The Impact of Tourism on the Māori Community in Kaikoura

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Kia Kaha
Kia Maia
Kia Manawanui i nga wa katoa
Glossary of Māori Terms

These words have other meanings, but for the purpose of this study the meanings chosen are those of most direct relevance in this report.

ACCESS government funded educational and vocational training schemes to assist employment or re-employment
Aotearoa the Māori name for New Zealand
aroha love, compassion, sympathy
awa rivers
hapu tribal sub-groups
hui gatherings or meetings, usually on the marae
iwī tribes, Māori people in general
kaiako teacher(s)
kaitiaki (tanga) (the state of) caring for natural resources; spiritual guardianship
kanohi face
kapa haka Māori culture performances (song and dance)
karakia prayers, incantations
kaumatua tribal elders (men and women)
kaupapa plans, policies
kawa protocols, ways of doing things
kete woven bags or kits
kohanga reo ‘language nests’, where young children are taught through the medium of the Māori language
koroua elderly men, male grandparents
kuia elderly women, female grandparents
MACCESS Māori ACCESS (q.v.)
mahi work
mahinga kai traditional food gathering sites
mana power of supernatural origin, prestige, standing
mana whenua Māori tribes holding traditional rights in their area
manaaki (tanga) (the state of) caring for manuhiri in the fullest possible sense
manuhiri visitors, guests
Māori (tanga) (the state or essence of) being Māori, the indigenous inhabitants of Aotearoa New Zealand
marae open space in front of the meeting house, used for Māori ceremonial gatherings; the set of communal buildings associated with the marae
maunga mountains
mauri physical life force which imbues all created things
mihimihī formalised greetings
moa a large flightless bird, now extinct
moana sea or large bodies of water (e.g., lakes)
moemoea dreams
Ngai, Ngati  tribal prefixes denoting ‘the descendants of’
noa  without restrictions (see ‘tapu’)
pa  fortified villages
Pakeha  New Zealanders of mainly British extraction, with a tendency towards philosophically different views to Māori; syn. European(s), non-Māori
pakeke  adults, middle aged persons
papatipu  Māori land without European title
Papatuanuku  in Māori cosmology, the Earth Mother
pohā  kelp bags for preserving and storing foods
pounamu  greenstone
rangatahi  young people
rangatira (tanga)  (the state of) chieftainship or leadership
Ranginui  in Māori cosmology, the Sky Father
(te) reo  (the) Māori language
rohe  geographically defined tribal areas or districts
runanga  tribal councils
tamariki  children
Tangaroa  in Māori cosmology, tutelary deity of the sea
tangata  persons
tangata whenua  ‘people of the land’, the Māori people
tangi  funerals; to cry
taniwha  mythical sea creatures
taonga  treasures, prized possessions
tapu  sacred, under ceremonial restriction
tikanga  methods, customs, values, beliefs, practises, rituals, protocols and processes
tino rangatiratanga  the ultimate state of rangatiratanga; self determination
tipuna  ancestors, grandparents
tohora  whales
tohunga  elders possessing skills in particular areas of tribal knowledge
turangawaewae  places of origin
upoko  head, both figuratively and literally
waahi tapu  sacred sites
waiata-a-ringa  actions songs
wairua  spirituality
whakapapa  lines of genealogical descent
whanau  extended families
whangai  to bring up, adopt informally
whanaunga (tanga)  (the state of) ‘family’-ness or relatedness; kinship, family ties
wharenui  the central meeting house on the marae
whenua  lands, country
Summary

The objectives of this report were to describe and evaluate the interaction between Kaikoura Māori, their culture and tourism. To achieve these objectives a cross section of the Māori community was canvassed to reflect both age and gender differences and iwi and hapu affiliations. A research process was followed which incorporated Māori values and tikanga, and allowed subjects to remain anonymous while revealing their perceptions of tourism in Kaikoura.

In considering aspects of Māori culture, a working definition formulated for this report includes carvings and other taonga, weaving, kapa haka, Takahanga Marae, and the oral histories told by guides working for Whale Watch Kaikoura Limited, the main tourism activity in Kaikoura.

