



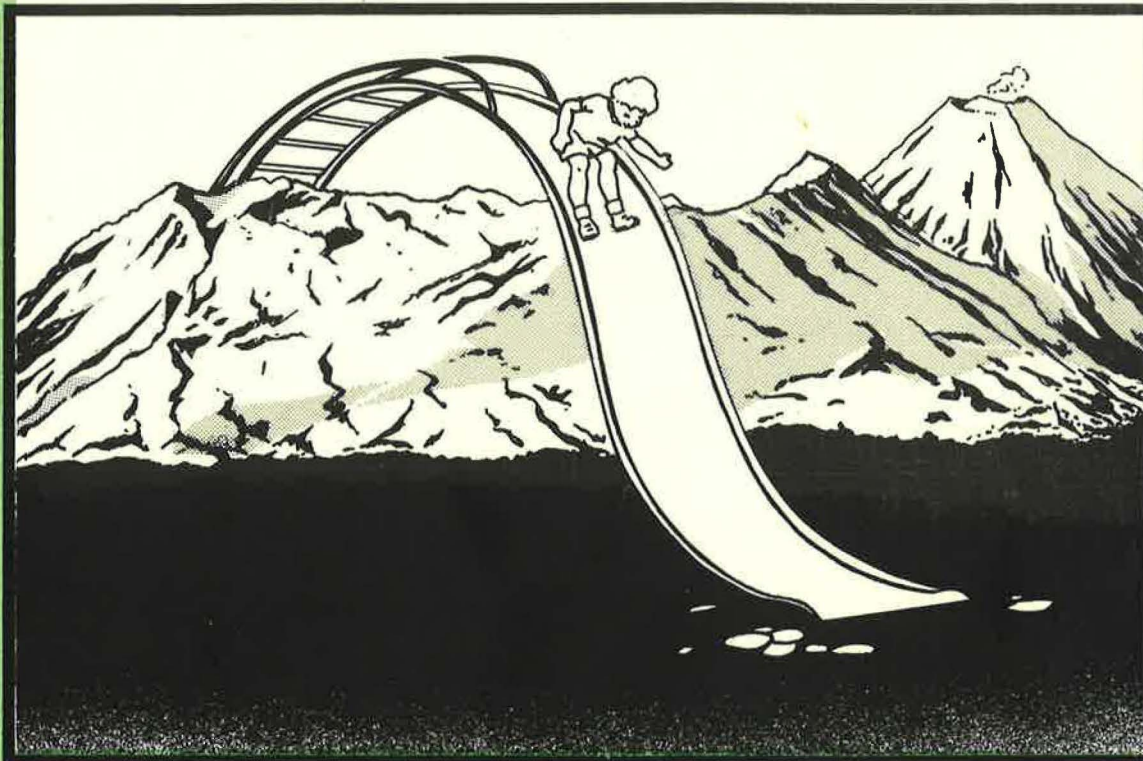
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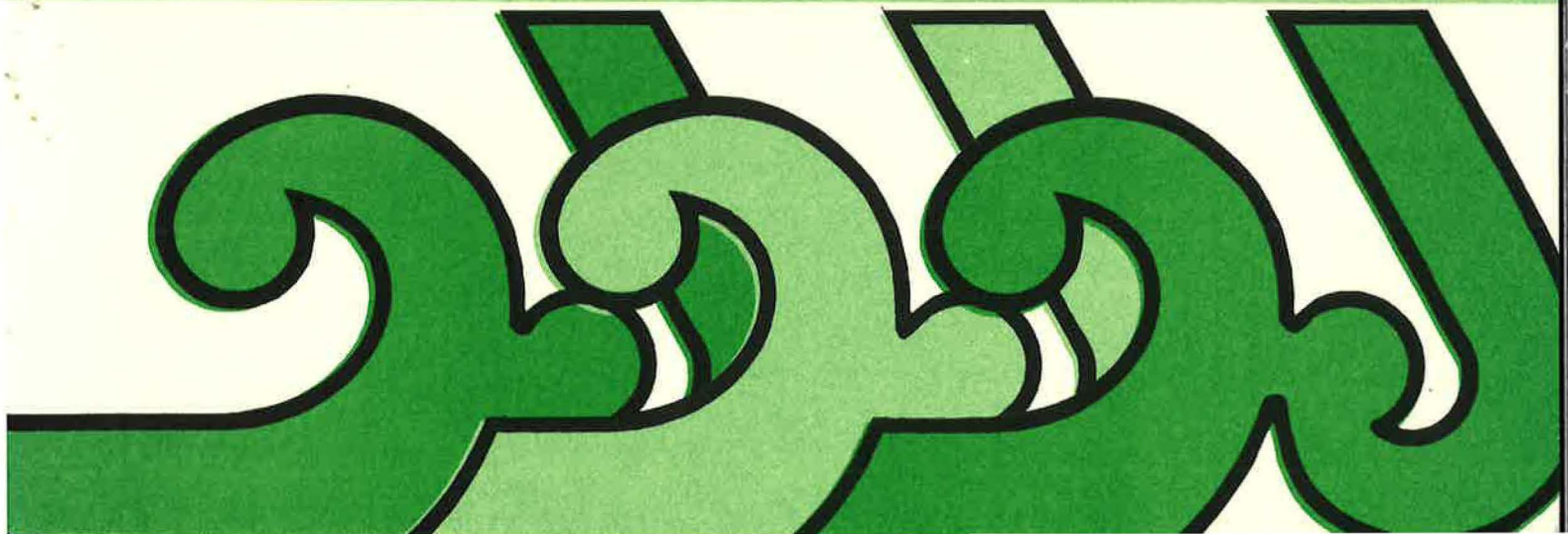
"Parks or Playgrounds?"

