has had positive impacts on some of the outcomes sought by local Maori. For example, Tuhourangi's relationship with their ngawha (hot springs) has actually been improved as a result of tourism.

> A positive impact for Whakarewarewa…[was] in 1986 when the government decreed that all users of geothermal bores within a one-and-a-half kilometre radius of Whaka had to switch their bores off, principally because the geyser field was dying. My parents, especially my father who grew up in Whaka said there was 28 geysers on the geothermal field. Back in 1986 there were only about five that were erupting, the highest of which is the magnificent Pohutu, but it was not reaching the heights it was capable of. This was largely attributable to geothermal draw-off, especially by institutions like the Forest Research Institute [and], the Hotels all the way down Fenton Street. The interesting thing is that a lot of people thought that the hapu of Whaka - Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao were

> the main culprits. We have no bores in our pa even those of us that live on the outskirts; we have never drawn off the field the way other people have done. It was always our beliefs that we could use what ran over the surface of the ground and were averse to tampering with nature at the levels that some people had already done. One of the positive things was the closure of the bores.

After considerable debate, the Crown closed all bores within in a one kilometre radius of Whakarewarewa. This decision was made ultimately to ensure the geysers were still performing for tourists. Another example includes the inappropriate use of ngawha as follows:

> There was one incident at the institute …, that kaumatua of the hapu were incensed by. A platform was built around one of the ngawha and a basket of eggs lowered down to cook for the tourists' consumption. However the ngawha was considered tapu because it was likened to the inside of Hine-nui-te-po. As a result the terracing (platform) was taken down and the pool no longer presented in this manner.

However a number of other respondents reported that Maori had to fight to have some problems addressed.

> The widening of the road at Maketu was primarily being proposed to cater for the influx of visitors over the holiday periods. It was only after we (Te Arawa) initiated further consultation with Western Bay of Plenty Council to stress the cultural significance of this area that an alternative plan was proposed. We're not being unreasonable we just want fair acknowledgement of our heritage.

Some respondents provided suggestions on how the impacts from tourism may be minimised. One suggestion was in relation to the lakes under Tuhourangi's mana, where the respondent said a lot more can be done to monitor the craft that go on the lakes and people who have access to the lakes.

In spite of the issues surrounding ownership and Kaitiakitanga, there was some acknowledgement that some Maori have lost sight of the environment because they are looking only at commercial gain.

> Because of commercial gain and profits (money) Maori lose sight of the key elements, unfortunately.

It was strongly suggested at the focus group that these attitudes are note acceptable and as Maori the kaitiakitanga role must be maintained. It is important to note here that tourism is seen as only one of the contributing factors impacting on the natural environment.

> The negative impact on the environment is not from tourism alone. The development(s) had more to do with the … the lack of planning at that time. Our city fathers … would never have dreamt that there would be[so] many people to pollute the lake…. Tourism has done a lot for Rotorua. It has been an influence, it has allowed the town to develop…. Everybody has put quite an emphasis on attracting tourism here. I haven't seen too many negatives.

The closure of the gate between New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute and Whakarewarewa Village has had significant implications on Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao and their relationship with the environment. The significance of waahi tapu is central to Maori and accessibility to these areas is equally important. The following quotes were recorded from hapu representatives of Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao.

> So it is shame that the fence has been put up between the Institute and the Village..… That gate has blocked off access to our tupuna buried over there. I won't be pompous and say that the commercial part of it doesn't apply - that would be totally wrong. It does, it is very important. The worst part is, it is our cultural part that is being destroyed.

4.6 Management of Natural Resources

This section is not strictly related to a study of Maori tourism but is part of the broader environmental management issues, which are currently at the forefront for many iwi. Given that this area is topical and there are implications for tourism, it is covered in this report. Respondents were asked whether there was a role for Department of Conservation, Rotorua District Council, Environment Bay Of Plenty and iwi to help manage environmental resources effectively. The results of this question indicated that each of these bodies has a responsibility to manage the environment.

Several interviewees felt that Maori needed to take more responsibility for the management of these resources. In doing so they need to be more proactive and focused on sustainable development.

> We need sustainable development in several areas of our lives - environment, in ourselves as people, within our culture, economic development, and employment opportunities. The funny thing is sustainable development has become coin jargon with current day legislation and crown speak but our people always did things for a purpose. Our tupuna always did things for a purpose in terms of preservation for future generations to come. We have proverbs that tells us about that, we have living examples within our own lives about being told that you must do this for the future and hand that knowledge on. These are all about sustainability. However, I think with the threats encroaching on our territory/patch we have to tighten up a lot more in terms of sustainability and once again I come back to strategic plan -….

> Take for example heritage. Once a bulldozer goes over your land, it changes the shape of your land forever. It changes what history may be there. What protection mechanisms have we, as a tribe, got in place to protect the last vestiges of ancient pa sites that we have on our landscapes. Have we talked about this enough or are we just going to rely on the good old Council, Environment Bay of Plenty to look after things - they are the people that give out the resource consents. They are the people that allow the changes to happen on our landscape and then we wake up one day to discover it's gone and we get upset. Once again we miss the boat, so we've got to stop missing the boat in those areas and start being more pro-active in enforcing what protection mechanisms there are in place
>
> But ensuring sustainability will be determined by how well we educate our younger generations about the importance of retaining what we have. This is where we belong, we're not going to go and live anywhere else in the world but here. Implicit in that is growing your children up with very clear understanding of their identity, their place in the world and the things that they have got to be responsible for. Things they have custodianship over – the lakes, rivers, mountains, forests. Educating them about compliance issues – like it or lump it we still have to live with it. The best protection we can afford what we have is the protection we give it ourselves.

Comments recorded in the surveys and discussion during the focus groups made reference to how each of the above organisations needed to be working collectively. Information and communication were seen as the two vital ingredients required for this to occur. Other aspects that would enhance this relationship are Government support, kaumatua involvement, an understanding of the cultural and spiritual significance of these resources. All commentators suggested that Government organisations must acknowledge the role of hapu and iwi in managing[5] these resources, and they should provide adequate resources so the job can be done effectively, which is in keeping with the Treaty of Waitangi. Respondents felt that the Government's role could be improved by consulting more effectively with tangata whenua so

[5] The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment 1997 has noted four principles which are particularly relevant to heritage management and tourism:

- **Partnership**
  The interests the Treaty give rise to a partnership exercised with utmost good faith. This will affect how environmental decisions are made and implies a greater participation by Maori in decision-making.
- **Tino Rangatiratanga**
  'Full chieftainship' or 'tribal control' as guaranteed by Article II includes the management of resources and other taonga according to Maori cultural preferences. Balance between Maori interests and Crown authority is necessary.
- **Active Protection**
  That the Maori interest should be actively protected by the Crown especially through the word 'guarantee' of Article II.
- **The National Interest**
  That the Treaty must change with the times, and adapt to remain relevant to our times; and that the needs of both Maori and the wider community must be met which will require compromise on both sides.

that they have a better understanding of the way Maori think about the environment. A number of focus group participants perceived local authorities and DoC as focusing too much on money.