Elders and young people believed that Māori had been involved in tourism for years, while the more middle aged believed that Māori tourism involvement began with the advent of Whale Watch. A possible explanation for this difference relates to the Māori development decade and cultural reawakening of the 1980s, which would have exerted more influence on those currently of middle age (young adults), than on those who were correspondingly older or younger.

Māori culture can be expressed in two ways: either internally as values, philosophies and concepts (e.g., wairua, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, rangatiratanga), or externally as arts and crafts (e.g., weaving, carving) or kapa haka (e.g., songs, waiata-a-ringa, haka, poi). Varying views exist amongst Whale Watch personnel about how Māori culture has been or is being expressed in tourism. They see it as being expressed through: the spirit, passion and pride of ‘being Māori’, the creation of a whanau atmosphere, the observance of traditional practices such as offering karakia before entering the realm of Tangaroa (i.e., the sea), or the fact that Whale Watch is Māori owned and operated.

Takahanga Marae is central to Māori cultural identity and although an informal cultural attraction does not actively cater to tourists. Beyond some informal kapa haka practices, cultural performances for tourists have never existed in Kaikoura, and although this could be a possibility for the future, local Māori believe that such developments should take place away from the Marae in order to preserve its mana and mauri.

The examination of Whale Watch shows that it has evolved from a small-scale to a large-scale operation. There are differing views on the details of its early operations, however, it clearly had, and continues to have, a social purpose in particular to provide employment opportunities and to promote cultural and environment issues. It has followed its principles of integrating these issues although presentation of Māori culture is now more muted showing that there has been some evolution in the ways these principles are presented.
Concerning Māori involvement in tourism, survey data show that:
• 70 per cent had been involved;
• 60 per cent had other household members currently employed (on average, two persons per household).

Concerning perceived benefits or negative effects, the data show that:
• Most felt that Kaikoura had benefited through the presence of more;
  - businesses;
  - employment opportunities;
  - township facilities;
  - community spirit and open-mindedness.
• 60 per cent felt they had benefited through, e.g.:
  - increased job prospects;
  - personal development and training;
  - interactions with other nationalities and cultures, which invites the sharing of Māori cultural values in return.
• Adverse community impacts included:
  - high cost of living (rates, food, clothing, petrol);
  - selective employment practices;
  - increase in crime rate.

Concerning the impact of tourism on the natural environment:
• 40 per cent see negative impacts such as:
  - water contamination, e.g., by giardia;
  - loss of mana and status by kaitiaki;
  - abuse of cultural values.
• Ten per cent see positive effects, such as:
  - more non-Māori learning about or having an appreciation for the environment.

Concerning the expression of Māori culture in tourism, the data show that positive cultural changes include:
• Greater understanding of Māori culture;
• More access to Māori arts and crafts;
• More Māori encouraged to learn about cultural heritage.
Negative cultural changes include:

- Commercialisation and modernisation of Māori culture;
- Greater demand for ‘authenticity’; or cheaper materials being used; or mass production of cultural products;
- Cultural products being sold through non-Māori outlets; or produced by non-Māori (and hence trading on Māori images to which they lack cultural entitlement);
- Compromising cultural integrity to accommodate other cultures.

The research shows that Kaikoura Māori want tourism to better reflect Māori culture. This includes a recognition of Māori knowledge and an accommodation of Māori views, such as the desire to exert control over Māori images in order to build a genuine Māori dimension into the industry. Kaikoura Māori also want opportunities for younger people to participate in tourism, e.g., through the learning of traditional skills. Equally importantly, they want to see an improvement in management and monitoring techniques to protect the natural environment from pollution and from exponentially increasing numbers of visitors.
Chapter 1

Background, Research Objectives and Method

1.1 Introduction

The research results reported here are part of a larger study of tourism impacts in Kaikoura. The main objective of this report was to describe and evaluate the interaction between the local Māori community, their culture, and tourism. The report presents a comprehensive coverage of the Kaikoura Māori community, tracing their history and development, identifying events that have influenced and impacted upon them, and outlining their participation in tourism.