An Analysis of the Concept
of Tongariro National Park

Simon Hedley



O C C A S I O N A L P A P E R N O . 8



"PARKS OR PLAYGROUNDS?"

An Analysis of the Concept of Tongariro National Park.

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"The land means something to all people, but not the same thing to all people." (Green: 1988).

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ABSTRACT

National parks are cultural constructions embodying and reflecting the values of society. To date research on parks in New Zealand has focused upon surveys of users and analyses of historical data. Noble (1987) identified the need for a study of national parks along the lines of the Darling and Eichhorn's (1969) study of the US national park system, in which the authors asked the provocative question "*What is a national park?*". Following their lead I examine the purpose of national parks using indepth interviews with the administering authorities and selected commercial users of Tongariro National Park.

I argue that the perceptions of the majority of the commercial concessionaires and users regarding the purpose of Tongariro National Park are incompatible with specified fundamental objectives of national parks. Secondly, I argue that national park administrators are not neutral agents regulating use under the National Parks Act (1980). While there is no evidence, or suggestion, of management practices which breach the National Parks Act (1980) or the Tongariro National Park Management Plans Vols I, II, III, the system within which the administrators operate has accepted central government "market efficiency" ideologies and policies. Administrators are increasingly dependent upon concessionaires for the day-to-day operating costs of the park. This relationship and fundamental conflicts in perceptions of use threaten traditional objectives and the future of national parks.

KEY WORDS: Tongariro National park; current perceptions; compatibility; general principles; management practices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The seed of this study was planted by Professor K. O'Connor of Lincoln University. This seed germinated as I was guided by the logic of his perceptive mind. I am very grateful to Lincoln University for providing the funding for this ten week study; the Parks, Recreation and Tourism Department for their support; my supervisor, Mr B. Gidlow, for his continual encouragement and my wife, Julie, and my kids, Kelly-Jane and Laura, for their patience. I am also grateful to Dr Harvey C. Perkins for the guidance he has given me in his post-graduate qualitative methods paper. Without any of them I feel this study would not have been possible. However, this work is dedicated to the true "*cathedrals*" of our society (Dennis & Potton: 1984) - **the Parks themselves.**

I appreciate the cultural significance of the Tongariro area and am indebted to Ngati Tuwharetoa, through the Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board, for their assistance throughout this study. I believe that there is a need for further exploration of tangata whenua perspectives on the Tongariro area and I hope this work may aid and encourage such research.

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of protected natural areas rapidly diffused to other countries after the creation of the first national park at Yellowstone in 1872. The interpretation of this concept varies in accordance with the social, economic, political and geographical characteristics of each country. The motives for establishing these areas range from purely preservationist to the desire to provide public "playgrounds".

This study concerns the ethos of New Zealand's national parks. National parks are a social land use management tool, developed and maintained by social, legal, political, economic, and intellectual forces and influenced by sentiment.

A generally accepted interpretation of New Zealand's national park legislation is that nature comes first and people second (Park: 1991; Noble: 1987). However, Noble (1987) argues that this principle is not reflected in practice, as it is contrary to the anthropocentric Greco-Christian view. I argue, therefore, that the management of national parks in New Zealand is in conflict with the principles derived for application to areas designated as national parks.