However, as the following quotes demonstrate, there is confusion about legal standing and the roles and responsibilities of various agencies and groups.

> DoC and local iwi/hapu should have a partnership arrangement so that eventually, iwi/hapu can be more responsible for government administered/iwi hapu owned lands.
>
> We are a bicultural society and should work together to give the best back to our environment.
>
> Iwi/hapu have the rangatiratanga, others provide the funding and labour etc to achieve objectives set by hapu.
>
> The councils and DoC are the decision-makers who should be making the decisions for the benefit of the people and the land. Iwi/hapu should provide information and be consulted and represent tangata whenua in the decision-making process also.

The potential for constructive consultation is well illustrated by the Te Arawa Trust Board's policy on a Lakes Strategy. Te Arawa's concern over the management of the Lakes has resulted in them initiating a joint management strategy with the Rotorua District Council and the Bay of Plenty Regional Council. Te Arawa want to achieve the following four objectives through this agreement:

1. Issues and areas of interest and concern to the tangata whenua, prioritised where possible;
2. Ground rules set for a relationship with tangata whenua and consent authorities;
3. Respective responsibilities of tangata whenua and the consent authority documented;
4. In appropriate cases, power be transferred to iwi authorities or delegated to Maori consultative committees under sections 33 and 34 of the Resource Management Act (Te Arawa Trust Board, 1997:3).

It is the Board's opinion that the ownership of, and the mana over, the Lakes belongs to, and rests absolutely with, the iwi and hapu of Te Arawa. The lakes are a part of Te Arawa. They sustain the iwi and hapu in the same way that blood sustains the human body. Maori consider that to manage the Lakes by granting various water rights and permitting discharges of effluent into the Lakes is akin to taking Te Arawa's blood and discharging waste back into Papatuanuku (the earth mother).

Based on these strong beliefs the consultative process cannot therefore be a simple process of tokenism. Te Arawa wish to control the process and ultimately decide what is taken from the body of Papatuanuku and what is to be discharged back. In preparing the Lakes Management Strategy, Te Arawa Trust Board attempted to demonstrate how a consultative process should be managed from an iwi perspective. It is the iwi view that alongside the legal framework under which Council and EBOP must operate there are matters which need to be addressed at a practical level:

> The most commonly misunderstood feature of the consultation process with tangata whenua is the failure to recognise the tribal nature of iwi politics. It is essential with regard to the most important issues that a series of hui is held with each hapu and marae affected by the particular proposal or alternatively a mechanism put in place to allow each hapu access to information and a channel though which they may communicate their views and concerns. (Te Arawa Trust Board, 1997:6).

Often local authorities and District Councils do not know the membership of constituent hapu, the location of relevant marae or the proper authority with whom to consult. These relatively simple administrative matters further serve to frustrate easy consultation or build trust between Maori and Government agencies.

A final issue on management of the environment was compensation for resource use. Respondents were asked to what extend hapu/iwi were receiving direct monetary compensation where their environmental and cultural resources were being used for commercial activities. Table 20 shows that the majority indicated that only sometimes was compensation received by hapu and iwi, two indicated that this never happened while three said it always happened.

Table 20
Extent of Monetary Compensation for Resource Use

	To what extent are hapu/iwi receiving direct monetary compensation where their environmental and cultural resources are being used for commercial activities?					
	Operators		**Maori**		**Total**	
Response	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**
Never	1	5.0	1	5.9	2	5.4
Sometimes	16	80.0	14	82.3	30	81.1
Always	2	10.0	1	5.9	3	8.1
No response	1	5.0	1	5.9	2	5.4
Totals	**20**	**100.0**	**17**	**100.0**	**37**	**100.0**

A subsequent question on importance for hapu/iwi receiving compensation elicited the following responses (Table 21).

Table 21
Importance of Hapu/Iwi Receiving Compensation

	How important is it hapu/iwi get direct monetary compensation where their environmental and cultural resources are being used for commercial activities?					
	Operators		Maori		Total	
Response	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**
Not at all important	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not important	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	2.7
Neutral	3	15.0	2	11.7	5	13.6
Important	4	20.0	1	5.9	5	13.6
Very important	12	60.0	14	82.4	26	70.1
Totals	**20**	**100.0**	**17**	**100.0**	**37**	**100.0**

Clearly, respondents thought it was very important that hapu and iwi receive direct monetary compensation where their environmental and cultural resources are being deployed for commercial activity. There was a lot of reference to the Lakes not providing a reasonable return to Te Arawa as illustrated in the quotation below.

> The compensation we have been getting of late has been minimal. Where there's compensation, it has always been less than the market value. If you look at the issue of trout fishing, $38M the trout fishing industry managed to over the last 12 months - some phenomenal amount like that for licenses, petrol and oil, spark plugs - so its a huge industry. Compared to these millions, Maori are getting pittance for the Lakes. I certainly think the income that we get is disproportional to what we should be getting. Its all about, Maori having that control, or should have that control and that money would go some way towards ensuring that resources stay viable.

This matter caused some dissension in the tourism industry and the wider Rotorua community when it was clearly outlined in the proposed Lakes Management Strategy that Te Arawa would be seeking compensation or payment of some sort from commercial operators utilising the Lakes.

4.7 Improving Maori Tourism

This section presents the *research participants' suggestions and recommendations* for improving Maori participation in tourism. These recommendations are classified according to whether they require Government action or action from Maori. The final two subsections draw on the operators' survey to report views on planning and barriers to business success. A final chapter draws together the author's overall recommendations.

4.7.1 Government Contribution

First and foremost, respondents want Government to acknowledge Te Tiriti O Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi). The Treaty has implications for representation, control, consultation and communication. The following quotes support this.

> They (Government) have a part to play. In anything they are promoting they need to make sure their (treaty) partner is there.

> Governments of today have never ever seriously contemplated Maori as No.1 contenders in the tourism industry. The promotion of blue skies, green fields and woolly sheep is got to be one of the biggest insults, in terms of the indigenous people of this country and its culture in terms of the nation's heritage. I cannot understand why the Government, or the Government through its Tourism Board, fails to acknowledge that Maori and what Maori has to offer is not added-value - we are the value! There is no serious acknowledgement at that level of heritage, of the ancestral landscape - maybe it's not sexy enough. If you go to Europe or South America the greatest draw card is the history of the land, the histories of the people.

> Establish a NZ Maori Tourism Board (with resources equal to NZTB). The current NZTB should relinquish control.

> Settle all claims before the (Waitangi) tribunal.

> Allow local trust boards to become independent of Government but provide funding for this to happen.