Māori involvement in the modern tourism industry is still in its infancy, and that involvement means different things to those who participated in this study. A perception expressed by both the kaumatua (elders) and rangatahi (young people) who were interviewed for this report was that local iwi have been involved in tourism since before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This perception is consistent with the traditional Māori view that all who come from beyond a tribally defined rohe or district are manuhiri (visitors or guests). This includes tourists as well as early explorers who called on Māori to act as guides as they journeyed into the interior of the South Island. Many of these latter contacts were made through points of entry such as Kaikoura and other Māori settlements around the coast.

The perception of pakeke (adults and the middle aged), however, is that Māori involvement in tourism at Kaikoura began with the advent of Whale Watch. The measurement used by this group is a commercial or business one, as distinct from the more customary view of kaumatua and rangatahi. These views give an indication of the wide variety of perceptions held by the Māori community in Kaikoura that emerged in the course of interviews, a survey, observations and discussions.

Research results are presented in terms of Māori perceptions of tourism. Most respondents shared a strong commitment to ensuring that their cultural heritage is kept intact and this report reflects that commitment by freely using Māori terms. A glossary of Māori terms is provided before Chapter 1 to help readers unfamiliar with Māori language. Respondents also shared a strong desire to be involved in all aspects of the tourism industry, so that their priorities are recognised, their views heard, and their knowledge taken into account.
1.2 Background Information

In order to understand the interactions between the local Māori community, their culture and tourism, it is necessary to acknowledge some important background information. This includes the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi, identifying mana whenua and defining Māori culture. Each of these topics is considered in the remainder of this chapter.

References to the Treaty of Waitangi throughout this report demand that an explanation be given of this document for those who are not familiar with it. Described as the founding document of New Zealand, the Treaty was signed in 1840 between the British Crown and chiefs of tribes throughout the country, beginning in the North. This cleared the way for British settlement to proceed, and conferred certain rights and privileges upon each of the Treaty partners. For instance, it placed Māori people as iwi (or, more specifically, as hapu) in a different position to any other interest group in the country.

At first honoured, then ignored, by the Crown and those to whom it delegated its authority, the Treaty is today being incorporated increasingly into New Zealand law. For example, Section 4 of the Conservation Act 1987 requires the Department of Conservation (DOC) to give effect to the principles of the Treaty. This Act was invoked in 1995 when Ngai Tahu challenged a DOC decision to issue a whale watching permit to a competitor. The New Zealand Court of Appeal ruled that the government was obliged to ‘actively protect’ tribal interests, and that Ngai Tahu (or, more specifically, Ngati Kuri as a hapu of Ngai Tahu) were entitled to ‘a reasonable degree of preference’ in the granting of further whale watching concessions (APEC, 1997).

In producing an historical account of Māori development and participation in tourism, a matter of crucial importance was that of identifying and acknowledging the mana whenua, i.e., the tribal group that holds traditional rights in Kaikoura. This is because of the significance such acknowledgement holds for Māori, whether culturally, socially, physically, emotionally or spiritually. Any historical report must take these dimensions into account, because Māori traditionally identify themselves through their tipuna (ancestors) and also through their whenua (land) and turangawaewae (place of origin), as well as through such distinctive landmarks as their maunga (mountain), awa (river) and moana (sea). In this way they link themselves back to their primal parents, Papatuanuku the Earth Mother and Ranginui the Sky Father. For this study of Māori and tourism in Kaikoura the mana whenua, or tribal group is Ngati Kuri.

In gathering data and other information to fulfil the requirements of the research it became clear that a working definition of Māori culture was required, as well as an indication of how a Māori cultural framework might be applied to participation in the tourism industry. An understanding of the meaning of ‘culture’ itself was also needed before perceptions of Māori culture as an attraction for tourists in Kaikoura could be described and analysed.
According to The Concise Oxford Dictionary, culture is:

… arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement, regarded collectively; a refined understanding of this; intellectual development; the customs, civilisation, and achievements of a particular time or people; improvement by mental or physical training.