"New Zealanders as a whole need to establish exactly what it is that they have national parks for, that is, what management goals and underlying values should national park management reflect." (Noble: 1987: 36).

I examine the variety of perceptions of park characteristics, purpose and appropriate use within a narrow segment of society. This research is critical to the perpetuation of national parks as we know them, for they are in danger of becoming degraded "playgrounds", a mere remnant of their former state, unless there exists a clear understanding of the concept and purpose of national parks. I am not indicating or

suggesting any inappropriate management practices in the Conservation Estate, nor is it the objective of my paper to imply the existence of such practices.

Previous Research

Previous researchers have examined individual perceptions of "wilderness" or "natural areas" (Park:1991; Booth:1986; Harris:1974), and focused on historical changes in individual perceptions and their relationship with the natural environment. This historical analysis enables an explanation of the beginnings of the current situation. These historical perceptions may be embodied in current legislation. My project provides substantial evidence of national parks use. This is intended to contrast with the previously anecdotal evidence, fulfilling a need identified by Booth (1986) to support historical interpretations of current perceptions with a qualitative research study.

"Over a decade ago, Belton and Phillips (1974) called for information on public attitudes to national parks, to allow comparison of public values with park policy." (Booth:1986:62).

The Study Objectives

- 1) Define general principles applicable to areas designated as national parks.
- 2) Define the concept of a national park as understood by the administrators and selected commercial users.
- 3) Understand the perceptions of the administrators and commercial users of Tongariro National Park regarding the purpose and appropriate use.
- 4) Establish the compatibility of the perceptions with the general principles.

My research focuses on the concept of national parks, and Tongariro National Park specifically, as understood by the management authorities and commercial interests. It involves indepth interviews with administrators, (the Department of Conservation, Taupo-Tongariro Conservation Board, Ngati Tuwharetoa), and selected commercial operators and user groups.

Tongariro National Park users are predominantly snow skiers with an interest in facility-based recreation, as provided by ski areas and associated commercial developments. These commercial ventures are aligned with current "market" ideologies. Noble (1987) provides a good generalised critique of activities which involve the "market". He critiques commercial recreation and tourism, which involve "market" ideologies and are often associated with significantly detrimental environmental impacts. Jefferies (1986), Mark (1987) and Potton (1986) support these claims.

All participants in this study have been supplied a copy of the final draft of the analysis for comment before completing the final report. This opportunity for feedback from the participants seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the national parks and assist administrators in their efforts to satisfy the conflicting demands of preservationists and users.

This study is intended to provide inspiration for further research focused upon the objectives and concepts in managing natural resources.

METHOD

"I realised quite early in this adventure that interviews, conventionally conducted, were meaningless. Conditioned cliches were certain to come. The question-and-answer technique may be of some value in determining favored (sic) detergents, toothpaste and deodorants, but not in the discovery of men and women." (Studs Terkel in Douglas: 1984: 7)

I have examined literary definitions regarding national parks to derive general principles applicable to such areas. I have focused on the National Parks Act (1980), the Tongariro National Park Management Plans Vols I, II, III, the Draft Policy Document on Commercial Concessionaires (1992) and relevant national and international academic literature.

My interviewees were selected for their qualifications with respect to the focus of this research, the perceptions of the administrators and commercial interests regarding Tongariro National Park. A spokesperson for each of the three management authorities involved in the Tongariro National Park and a representative selection of the finite range of commercial concessionaires and users were interviewed (refer Appendix 2). To identify the different groups, I have used my knowledge of the area, based upon a 26 year association with Tongariro National Park.

Semi-structured interviews are considered to be the appropriate technique for uncovering the perceptions of the selected interviewees. The use of semi-structured interviews is intended *"... to elicit from the interviewee rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis."* (Lofland & Lofland: 1984: 12). This technique enables the retention of a focus upon the topic without leading the process, and sufficient "depth" to allow respondents to convey differences in their perceptions of reality.

An interview guide (Lofland and Lofland: 1984: Appendix 1) provides a tool to implement the semi-structured method. Common themes are discovered and coded by examining the transcripts of the interviews. Sections with the same codes are collated and analyzed through the development of propositions, which are then evaluated with reference to the general principles derived from the literary definitions (legislative, national and international) of a national park.

Further input was solicited from all participants by forwarding a final draft and re-analyzing the original transcripts after evaluation of their responses. Two of the original interviewees were reinterviewed and an evaluation of their transcripts has been incorporated in this final report.