Maori representation on the New Zealand Tourism Board was seen as critical to the development of Maori tourism. It was also felt that representation needed to be followed through with the development of a separate Maori tourism policy. Within the operational arm of the Board there should be more Maori representation. There was a comment made suggesting the Maori publicity officer position, developed as one of the Maori tourism task force report recommendations should be re-established or at least reviewed.

Other policy development suggestions included:

> Policy changes such as to the zoning of Maori land reclassification and nationally funding of Maori ad/branding agency.

> Create jobs for Maori so that they are not seen to be walking the streets by tourists.

The Maori tourism operators were very clear that the NZTB need to maintain Maori culture as the icon of New Zealand tourism. They saw this as an advantage for both their businesses and the wider industry also because it is the most unique selling point for Aotearoa.

> Ensure Maori culture and imagery are No. 1.

There were several suggestions for Government to facilitate and assist Maori development through the provision of entrepreneurial courses:

> Put more funds into learning institutes for tourism curricula.
>
> Strongly endorse the development of local Maori entrepreneurial tourism development.
>
> Offer workshops of fund Maori to set up their own workshops. Give support by way of advice etc. to Maori in business or those setting up.
>
> Funding for polytechnics/university grants aimed at Maori, in particular who want to promote their own culture and assure authenticity.
>
> Offer more training opportunities - encourage more Maori initiatives - look after the "product" that is unique to New Zealand - the Maori
>
> Others recognised the same education/support requirements, but saw the need for stronger Maori initiative. Tell us there is NO money to hand out but be able to facilitate the best environment in which Maori can become leaders. There is too much reliance of government bodies to carry what essentially is a Maori challenge.

At a local level there was a call from some of those in attendance at the focus group for the Government to hand over control of the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute to local Maori. There was considerable concern that the Board of Directors were ministerial appointments. They felt that Te Arawa, or Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi in particular needed to have some input into decisions, effecting the running of this key site.

In terms of marketing regionally the following improvements were suggested:

> Ensure the core 'Maori' strengths relationships of your region are encouraged regionally.
>
> Invest in local marketing and involve tangata whenua.
>
> Recognise that Maori cultural dimensions of New Zealand's tourism "uniqueness" is essential and as such is a serious/significant business.

4.7.2 Maori Contribution

Several operators referred to good business practice and the importance of maintaining professionalism in the industry. There were also numerous suggestions for stronger networking to occur amongst Maori businesses. This was seen as an advantage and a relatively easy way to strengthen Maori tourism development. As well as networking with other Maori there should also be more involvement with the wider industry.

> Work together - united we are a force - until then it is difficult to work nationally.

> Become involved/participate in Tourism Rotorua activities.

> Work together and have faith in each other's potential. We need to set up a support system for each region.

There were several comments suggesting that Maori need to take more of the opportunities offered by tourism. Although some participants were stressing the "just do it" mentality, others indicated that it was not that easy and often they were limited by lack of finances.

> Just taking the opportunities, believing in themselves would be helpful. Ensuring they have the right skills to develop whatever venture they want to, and if they haven't, join with someone else - share it, don't lose it. We've had a long history of being told that we're not very successful at some things. If you hear it often enough, you do get a bit scared to have a go. But if they take a book out, a leaf out of some of the other ventures that are around and see how they got started - it's the same old thing. If you've got the initiative and the ability to work hard - it doesn't take a lot. It takes commitment, honesty and hard work. We've all got the ability to do that, and Maori still owe it to themselves to do those things.

It was also felt that Maori needed to explore alternatives to just the cultural products and services as well as start working together more. These ideas are captured in the quote below.

> People still need to look at what are the niche areas. There has to be more than just the haka and doing the concert thing. People are looking for more experiential things. Before we have lost that environment we need to capture that one. There is more opportunity for rural Marae to develop. If we capture some of that collective thinking and learn to all work together, see if we could put the pool into the middle of us, we can trust there will be something there for everybody. We have become very individualistic where money is concerned and profit. Maybe we had those sort of patterns given to us. It is good to have workers, good to be the boss, but we have forgotten that we can have several bosses and collectively we can do a lot more together. If you have to do it on your own, people will spend a lot of their time trying to trip you over or compete against you.

A part of seizing these opportunities requires skilled and educated people. Many made references to the value of educating the young to ensure hapu and iwi are in a position to capitalise on opportunities.

> If Tuhourangi wanted it, it could really step up the game - quite significantly. At the moment, they are thinking very seriously about the economic growth strategies that they will be able to take in terms of a growing economy. Which in turn contributes significantly to the local economy. Looking at niche marketing opportunities, which are going to put them in as front runners in the tourism arena.

Many suggested that Maori needed to upskill and become better qualified to be successful in the tourism industry.

> For those Maori genuinely interested in promoting their culture attend university/ polytechnic that teach in the fields of tourism and take what they have learnt to a destination where they think Maori can be presented at their best.
>
> Upskill so we become managers.
>
> Control I feel is tino rangatiratanga- Maori need to move up the ranks and be in control of their destiny in all areas not just tourism. If we have control we are the ones who can make the best decisions for our people and provide a solid base for the future. Education of all people of Maori, of local communities, of tourists, of councils and boards who have an interest in tourism. If there is education this will help to create a better cultural understanding, empower our people and provide support and confidence in Maori tourism initiatives. This involves learning about the Treaty, the importance of kawa and tikanga, the need for consultation and the use of appropriate images.

Also emphasised was the need to have a vision:

> Te Arawa needs to have a vision. …. Te Arawa is here forever. Te Arawa is not going to go away. This is Te Arawa's place in the world and we need to plan for a successful future that includes strategies to improve our self-sufficiency and sustainability as a people and as a tribe. Te Arawa has got a significant asset base, and research and analysis need to be carried out in terms of reconciling the value of that asset base. In terms of dollars it is valued at about $1.8 billion, but there are opportunities that exist within that asset base that can yield greater opportunities for education and economic development. Te Arawa really needs to get its executive caps on and start thinking at an executive level about translating a $1.8 billion asset-base into realistic opportunities that would go a long way to assisting the future for the mokopuna. Te Arawa survival is highly dependant on its numbers but the key to more people to a greater Te Arawa

> population lies in how well we grow those next generations up. What we currently have is not good - its a 'band aid' approach that is being adopted and is quite debilitating in terms of erosion of the personal mana, mauri of our people. Growing our people strong, educating them well, has got to be paramount strategies in terms of our future sustainability.

One of the key ingredients to tourism development is planning and Maori need to take a more pro-active approach towards this as suggested by one interviewee.