For the authors, culture also concerns itself with:

- People and how they relate to other people - their language, music, means of communication, rituals, celebrations, conflicts, negotiations;
- People and how they relate to the environment - the natural world, food, shelter, clothing;
- People and how they relate to the spiritual world - the unseen, a higher power, the cosmos;
- People and how they relate to history - past, present and future.

Each of these aspects is culturally determined in ways that are unique to particular peoples. For instance, some people have an oral tradition in terms of remembering their history, while others have the written word, whereby they can record their history.

Within Māori society, each tribe is unique in the way it expresses its cultural identity. This expression takes many forms, such as song, dance, oral traditions, carvings, weaving and bone carving (Gray and Saunders, 1997). Another aspect of Māori culture is the way in which Māori express their aspirations for self determination through such concepts as wairua, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and aroha (see Glossary). These concepts aid in understanding the Māori world view, but full comprehension is not possible until the necessary apprenticeship has been served.

Culture can be expressed in two ways, whether internally as values, philosophies and concepts; or externally as kapa haka (e.g., songs, waiata-a-ringa, haka, poi), or as arts and crafts (e.g., weaving, carving). Given this as a frame for understanding Māori culture in general, the task of applying it to this study becomes easier. For the purpose of this study, then, a working definition of Māori culture in Kaikoura includes:

… oral traditions, carvings of pounamu, wood and bone, woven articles such as kete, cultural performances such as kapa haka, and the use of Takahanga Marae as a Māori cultural attraction.
1.3 Research Objectives, Methods and Approach

Conducting research on Māori subjects has become a particularly sensitive task because of the nature of the information sought, and the use to which it is put. In the past, researchers have tended to interpret this information from a monocultural, western point of view, and either marketed it or built a scholarly reputation upon it without acknowledging or returning any benefits to the original informants. Such an extractive process has, over time, created resistance amongst Māori, who regard themselves as overly researched and insufficiently consulted over aspects of their intellectual and cultural property. Obviously there is no one, ‘best’ way of conducting research in a culturally appropriate manner, although guidelines have been drawn up to point the way to a better understanding between researcher and community (see, for example, Te Awekotuku, (1991)). In this study the need was seen to adopt an approach that was not only culturally sensitive but gained the full support of all those who were asked to take part in the study.

The objectives of the study were to:

- Produce an historical account of the development of Māori participation in tourism, and to document the current state of Māori involvement in the tourism industry;
- Describe and interpret the perceptions that Māori have of tourism, and how these perceptions have changed over time;
- Record and analyse Māori responses and coping strategies to tourism development;
- Identify the current use of Māori culture as a tourist attraction, and to describe and interpret changes in the expression of Māori culture;
- Record responses to changes in the relationship between Māori and the natural environment.

The study focused on the township of Kaikoura as defined by the Kaikoura District Council’s boundaries, which run from the Hapuku River in the north to Oaro in the south. The boundaries of the Māori rohe or tribal district, on the other hand, start in the north at Pari Nui O Whiti (the White Cliffs east of the Wairau Lagoon), and then extend west to the Spencer Mountains, south-west to Lake Sumner, and south to the Hurunui River.

The reason why Kaikoura was chosen as an area of study is that it currently has a high profile in the tourism industry, and so has much to offer in the way of meeting the objectives of the study. This report focuses on the participation of Kaikoura Māori in, and their perceptions and views of, the tourism industry, and examines the impact of tourism on employment and on the environmental, economic, social and spiritual wellbeing of the local Māori community.
For the purpose of this study it was felt appropriate to adopt an approach that reflected Māori cultural values and norms. In this case the key concept used was the idea of ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’, or a face-to-face approach. However, in the field we found as Māori researchers operating from within a Māori world view, and holding fast to our tikanga, that this approach involved more than just meeting face-to-face with informants. It also meant that we needed to embrace other concepts such as wairua, manaakitanga, aroha, mihimihi, karakia, and whanaungatanga, to name but a few.

An initial step was for the Māori research team to meet in order to develop a working relationship with each other, to explore the parameters and scope of the study and the issue of intellectual property rights, and to set future meeting times. We also sought direction from the overall project leaders of the Kaikoura study in order to develop a framework from which to begin the study.