ANALYSIS

The following five prompts are amongst those contained in the guide sheet for the interviews (refer appendix) and are considered to be the most appropriate for an exploration of the concept and purposes of Tongariro National Park.

- 1) What is a national park?
- 2) What is the purpose of a national park, in general and Tongariro National Park specifically?
- 3) Why does New Zealand need national parks or a national park system?
- 4) What sort of activities are appropriate within Tongariro National Park?
- 5) Have changes within the park or the park administration been noticed in the recent past?

There is a definite consensus in the perceptions of participants as to the broad characteristics which constitute the concept of a national park. However, a continuum emerges, rather than the expected dichotomy, between the preservation and use purposes of national parks. This continuum is manifest in the emphasis placed upon preservation and use by the different participants.

General Principles Applicable to Areas Designated as National Parks

The following general principles were derived by evaluating the definitions and legislation, both national and international, of a national park. They should be applied as guiding principles in areas designated as national parks and as such, they form the reference in the analysis of the perceptions of participants in this study.

- 1) The area is to be preserved and maintained in its natural state through their administration by a "neutral" central government agency.
- 2) The environmental, scientific, cultural and aesthetic qualities that justify the designation of the area as a national park are to be protected.
- 3) Public access is permitted subject to the following conditions:
 - * the impact of public access must not be detrimental to the preservation of the area and natural ecosystems;
 - * the impact of public access must not be detrimental to the nature of the area (ie. helicopters in remote areas).
- 4) The area should not be materially altered by human exploitation and/or occupation.
- 5) Commercial exploitation of the natural resource is incompatible with the philosophy underlying national parks. NB: This does not preclude user-pays forms of charging for resource use, but the charge must be returned to the

preservation and maintenance of the resource. (ie. resource rentals must not be appropriated by the Government's Consolidated Fund.).

- 6) The protection and maintenance of the natural area is the first priority and the utility value to individuals and societies a second priority.
- 7) Management is to be focused upon long-term goals with the appropriate time period for consideration being "perpetuity".
- 8) These principles act as guidance and constraints, with which development of parks for recreational purposes must conform.

An initial brief assessment of the interviews indicates a general agreement among all the participants regarding the principles above. The **interpretation** of these principles, however, gives rise to the continuum, which becomes explicit in an analysis of the interviews.

1) What is a national park?

There is a marked similarity in the responses of the participants to this prompt. Differences are of degree rather than kind. National parks are seen to be areas of land of a "reasonable" size, designated under legislation because of their unique beauty, relatively unmodified state and national significance for preservation and use in perpetuity. They are, as one respondent said "*... areas of land with unique cultural or natural history components...*". There is, therefore, a clear understanding among the participants regarding the features or characteristics which constitute and justify an area being designated a national park.

These characteristics bear a striking resemblance to those espoused by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). These are, namely, an area of relatively large size, containing natural ecosystems of special interest,

which are not materially altered by human exploitation or occupation, and are protected and managed by the highest competent authority in the country, yet are open to visitors, under special conditions, for inspirational, educative, cultural and recreative purposes. The characteristics recognise the dual purposes of land designated under national park status - preservation and use. As another of the respondents succinctly stated, a national park is a *"... special piece of land set aside for the people to use ..."*.

2) What is the purpose of a national park, in general and Tongariro National Park specifically?

Responses show a continuum regarding the purpose of our national parks. Four key themes emerged:

- a) national parks as recreation areas (active & passive);
- b) national parks as enabling the protection of an area;
- c) national parks as areas with multiple uses; and
- d) national parks as the preserve of traditional users.

These themes are not mutually exclusive, but may be categorised by a primary underlying philosophy. Two respondents (2/15) saw the purpose as purely preservation with use being totally subservient. In the words of one of these respondents, national parks are *"... a device for protecting natural areas... protection of unique areas of substantial size... the protection of areas with "value" under "good" legislation..."*. At the other extreme some identify primarily a use function with the purpose of any preservation being to promote or enable use. The words of one respondent typify this view, *".. providing the opportunity for active and passive recreation... a skiing playground for New Zealand... given to New Zealand for use - definitely use... the protection of "significant" areas as an attraction..."*.

A significant number (12/15) of the interviewees consider traditional uses to be acceptable in national parks. *"... provides a wilderness for traditional recreation users ... Tongariro National Park equals recreation, including skiing, for historical reasons ..."*. Why should "traditional" uses be appropriate? This is an important issue, as the passage of time appears to legitimise activities by mere fact of their endurance.