> We really have to stop talking too much, we don't plan enough. We talk about a plan and dreams but when it comes to putting the dream to reality along the way it is like being on a ghost train - its nightmarish. We need to plan strategically and share that plan far and wide in Te Arawa. This has got to be one of the first things to be done. There are a lot more of us that know how to do these things and Te Arawa should not hesitate in pulling in the rangatahi. There are a lot of rangatahi highly qualified with degrees who are out there, doing other work because they don't know how they can best serve the Tribe. The Te Arawa Tribe are not being pro-active enough in using putea to put these people to work in terms of research and analysis that needs to be done to assist the Tribe to plan strategically for the future. The year 2000 the plan should be in place then, for the next 25 years.

A number of constraints were identified in regards to Te Arawa developing successfully. These need to be addressed before Maori tourism can improve. Many of these constraints are summed up in the following quote from one hapu representative.

> We need to stop dealing with personalities [and] deal with the issues instead. I think it's helping our people to trust each other, to trust the decisions that they make and to act upon the decisions they make. I think the iwi needs a lot of confidence building. Those of us who have had a far greater education than most, ought not to polarise ourselves from a good 65 per cent of our people who need to be brought up to speed with where they roughly should be. I have staggering statistics today about where our people are in relation to, sex, crime, primary school suspensions - I don't want our people to be there I think it is behoved of those of us who have got a clear moral responsibility to do their damnedest to put in place some solutions to stop what is happening to our people in those areas of crime, unemployment that whole socio-economic bracket. Make no bones about it, I have no qualms about our people being rich and being rich for me, means being rich in health, being rich in education, having warmth, having some security, being rich culturally, physically, mentally you name it. I cannot see why this cannot be achieved. I don't think it is impossible at all. But I think there are huge dollops of selfishness running through the tribe and a lot of us are very 'whakahihi' (show off) about what we do know and if you get off on that "kei te pai". But it doesn't pay to be whakahihi about what you know - share it with the rest of the world. Likewise you don't have to be whakama (shy, embarrassed) about what you don't know either if you don't know - Ask. I think communication is absolutely imperative - good, clear, accurate, factual communication. It is also important that whoever is communicating messages to our people that it is a communicator that the people trust and that whatever is being

> communicated is workable and achievable, by them, not by a handful of people. It is important that our people understand their own source of power within themselves as individuals and within us as a tribe collectively. Their individual contribution is all important to the power and to the mana of Te Arawa.

Other suggestions for the Maori contribution to improve Maori tourism development included;

> Hold hui on potential viable tourist ventures - use whanau/hapu resources.
>
> Being more rational, not being so pig headed about tribal issues.
>
> Tribally sensitive and with a vision or goal to aspire.
>
> Learning to understand that tourism development will benefit all New Zealand not just Maori.
>
> Be informed, education on things Maori, no humbug jokes, have a real face.
>
> Put past issues behind and strive for better things for the good of our tamariki and mokopuna.
>
> Stop moaning about the impact of colonisation.
>
> Be a strong and forceful voice and not be pushed around by our Treaty partner, make them listen.
>
> All iwi have representatives on some sort of tourism committee to discuss current state of industry, opportunities, creating networks etc.
>
> Pull together - portray a united well-informed people.
>
> Make sure that interpretations of Tiki etc. are the same.

4.7.3 Maori Businesses: Barriers and Responses

The Maori Tourism business operators' survey provides the opportunity to learn from Maori businesses about some of the problems they have experienced in starting up and persisting in business. This is particularly relevant since many have started in recent years and have timely experience. Table 22 shows what the operators saw as the main barriers to establishing their businesses.

Table 22
Barriers When Establishing Maori Tourism Business

Barriers	What barriers did your business face when establishing?	
	Frequency	% Business Mentions (n=20)[1]
Tall poppy syndrome	7	35.0
Service providers suspicious of Maori	6	30.0
Accessing Finance	5	25.0
Other	5	25.0
Multiple ownership	4	20.0
Hapu/iwi protocols	2	10.0
Totals	**29** [1]	**- n/a**

Note: 1. Sample n=20, total allows for multiple responses.

The main barriers reported were accessing finance, service provider suspicions and the tall poppy syndrome. There is little change for the operators' now: Table 23 shows that as they reported similar data for current barriers.

Table 23
Barriers for Current Maori Tourism Businesses

Barriers	What barriers does your business currently face?	
	Frequency	% Business Mentions (n=20)[1]
Service providers suspicious of Maori	5	25.0
Tall poppy syndrome	5	25.0
Accessing finance	3	15.0
Multiple ownership	1	5.0
Hapu/iwi protocols	1	5.0
Other	3	15.0
No response	2	10.0
Totals	**18** [1]	**- n/a**

In discussion other barriers businesses faced during establishment and currently were reported as:

- Adapting to Pakeha/business/industry standards;
- Pakeha ignorance of matters Maori and trying to tell us how to do things their way;
- Competition from Government-based places, and Pakeha who want authenticity and do not know what that is;
- Breaking even – need to concentrate on achieving small profits;
- Management has changed from the original;
- Contract/partnership between hotel and local people (me);
- My own commitment to it.

However, despite the reporting of barriers there was ready acknowledgement of strengths that led to business success. Table 24 shows that these were mainly whanau support and the development of business expertise.

Table 24
Strengths for Maori Tourism Business Success

	What strengths have lead to business success?	
Strengths	**Frequency**	**% Business Mentions (n=20)**[1]
Business expertise	10	50.0
Whanau support	8	40.0
Other	6	30.0
Support networks	4	20.0
Multiple ownership	2	10.0
Service providers for Maori organisations	1	5.0
Totals	**31** [1]	**- n/a**

Note: 1. Sample n=20, total allows for multiple responses.

The strengths that have led to the success of Maori tourism businesses are not relying on others and just getting on with, consistency and hard work, life experience, having Maori managers in Tourism Rotorua, loyalty to staff. The latter factor is illustrated in the following quote.

> Putting our performers first and making sure they are our prime consideration in accepting any extra work i.e. we pay our people by the hour no matter what part of the hour they have worked (no professional is paid by the minute!).

Although business expertise was seen as a success factor the majority of those in business had no formal qualifications in this area. Rather they had learned through doing or were still learning through doing. Several participating in the focus group indicated that they would be interested in developing these skills further.

Most operators saw consultation as very important as they perceived culture to be collectively owned. In particular, where culture contributed to the product or service, it was imperative that consultation occurred. For most, consultation occurred at whanau and hapu levels. There was also reference by some operators to kaumatua providing a mentoring role in regards to tikanga. The following quote was recorded from the operators' focus group.

> There must be consultation between the tourism operators and iwi/hapu, so those things like waahi tapu are not desecrated. Operators must have some understanding of the culture if they are to portray Maori to visitors. Wairuatanga is the basis on which understanding is built.

Although they say tourism is important most (75%) consulted with iwi only sometimes, or not at all (Table 25).