The next step was to arrange a meeting with mana whenua in Kaikoura. This took place at Takahanga Marae on 25 July 1997, when the full research team met with the local hapu, Ngati Kuri, to discuss the aims and objectives of the study and to respond to any matters of concern.

With the emphasis on ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’, a series of informal meetings were held with respected kuia and koroua (older women and men), to gain their ongoing guidance and support. The next stage was to cement a working relationship with the mana whenua (Ngati Kuri), by acknowledging their mana, before establishing links with the wider Māori community. A schedule was developed for both structured and informal interviews, to address the specific objectives of the study. Most of the interviews were conducted at Takahanga Marae, with others, especially those with kuia and koroua, being held in their own homes.

To canvas the wider Māori community, and elicit views from all age groups, we began a process of interviewing and surveying that focused on groups which reflected a mix of local and other tribal affiliations, as well as age and gender differences. Interviews and informal discussions were held with people associated both directly and indirectly with tourism in Kaikoura. These took place at various times throughout the study and included individuals and groups such as local iwi, historians from the Kaikoura Historical Trust, shop owners and assistants, staff at the Kaikoura District Council, the Kaikoura Information Centre, and Whale Watch.

Interviews with those directly involved in Whale Watch were carried out over a number of weeks at the Whale Watch Centre. Interviewees included families, company initiators, directors, trustees, the current chief executive officer, middle management, office staff, skippers, bus drivers, guides (both full and part-time), and past employees. Those few people who could not be present at the interviews contributed by taking part in the surveys.

The questionnaire surveys were conducted mainly at Takahanga Marae, which at the time was running a twelve-week Te Reo (Māori language) course on a daily basis, as well as two
evening sessions per week. Both courses had significant numbers of students enrolled in them, with ages ranging from 15 to 65 years. Many of the students hailed from other tribal regions, and with the permission of their Kaiako (‘teacher’) we were able to approach and interview them. Most of the parents of children at the Kohanga Reo (‘language nest’) situated at Takahanga Marae also participated in the surveys. A total of fifty students and about ten parents were surveyed. It might be argued that the choice of subjects who were demonstrably interested in aspects of their Māoritanga would result in a distortion of the survey findings. However, this approach meant that the main features of Māoritanga were understood and that is important for our research objectives. It is also the case that Māori views are as diverse as any that non-Māori might wish to advance, and that the choice of such subjects or venues does not necessarily result in a consensual or uniform response.

Another part of the process was to observe participants and organisations, with the researchers at times taking an active part in the discussions and at other times remaining silent as observers only. Throughout the study it was recognised that individual views and opinions, whether strongly reflective of, or differing from, majority opinions, needed to be accepted and valued for the insights they provided into the diversity of views of the research community. Finally, background information and historical materials were obtained from the Lincoln University Library, the Kaikoura District Council Library, and the Kaikoura Museum.

Within the parameters of the study we needed to make sure that traditional Māori accountability was observed. This is undoubtedly an important aspect of working with Māori, and one that is often overlooked. For the purpose of this study a ‘reporting back’ hui was organised for 1 May 1998 at Takahanga Marae, at which the researchers reported on their findings and were in turn critiqued by those who had been interviewed and surveyed.

In hindsight, although this was only a small section of a major research project, the study was challenging and difficult. Being a ‘Māori researcher’ may rule out some variables, but it adds a number of others that have to be worked through with those best qualified to help. In this case these were the kuia and koroua of Ngati Kuri whom we approached at the beginning of the project. The emotional and spiritual support we received from them was invaluable.
1.4 Conclusion

The impact of tourism on the Māori community in Kaikoura can be effectively studied using a face-to-face approach that includes careful interviewing. The remainder of this report is structured as follows. There are two chapters that are preparatory to the presentation of the main results. Chapter 2 provides historical background, and Chapter 3 presents some demographic data, which help understand the Māori community in Kaikoura. Then Chapter 4 presents the main findings as they relate to Whale Watch since this is an important tourism operation run by Māori. Chapter 5 has a broader focus and examines Māori and tourism more generally. The final chapter summarises the main results and documents the key outcomes and recommendations.
Chapter 2

Background to the Māori Community of Kaikoura

2.1 Introduction

To understand the contemporary situation of Māori in Kaikoura it is necessary first to understand in more detail the background to the community. This background includes mainly history but is complemented with some population data. It also includes a brief account of some of the obligations that Māori have, including obligations to care for both iwi and tourists who settle in the area, and obligations to manage local resources. Each of these topics is discussed in turn and the chapter ends with a timeline of key influences on Kaikoura Māori.