3) Why does New Zealand need national parks or a national park system?

The responses of the participants are able to be grouped into two categories, based upon the rationale expressed for the need to have national parks and a national park system. These categories are expressed by one of the participants as being *"... the broad benevolent protection of unique areas, and the personal motives...."*

The "broadly benevolent protection" motivation is only expressed by 2 of the 15 participants and is justified by the need to preserve *"... unique areas as a necessity due to commercial pressure ... and ... to protect unique areas from 'free-market' ideology"*

The broad category of "personal motive" is expressed by 14 out of the 15 participants. According to this view, the benefits of national parks to individual members of society is the rationale for the existence of national parks and the park system. The factors which underlie this broad categorisation range from *"... an asset to the country for its tourism marketing ability .."* to *"... a wish to keep areas in a specific state"* The spectrum involved in this category of rationale incorporates personal benefits drawn from commercial exploitation, and individual enjoyment, therefore, the rationale for needing national parks may be based upon revenue potential or individual pleasure. This should not be altogether surprising as the establishment and retention of *"...public use areas..."*, such as national parks, are fundamental to the favoured land use of all the participants.

It is also apparent from the interview transcripts that both the administration authorities and the commercial concessionaires recognise the "*... economic benefits from the attraction of the national park concept*"

4) What sort of activities are appropriate within Tongariro National Park?

There is general agreement that appropriate activities should be low impact, but the specifics regarding the constituents of low impact and the focus of that impact varies greatly from participant to participant. For example, some participants regard heliskiing as a "low" impact activity and, therefore, as an appropriate activity within Tongariro National Park. The impact of heliskiing and kindred activities may be "low" on the physical environment, but as remarked by over half of the participants (8/15), their "*... impact on other activities ...*" may be substantial in terms of noise pollution.

5) Have changes within the park or the park administration been noticed in the recent past?

All the participants agree that physical changes to Tongariro National Park have been very apparent, particularly in the commercial facilities and services, over the past decade. There is disagreement as to whether these physical changes, such as roading, carparks and standards of buildings, are detrimental to the park or not.

The result of these changes is, as one respondent says, "*... a skiing playground and a tramping and outdoor recreation area ...*" whereby "*... increasing use of the area is leading to more conflicts ...*" between different groups of users. This conflict is referred to by 11 out of the 15 respondents and is seen to be primarily due to increasing congestion as more people participate or attempt to provide for participation within a finite area.

Major change at Tongariro National Park in the relationship between the administering authorities and the concessionaires is noticed by all the participants. The relationship is seen to be less confrontational and more co-operative, reflecting attitudinal changes on the part of both the administrators and the concessionaires. However, only two of the respondents appear to recognise the reason underlying this change, which is described by one of them as, *"... a change in DoC's attitude to the skifield and the concessionaires due to increasing skier numbers, the accountability of DoC and changes in the 'professionalisation' of the management ..."* and *"... the changing attitude of most concessionaires whereby they accept the rules and regulations"*

Discussion

Despite the expression of a definite consensus by all the participants regarding the concept of a national park, the transcripts reveal a continuum in the perceived purpose of a national park, and Tongariro National Park specifically. Generalising the continuum into a simple use and preservation dichotomy does not do justice to the myriad of differing perceptions. Nor does it enable an understanding of the reasons for such a range. The extremes of the continuum of purposes are "pure preservation" and "consumptive use". The participants responses range across this spectrum.

There is a widespread justification of the "traditional" uses of national parks, but why should "traditional" uses be considered appropriate? As mentioned earlier, the passage of time appears to legitimise activities by mere fact of their longevity or endurance. However, this does not guarantee the continued compatibility of an activity with the objectives of an area.

A major point of concern arises when an activity has not changed its basic form but when the number of participants and the technology used in the activity substantially increases the impact of the activity on the environment and other users. Snowskiing within Tongariro National Park is an example. It is seen by all respondents to be a traditional and acceptable use, but skiing in 1992, with its associated network of skilifts, building, services and massive increase in user numbers, is significantly different in its environmental impact from skiing as it was in 1930.

The concept of "traditional" use or existing user rights is well entrenched in our legislative system. The Town and Country Planning Act (1977) decreed that existing uses were permitted to continue (s.90) provided that they "... *remain the same* ..." after a planning scheme change. This was modified by the Resource Management Act (1991) in that the "... *effects must remain the same*..." (s.10). This change reflects the intention of the new Act, which is to control the effects rather than specific activities. The new Act recognises that there may be great difficulties in modifying activities to minimise any negative environmental impacts associated with "traditional" uses of national parks. However, I would suggest that the key factor in deciding appropriate uses is the impact on the environment and/or other users, rather than the justification of the "traditional" use concept.