Table 25
Extent of Iwi Consultation

Response	How often does your business consult with iwi?	
	Frequency	**%**
Never	2	10.0
Sometimes	13	65.0
Always	5	25.0
Totals	**20**	**100.0**

Consultation was discussed in some depth with the cultural adviser of Rotorua District Council, who concluded that:

> Never have tourism operators approached me for advice on the subject. The only group that seeks advice is Tourism Rotorua and I suspect that is because the general manager is Maori.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has reported the views of Maori on a number of tourism-related issues. It includes views on the effects of tourism on Maori and Maori adaptation to tourism, on the Maori relationship with the natural resources and their management, on the use of souvenirs and on how to improve Maori tourism. These topics are summarised in the concluding chapter and used to discuss improving Maori tourism in more detail.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Summary of Results

The main objective of this study was to develop an understanding of tourism and Maori development in Rotorua. The specific objectives were to produce an historical account of Maori tourism, examine responses to tourism, including current use and changes in the expression of Maori culture and to examine the relationship between Maori and the natural environment. The research is aimed at enhancing the ability of new and established tourist operators developing Maori tourism in ways that sustain Maori culture.

The research process followed recognised protocols typical of culturally appropriate research and was sensitive to the historic context of Te Arawa in Rotorua. The research was based on three main sources of data: a survey and focus group of Maori tourism operators, personal interviews with hapu representatives and focus groups with Maori in the community.

Before presenting the main results an historical account of the development of Maori in tourism provided context to the contemporary situation and showed that there has been a movement from a position of control of tourism management to one of less direct influence. Tourism has been part of the Te Arawa for 200 years even though the Tarawera eruption caused a shift in location to Rotorua. Maori women have played an important role in supporting tourism. In 1981, (Te Awekotuku) in a major review saw tourism as benefiting Te Arawa but participation in decision and policy making was seen as very limited.

There are a number of contemporary issues in Maori tourism, including barriers to Maori participation, attaining government help, using tourism to support Maori culture and protecting Maori cultural and intellectual property. Current Maori tourism operators cover a wide range of tourism businesses, most market themselves as Maori tourism businesses and most have been in operation less than 11 years. Most have relatively low turnovers and nearly all feature Maori culture in their tourism business.

Maori report both good and bad effects from tourism, so that while some saw tourism as promoting their culture and self-determination, others saw it as disempowering. There was similar ambivalence regarding Maori adaptation to tourism, however most respondents considered that Maori had adapted well to cultural performances and guiding. Kapa haka provides employment and cultural training, but its repetition can cause burnout and its standardisation can move the performances away from the original style. Maori acknowledged that success in national competitions was, in part, based on tourism performances. The presentation of Maori culture was seen by a majority of respondents as a misrepresentation. There were concerns about relevance, consultation, control and authenticity.

Generally, most respondents believed that the presentation of Maori culture has changed over time to cater for tourism demands but not in ways that significantly affect the practice of Maori culture. Presentation of Maori culture must use tikanga (rules for living) as a guide for protocol, especially for operations based on a marae. Further, control of tikanga must rest with hapu and iwi in recognition of the collective ownership of the culture.

Maori respondents indicated that their relationship with the environment was important especially with respect to Wairuatanga and Mana whenua. However, they were divided in their opinion about the effect of tourism on this relationship. Some were concerned about ownership and control of natural resources, but there was acknowledgement that tourism had benefited Tuhourangi's relationship with ngawha. Maori are seeking to obtain greater input into management of environmental resources and there was concern that Maori did not receive adequate compensation for resource use.

Improving Maori tourism required contributions from both government and Maori. Regarding the former, Maori said that they wanted better recognition from government and greater influence in the New Zealand Tourism Board and more independence in local Trust Boards and the Maori Art and Crafts Institute. Regarding the latter, Maori sought responsibility for improving Maori tourism by working co-operatively, being positive, seeking alternatives and through education, vision and planning. One constraint on development is a lack of collective responsibility among Maori whereby some who are successful could share, communicate and help others in need. The Maori tourism operators reported that their main barriers were accessing finance, service provider suspicion and the tall poppy syndrome. However, they identified business expertise and whanau support as key strengths for business success.

5.2 Interpretation: the Situation for Maori and Tourism Today

Te Awekotuku (1981) summed up the history of Te Arawa and tourism by stating that tourism has helped Te Arawa. She said also that women had played an essential and decisive role in shaping Te Arawa tourism, that Maori participation in policy and decision-making had been very limited, and that Maori were put off from entering businesses directly and preferred to lease sites to others.

While these issues remain valid today, with only minor changes, some Maori do continue to benefit from tourism and some see that Maori have adapted well to cultural performances and guiding. Maori tourism businesses have increased in number in recent years with eight out of 21 starting in the last two to four years and 17 starting in the last ten years, that is, since Te Awekotuku's thesis. Some of these Maori business operators have demonstrated successful innovation and entrepreneurship.

Despite the possibility of improvements in the situation for Maori in Rotorua in the late 1990s the results of this study show that there are some strong feelings among Maori that need to be addressed. First, there is a strong feeling that Rotorua would not have the recognition, as one of New Zealand's most popular tourism destinations, without the contribution of Maori culture. Although the Rotorua economy has grown because of tourism, the benefits were not seen to have had such a positive impact on Maori. Participants in the research spoke of high unemployment rates and Maori achieving poorly in other areas such education. The tourism employment that has been achieved by Maori is thought to be generally lowly skilled and unrewarding. Concerns about seasonality, low wages and monotonous work were identified.

Second, tourism was seen to have affected the relationship Maori have with the environment. Accessibility, lack of acknowledgement of cultural and spiritual significance, and ownership were the issues of most importance to Maori.

Third, there has been little control over incipient commercialisation of the culture as there is no body responsible for monitoring or governing this. Because culture is a 'public' resource, that is anyone is able to use it as they see fit, it's use requires some form of monitoring.

Although the above concerns were often voiced there was still clearly an acceptance of tourism by Maori and a positive attitude towards actively seeking benefits from tourism development. It was acknowledged that tourism is here, Te Arawa is here, and neither is going away. A number of factors contributed to the acceptance of tourism including the long-standing history (and therefore involvement of one's tupuna in Maori tourism), because it provides employment and economic benefits, Te Arawa resources lend themselves to tourism, and because it is a training ground for Maori performers and youth. However, the question continually being asked is how can tourism best work for Te Arawa?

Te Awekotuku's conclusion that Maori participation in policy and decision-making needed improvement is supported by many of the comments from Maori reported above. However, while this view is popular it needs to be tempered with the following observations. First, Maori are in influential positions in Rotorua tourism e.g., RTAB has Maori representation through the Maori Tourism Portfolio. MACI although government owned, consults extensively with Te Arawa (this was evident in the recent review forced by Te Arawa and resulting new appointments being made to better reflect the Te Arawa involvement), and recently Mike Tamaki has been appointed to the NZTB.

Second, some of the comments reported earlier were idealistic in that they suggested that the preferred goal was complete autonomy even when government funds were involved (e.g., of NZTB, MACI, RTAB). It is unrealistic in the current policy environment for any group to use government funds without careful scrutiny or accountability.

Differences in perceptions amongst the different stakeholder groups were less apparent than the researchers had anticipated. There was little difference between the perceptions of Maori residents and Maori tourism operators. One of the hapu who had managed to control tourism in their village were keen to develop further whereas the other (who had less control) were more reluctant to develop further because of over commercialisation. Respondents felt that Te Arawa are acknowledged as great performers, but there were some suggestions that Te Arawa are 'sell outs', especially in relation to kapa haka. While the data presented in this report do not support this belief, the Te Arawa people feel that this is the case.

Non-Te Arawa respondents viewed cultural tourism in Rotorua as a Te Arawa domain. They acknowledged the long-standing history of their involvement. There were aspects of tourism that they said their hapu would be averse to such as plasticising performance and operating tourism on marae. Because of these two factors, several indicated that they would be reluctant to enter the cultural tourism domain and that ultimately it should be the Te Arawa story that is told in Rotorua. Te Arawa were also acknowledged by non-Te Arawa as great performers outside of the tourism arena and particularly at the national Maori Performing Arts festival.

Thus any assessment of the situation of Maori and tourism in Rotorua must acknowledge that with respect to tourism it is Te Arawa who dominate. However, there are a number of non-Te Arawa Maori in Rotorua and it is possible that they benefit least from tourism.

Prior to European times Te Arawa Maori gave birth to and nurtured a fledgling tourism industry. Early activity saw Maori involvement in all aspects of the industry: transport, accommodation and guiding. Over time Government led infrastructure designed to facilitate tourism development within Rotorua also had the unintended consequence of slowly displacing Maori from key jobs and income earning opportunities in the tourism supply chain. While today it is recognised that there is a "tourism" and a "Maori" culture, Maori in Rotorua continue to look to tourism as a valid and viable form of development.

A few Maori businesses exist, however, only a small proportion of Maori find themselves in managerial roles. The general conclusion is one of ongoing economic marginalisation as tourism businesses become more heavily capitalised and competitive and "tourists" tastes more sophisticated, vexatious issues over such matters as intellectual property rights, access to a return from, the granting of access rights, definitions of authenticity, remain. Much of this has to do with the public and intangible nature of "culture" and the need for strong leadership and advocacy within Maori of how culture can be both deployed for commercial gain and protected for future generations.

Notwithstanding the above, Maori have demonstrated they are capable of running successful tourism enterprises, and, with the appropriate cultural safeguards and protocol, are generally optimistic about ongoing tourism development in Rotorua. It is towards ensuring these outcomes that this report now turns.

5.3 Implications for Developing Maori Tourism

The results of this study show that Maori tourism can be successful. Tourism operator numbers have increased in recent years. The indications from these operators are that whanau support and business skills are critical ingredients, both in establishing a business and in current operations. This means that Maori entering tourism business need to consider seriously their support base. Factors to consider are the availability of whanau, general support and encouragement from whanau.

An important issue to emerge during this research is that of ownership and control of natural and cultural resources. Many Maori see the success of New Zealand tourism as relying on Maori culture as an attraction. However, Maori are not all benefiting from it. Their response is to seek use rights so that they can benefit from their culture, which in economic terms is a public good, or common property resource. The non Maori view generally is that value is created by entrepreneurial endeavour and this is the means by which benefit is achieved. Proponents of such a view are antagonistic to the former view seeing compensation for use of or access to cultural resources as a tax on a general or public good. These conflicts limit the prospects for Maori seeking greater autonomy on boards that are government funded.

Maori need to be encouraged to participate in the business skills courses available to them. The importance of business skills was largely recognised by Maori in tourism and many acknowledged the need to develop these further. The promotion of such courses needs to target Maori more effectively because many were unaware of what was available.

A fundamental issue here is the nature of Maori business and the possibility of achieving success in business terms while at the same time meeting requirements of Maori cultural norms and values. Tikanga was seen as the foundation for this relationship, providing the rules and conduct to guide Maori wanting to achieve the two objectives. The flip side of the coin is that Tikanga will only prevail if it is upheld by the people, tikanga alone is not the answer.

There is evidence that the nature of some of the new Maori businesses is distinctive as they are being developed and managed on a co-operative basis, thereby demonstrating both business success while sustaining Maori values. Here the involvement of kaumatua and other hapu members in an advisory capacity has enhanced the development of some businesses. Some argued strongly that there is no place for hapu involvement, mainly because of the time it takes to discuss and approve anything. This does not work in a capitalist working environment. It appears therefore that there are at least two different ways to operate 1) a strictly business model and 2) a business and hapu model. To maximise economic and cultural sustainability a combination of these two models should be considered. This will however require further research.

We make the following **recommendations** to promote Maori tourism business:

National Level

- Maintain and strengthen Maori involvement in key agencies such as TNZ, previously the NZ Tourism Board. At the operational level there is an ongoing need for Maori staff.

- That Te Puni Kökiri (TPK) continue its initiatives (e.g., Maori Tourism Directory (1998), Closing the Gaps in Tourism (2000)) and provide a national policy perspective for Maori tourism.

- That TNZ fully support the current restructuring of the Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation and assist in resourcing it's new role as the marketing arm for Maori Tourism.

- TNZ continue to promote the use of the Maori resource kit to industry to ensure the effective use of Maori images in advertising/promotion. Further to this, TNZ strengthen consultation in this area to include regional Maori Tourism organisations and Trust Boards.

Local Level

This research has focussed at the local Rotorua level and it is here that the most direct practical steps can be taken.

Institutions/Consultations

Consultation is a pre-requisite to understanding. Lack of consultation over resource access and use, tikanga practice, and 'image' stand out as key concerns. We recommend that:

- The Tourism Rotorua maintain the Maori tourism portfolio group, support the Maori in (tourism) business group.

- The Te Arawa MTB maintain a register of key contracts and develop and promulgate a protocol for consultation with local hapu (over environmental matters).

- That the Regional Council and DoC continue to improve their consultation programmes.

- Te Arawa Maori Trust Board establish tourism strategies as part of the Te Arawa economic development plan.

- The resource base of Te Arawa trusts and incorporations, which it currently under-utilised be capitalised upon with improved, management facilities.

Business Skills

While there is a slowly increasing number of Maori tourism businesses a number of stumbling blocks have been notified. Key steps to overcome these include:

- Establish a business mentoring programme – whereby well established businesses can be contracted to provide support and guidance to businesses for an established time period. Further research will be needed to ascertain whether this needs to be established on a professional/consultant basis.

- Maori be actively supported to take management courses in business.

- Younger Maori be encouraged (sponsored) to undertake education (Polytechnics/ University) in various aspects of tourism.