The commercial concessionaires and users also perceive what they are doing to be "traditional" and, therefore, as appropriate activities. They appear to ignore, or be unaware of, any detrimental environmental impacts. In this respect the appropriateness is commercial or utilitarian rather than environmental in nature.

There is an interesting proposal from one participant who maintained that national parks represent the "... *political creation of an area to balance commercial exploitation of other natural areas and natural resources*" While not a new argument, this proposal contends

that national parks are established by political forces as compensation for natural resource exploitation. This logic is supported by Olwig and Olwig (1979: 16), who argue that national parks are "*... far from neutral and necessarily beneficial ...*" rather they are the outcome of "*... pressures for change of a political nature ...*". I feel this is too simplistic for the reality of the situation. The majority of our national parks, at the time of their formation, were land areas with no alternative economic potential. Nevertheless, parks may provide a degree of cushioning for our social conscience as we continue to modify the natural environment. (Devlin, P.: *pers. comm.*).

The need for national parks and a national park system are grouped by respondents into two broad categories, based upon altruistic preservation or personal benefit. The "personal use and benefit" concept is clearly dominant in the rationale for the need for parks. This broad classification does not, however, allow for the numerous differing interpretations of the purpose and the desire to create and maintain national parks. However, as the personal desires of individuals and groups become more and more dominant over the altruistic view, the pressures on Tongariro National Park are increasing.

The responses of the commercial concessionaires and commercial facility users place a strong emphasis on the appropriateness of activities "*... demanded by the public*" This reflects the belief that "parks are for people" and the uses that people want are the appropriate ones for that area. In this context the concessionaires see themselves as providing a service and the users as participating in that service. Both the providing and the participating parties benefit, one financially and the other experientially.

Changing attitudes on the part of management authorities and users of Tongariro National Park will be beneficial to the park as long as they involve all parties working together towards common goals. The significance of the present study is that it suggests

that there is no agreement on the common goal, for Tongariro National Park is a cultural construction representing the differing interests within society.

SUMMARY

"Increasingly we associate ourselves with our tools and our possessions, our science and our dreams. But we are inescapably still part of the natural world of plants and animals, of soils and air and water, a world which preceded us by billions of years and which will outlast our science and our species. National Parks are the great cathedrals, galleries and museums of this natural world, as worthy of preservation as any edifice or achievement of our culture and civilization." (Dennis & Potton: 1984)

The concept of national parks was first enunciated in 1830 by George Catlin, the American artist, as a means of protecting native people, wildlife and the environment for ever. (Nelson *et al.*: 1978). As this concept has been adopted by countries around the globe it has become modified to suit the "needs" of individual societies. This concept still forms the basis for the so-called "classical" model of a national park and provides a benchmark, as enunciated by IUCN, to compare parks and park policies. The characteristics of this traditional model closely resemble the characteristics of a national park as expressed by the participants in this study. However, perceptions of the concept of a national park concept are heavily influenced by the experiences of visitors to parks. In the case of Tongariro National Park, 5/6ths of visitors come to the park in winter for the recreational activities provided by the concessioners - namely snowskiing.

In many of our national parks, including Tongariro, the pressure for further development of tourist and recreation opportunities, in accordance with public demand, has the potential to lead to a degradation of their function with respect to nature conservation and preservation.

"... the incompatibility of tourism and ... national parks stems from the nature of institutionalised commercial tourism." (Noble: 1987: 23)

While there is no suggestion of management decisions which are inconsistent with the guidelines in the National Parks Act (1980), Tongariro National Park is becoming increasingly pressured as the administration authorities become part of this institution, through the increasing dependence of the authorities on income from commercial operations. The authorities are responding to this situation by reassessing their relationship with commercial concessionaires and users. There is an opportunity for clear benefits for all parties from a harmonious relationship, provided the objectives and principles of national parks are not compromised. This is only possible if the perceptions regarding the purpose of a national park and the objectives for such an area are compatible. This is the real challenge for the 1990s and beyond.