- The local Maori in tourism group could initiate a number of practical steps that both advocate for the group and add to business skills. Examples include:
  - Seminars: marketing
    cash flow management
    personnel management

- Advocacy is required to engender positive community attitudes towards Maori business success. New businesses require mentoring in both 'business' and 'Maori protocol'.

5.4 Limitations and Implications for Future Research

The Maori research protocol adopted in this study worked well in that a total of four hui were successfully held and useful interview data were obtained on the key topics deriving from the research objectives. The operators' survey had responses from 20 out of 43 in total. The survey has worked well probably because as businesses they were used to that mode of communication. Similarly the interviews with hapu representatives worked well. The co-ordination and timing of the interviews was a difficult task to manage but because the researcher was Te Arawa and known by many, most made time to meet with the researcher. Focus groups with other Maori in the community also worked well in generating discussion from different individuals. The interactive modes of research, word mapping, focus group and general discussions appear to have worked well with Maori.

As with all research a number of limitations remain. First, an oversight was made on the researchers part to include demographic questions in the surveys therefore little could be drawn in regards to tribal affiliations. However during the focus groups of both Maori in the community and tourism operators an attendance list was distributed and required those present to indicate their tribal affiliations. Most (90%) were of Te Arawa descent. The viewpoints expressed here therefore relate mainly to Te Arawa. No accurate conclusions can therefore be drawn about all Maori residents in Rotorua.

Second, while every effort was made to contact a wide range of people in the community some obstacles resulted in a fairly low response rate. Such obstacles included the reliance on the general residents survey[6] to identify the focus group sample, where, for example the sizeable proportion of Maori not on the phone would have been excluded from the general sample. Only 25 Maori from the general sample indicated further involvement in the Maori tourism research, which is significantly lower than what was anticipated. In all communities there will be individuals who are not conversant and comfortable with participating in this type of research. This was particularly notable amongst kuia who were contacted for interviews and declined very apologetically, quickly recommending other suitable participants.

The low response rate from Maori in the community may be suggests Maori are not overly concerned about tourism. This was the feedback received from some of hapu representatives who indicated that "this is the nature of us Maori, unless a take is of major concern we are less likely to participate in these types of forums".

[6] Reported in TREC Report No.14 (Horn, et al., 2000).

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Appendix 1

Tourism Operators Survey

Tena koe
This questionnaire takes about 10 minutes to complete and the answers are kept entirely confidential. We do not even need to know your name nor the organisation.

Section 1: This first section asks questions about your particular business, and its interface with Maoritanga?

1. What type of tourism business are you in?

Please tick (3) all that apply and circle the main one.

1	Accommodation	2	Financial Services
3	Attractions	4	Information
5	Conference/Convention Facilities	6	Transport/Tours
7	Catering	8	Shopping
9	Entertainment	10	Other (specify)

2. . How long has your business been operating?

Please tick (3)

1	Less than 2 years	2	11-13 years
3	2 - 4 years	4	14 - 16 years
5	5 - 7 years	6	17 -19 years
7	8 -10 years	8	20 or more years

3. In the last year, what turnover bracket was your company in?

Please tick (3)

1	Less than $50 000	2	$200 000 - $300 000
3	Less than $100 000	4	$300 000 - $400 000
5	Less than $150 000	6	$400 000 - $500 000
7	Less than $200 000	8	Greater than $500 000

4a. Do you market as a …….

Please tick (3)

1	Maori business
2	Maori tourism business
3	Or just a business

4b. Please describe why and when you would market as these distinctions?

_____

_____

5a. Does Maori culture feature in your tourism business?

Please tick (3)

1	Yes	2	No
If yes continue with question 5b.		***If no continue with question 6.***	

5b. Please explain how Maori culture is used or presented in your tourism business?

_____

_____

6. How often does your tourism business consult with iwi?

Please tick (3)

1	Never	3	Always
2	Sometimes		

7a. As a Maori tourism business what barriers, if any, did your business face in establishing?

Please tick (3) all that apply.

1	Accessing finance	4	Multiple ownership
2	Service providers being suspicious of Maori	5	Hapu/Iwi protocols
3	Tall poppy syndrome	6	Other (please list)

7b. As a Maori tourism business what barriers, if any, does your business face today?

Please tick (3) all that apply.

1	Accessing finance	4	Multiple ownership
2	Service providers being suspicious of Maori	5	Hapu/Iwi protocols
3	Tall poppy syndrome	6	Other (please list)

8. As a Maori tourism business what factors, if any have led to the success of your business?

Please tick (3) all that apply

1	Whanau support	4	Multiple ownership
2	Service providers for Maori organisations (i.e. Poutama Trust..)	5	Support networks (i.e. MITR, AMTF)
3	Business expertise	6	Other (please list)

9. How many people do you employ?

Please complete by filling in the boxes indicating the number of staff employed

	In full-time positions		In part-time positions
	In management positions		

10. How many Maori people do you employ?

Please complete by filling in the boxes indicating the number of staff employed

	In full-time positions		In part-time positions
	In management positions		

Section 2: This second section asks questions about general Maori adaptations to and experiences of tourism in Rotorua.

Adaptation to tourism

11. In your opinion how well have Maori adapted to tourism development in Rotorua?
Please circle

very well	***neither badly, nor well***			***very badly***
1	2	3	4	5

Please write any comments on the space provided below.

12. What parts in particular have Maori adapted well to?
Please tick (3) all that apply

1	Employment	4	Entrepreneurship
2	Cultural Performances	5	Guiding & visitor interpretation
3	Souvenir production and retail	6	Tourism planning
4	Natural resource management	7	Other (please list)

13a. In your opinion has the presentation of Maori culture in tourism changed over time?
Please tick (3)

1	yes	***Please answer question 13b & 13c***
2	no	***Please go to question 14.***
3	don't know	***Please go to question 14.***

13b. How has the presentation of Maori culture changed recently?

13c. How has the presentation of Maori culture changed historically?

14a. Do you think kawa (tribal protocols) has an important role in tourist attractions involving Maori culture?
Please tick (3)

1	Yes	3	Don't know
2	No		

14b. If so what role do you think kawa (tribal protocols) should play?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Maori and the Natural Environment

15a. How important is the relationship that Maori have with the natural environment?

Please circle

Not at all important		*Neutral*		*very important*
1	2	3	4	5

15b. Rank in order of importance the key element(s) of this relationship?

Please rank 1 being most important and 8 being least important

	Mahinga kai		Good resource management
	Kaitiakitanga		Waahi Tapu
	Wairuatanga		Papakainga
	Mana whenua		Other (please specify)

16a. Has tourism affected the relationship that Maori have with the natural environment?

Please tick (3)

1	Yes	3	Don't know
2	No		

16b. If so how has it affected the key elements you selected in question 15b?