APPENDICES

Table of Appendices

1. Semi-structured Method
2. Interviewees
3. Itinerary
4. Interview Sheet
5. Map of Tongariro National Park
6. Location Map

Appendix 1

The structure of the semi-structured method used in the interviews is as follows:

- 1) Puzzlement & jottings
 - What is puzzling me?
- 2) Global sorting & ordering
 - overall design for the guide
- 3) Probes
 - Prepared to remind me to probe for items that may not be mentioned spontaneously.
- 4) Face sheet & post-interview comment sheet
 - Gross factual data (incl. date, place, time, interviewee, ...) plus comment sheet
- 5) Guide sheet for each interview
 - Record key points on guide and prompts which direct the interview.
- 6) Transcribe the interviews, analyze them and produce the report
 - Summary & notes done as soon as possible after the interview.

Appendix 2

Interviewees

Management Authorities

* Department of Conservation
Private Bag
Turangi
Attn: Mr Paul Green

Taupo-Tongariro Conservation Board
c/- DoC
Turangi.
Attn: Mr J. Ryan

* Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board
P.O. Box 87,
Turangi.
Attn: Mr J. Stephen Asher

Commercial Recreation

* Ruapehu Alpine Lifts
Whakapapa Village
Mt. Ruapehu.
Attn: Mr Dave Mazey

* THC Chateau Tongariro
Whakapapa Village,
Mt. Ruapehu.
Attn: Mr Chris Griffin

* Skotel Motel
Whakapapa Village,
Mt Ruapehu.
Attn: Ms Monika Geister

* Discovery 4 Ltd
P.O. Box 55
National Park.
Attn: Rod & Robin Walker

Selected Park Users

* Federated Mountain Clubs (Inc)
P.O. Box 1604,
Wellington
Attn: Mr Hugh Barr

* New Zealand Alpine Club
C/- Mr Ross Cullen (President)
Lincoln University
Canterbury.

* Ruapehu Ski Club
P.O. Box 28-046,
Remuera,
Auckland.
Attn: Mr Sandy Mill

* Wellington T & M Club
P.O. Box 5068,
Lampton Quay Post Office,
Wellington.
Attn: Mr Eric Evans

* Rotorua Tramping and Ski-ing Club
P.O. Box 337,
Rotorua.
Attn: Mrs Catherine Chandler

* Ruapehu Ski Patrol Inc
P.O. Box 2998,
Wellington.
Attn: Mr Vince Malloy

Other Relevant Parties

* Mr Graham Ayres
Department of Conservation
Private Bag
Christchurch.

* Mr Geoff Park
Department of Conservation
Private Bag,
Wellington.

Appendix 3

Itinerary

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
0930			Skotel		
1000		Chateau		Tuwhare	RSC
1030					
1100			Discovery		
1130					
1200	Ferry				
1230					
1300					
1330					
1400				J.Ryan	
1430					
1500	Well		DoC		
1530					
1600	FMC				
1630					
1700			RAL		
1730					
1800					
1830					
1900					
1930					
2000			Rot SC	V.Malloy	
Night	Turangi	Ruapehu	Rotorua	Auckland	Chch

Appendix 4

Interview Sheet

Name:

Organisation:

Position:

Date:

Start Time:

Finish Time:

Introduction

As I outlined in my letter to you, I am undertaking a research project which involves an analysis of the attitudes of selected national park users towards Tongariro National Park.

Would you mind if I taped this interview, as this will provide an accurate record our conversation, and will facilitate the analysis.

I would appreciate it if you could discuss the issues raised in this semi-structured interview based upon your understanding of members' feelings, both in terms of national parks in general and Tongariro National Park specifically.