_____

_____

17. To what extent are hapu/iwi receiving direct monetary compensation where their environmental and cultural resources are being used for commercial activities?

Please tick (3)

1	Never	3	Always
2	Sometimes		

18. How important is it that hapu/iwi get direct monetary compensation where their environmental and cultural resources are being used for commercial activities?

Not at all important		*Neutral*		*very important*
1	2	3	4	5

19. How would you rate visitor interpretation in terms of…

Please circle the appropriate number for each section using the following scale

Scale: ***Very bad*** ***Neither bad nor good*** ***Very good***

1 2 3 4 5

	By your own business	By Maori tourism business	By other tourism businesses
cultural significance	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
spiritual significance	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
natural significance	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

20a. Is there a role for the organisations listed below to help manage environmental resources effectively?

Please tick (3)

	Yes	**No**
Department of Conservation		
BOP Regional Council		
Rotorua District Council		
Iwi/Hapu organisations (trusts, runanga)		

20b. Is yes how should they help?

_____

_____

21. In your opinion how important is it that ….

Please circle

	Not important at all		***Neutral***		***Very important***
souvenirs are produced by Maori	1	2	3	4	5
souvenirs are produced locally	1	2	3	4	5
souvenirs sold in Rotorua reflect Te Arawa culture	1	2	3	4	5
traditional materials are used in souvenir production	1	2	3	4	5
labelling is provided detailing the above info	1	2	3	4	5
cultural arts in the public domain reflect Te Arawa	1	2	3	4	5

22a. To what degree are Maori being misrepresented in the current images to market NZ to visitors?

Please tick (3)

1	Never	3	Always
2	Sometimes		

22b. What, if any, improvements should be made to imagery, marketing NZ and Maori?

23. What do you believe ***government*** could do to contribute to improving Maori Tourism development locally?

regionally?

nationally?

23. What do you believe ***Maori*** could do to contribute to improving Maori Tourism development locally?

regionally?

nationally?

24. Who do you see as leaders in Maori Tourism in the last 10 years? Why?

25. Who do you see as leaders in Maori Tourism into the millennium? Why?

26a. Please circle the 3 words that in your opinion are ***most important*** for Maori tourism planning.

Marae		Commercialisation		Hapu
	Stereotypes		Employment	
Mokopuna		Iwi		Wairuatanga
	Treaty of Waitangi		Tino Rangatiratanga	
Consultation		Cultural Understanding		Economic Development
	Cultural Retention		Support	
Control		Kawa		Ownership

26b. Please elaborate on why these 3 are most important in the space below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

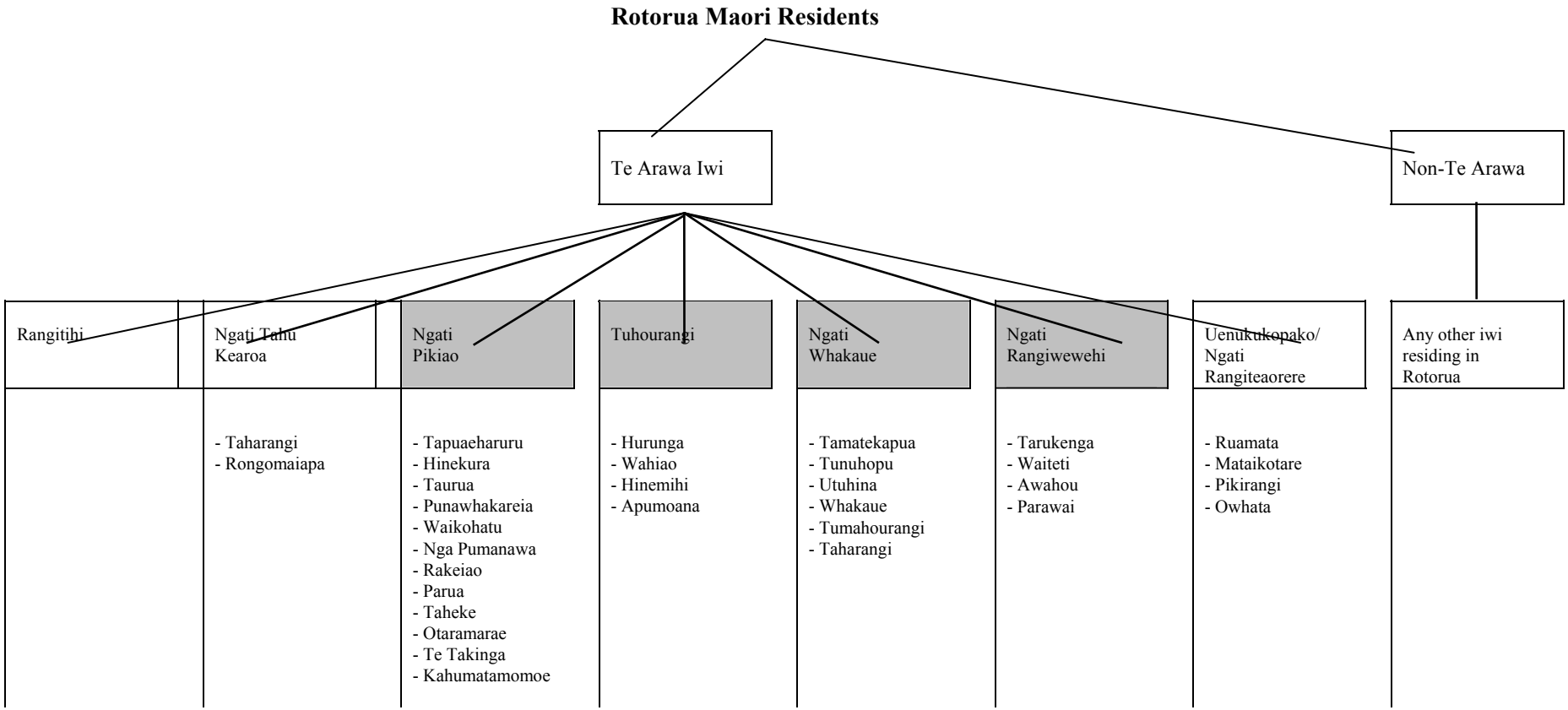
_____

_____

Please free to make any additional comments

Appendix 2

Rotorua Residents



Appendix 3

Sample Matrix for Hapu Representation Interviews

	Hapu	Kaumatua/Kuia	Influential Person	Socially Conscious
Te Arawa	Ngati Pikiao	1	1	1
	Ngati Whakaue	1	1	
	Tuhourangi	1	1	1
	Ngati Rangiwewehi		1	1
	Iwi other than Te Arawa	1		1
	Totals	4	4	4

1. For example, hapu representative on Te Arawa Trust Board (elected through a democratic process by the hapu), or key spokespeople of a hapu.

2. For example, somebody contributing to the hapu development