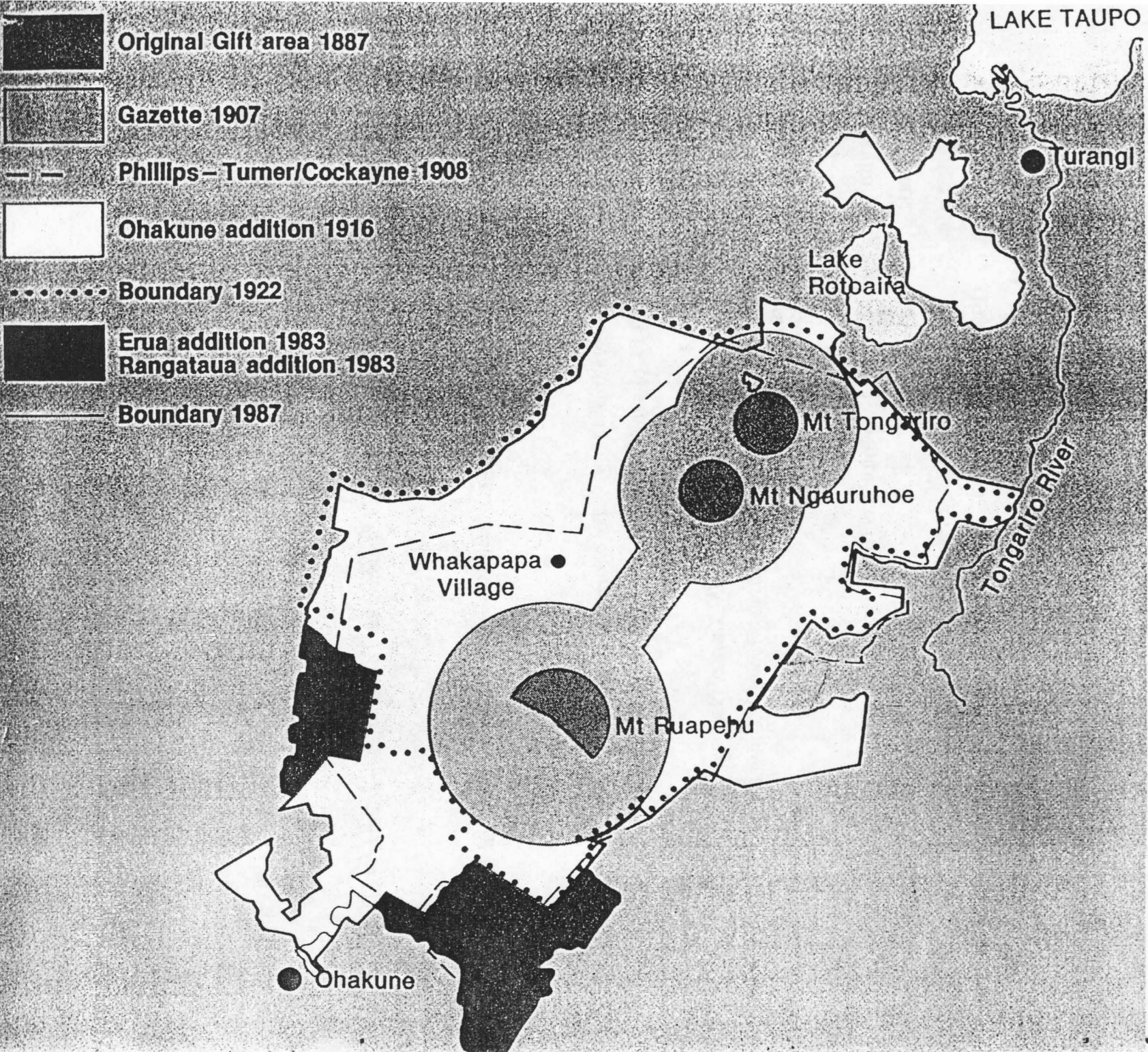
Key Probes

1. How did you and your organisation become involved with Tongariro National Park?
2. In the opinion of, what constitutes a national park?
Probes: What physical features?
What legislative base?
3. Why does think that New Zealand needs national parks and a national parks system?
4. What does believe the purpose of Tongariro National Park to be?
Probes: Preservation?
Conservation?
Recreation?
Tourism?

5. Do you feel it is necessary for central government to regulate uses in/of Tongariro National Park?
6. What sorts of activities do you consider to be appropriate in Tongariro National Park?
Probe: Why?
 - snowskiing
 - rock climbing
 - mining
 - heliskiing
 - wilderness trekking
7. Has there been any discussion of changes within the Park in the recent past?
Probe: Are they nostalgic reminiscing?
What are the changes?
What has their effect been?
How rapid have they been?
Why are/have they been occurring?
8. Has there been any discussion of the issue of "user-pays" in Tongariro National Park?
Probes:- entry fees, hut lease fees
Could you elaborate on the debate/discussion?
9. What are the "needs" of club members which Tongariro National Park provides - or has the potential to provide?
Probes: Does TNP satisfy these "needs"?
10. Have any areas of conflict arisen in TNP?
11. What sort of participation and/or influence in the management - both long and short term - of TNP does the ... have?
Probe: If not, why not?
12. What is the importance to the club of its hut at Iwikau Village?
13. What does the club feel is the appropriate level of commercial development?
Probe: How would the club like to see it allocated?
14. Has the club discussed the cultural significance of TNP?
Probe: Could you summarise that debate?
15. Has the club discussed alternative methods of preserving the area, other than as a national park?

Notes:





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