2.2 An Historical Overview

A number of events and influences have impacted upon local iwi from the beginning of their occupancy of the Kaikoura region. The more significant of these are traced here. In this overview, reference is made to successive waves of Māori who occupied the South Island of New Zealand (Te Waipounamu), and were in turn displaced by those who followed them. These ‘waves’ included: Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe, and Ngai Tahu stock, of whom Ngai Tahu is now the dominant tribe in the South Island. The occupancy of Kaikoura by the various tribes is reflected in the names that remain, especially those of the Kaikoura Peninsula.

The oldest name that attaches to Kaikoura Peninsula in Māori mythology is Te Taumanu o Te Waka a Maui. Maui was a legendary figure that fished up the North Island from his canoe, Te Waka a Maui (another name for the South Island), and gained greater leverage by placing his foot on the thwart (‘Taumanu’) which juts out at Kaikoura. The Peninsula was also known as Te Whata Kai a Te Rakaihouia, ‘the Food Storehouse of Te Rakaihouia’, after the Waitaha ancestor whose men were lowered down the cliffs to gather seagulls’ eggs to replenish their stores on their journey south. One version of the name Kaikoura itself is that it comes from a feast of crayfish (kai, food and koura, crayfish) eaten by the great Māori forerunner, Tamatea Pokai Whenua, who travelled around the South Island and created many of its natural features. Another version is that the name comes from a contraction of Te Ahi Kai Koura a Tama Ki Te Rangi, ‘the fire on which Tama Ki Te Rangi cooked his crayfish’ (Cassels, 1993, p.40).
As far as can be determined, Ngati Mamoe were the original occupants of the Takahanga Pa site at Kaikoura, but ceded mana to the warrior chief Maru Kaitatea of Ngati Kuri and Ngai Tahu, by presenting him with a poha or kelp bag of local food delicacies. The giving of the poha meant that the resources of the Kaikoura region were transferred peacefully according to Māori tradition and custom. Maru Kaitatea was the grandson of Kuri, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Kuri, and the hapu to which many Kaikoura Māori belong.

2.3 Mana Whenua, Traditional Boundaries and Obligations

Ngai Tahu, the principal tribe holding mana whenua status in the South Island, is supported by 18 sub-tribes, each governed by its own tribal council or Runanga and based around papatipu marae (a term that acknowledges their traditional standing as marae that date well back into the 19th century - see Glossary). For Kaikoura the principal hapu is Ngati Kuri, the tribal council is Te Runanga O Kaikoura, and the papatipu marae at which Te Runanga O Kaikoura is permanently based, is Takahanga Marae. While Ngati Kuri is regarded as historically dominant and maintains its mana whenua status in the area, Kaikoura’s Māori population (14.3 per cent of the total) includes other Māori groups such as those who came from the North Island in search of work in the 1940s and 1950s. These groups of tangata whenua, or ‘people of the land’ (in a general sense), are also included in this study.

The traditional boundaries of the Kaikoura rohe or tribal district encompass all the lands identified by the historic Kaikoura Purchase of 1859. According to the Deed of Purchase these boundaries begin at Karaka (Cape Campbell), then run west along the coast to Pari Nui O Whiti (Wairau Bluff), then turn inland and run in a direct line to Rangitahi (Tarndale) at the source of the Waiau-toa (Clarence River). From there they travel south-west to Hokakura (Lake Sumner), then east along the Hurunui River to its confluence with the sea, then north-east along the coast to Karaka (Cape Campbell), where the boundaries join (Sherrard, 1966, p.324). These boundaries were upheld in a Māori Appellate Court decision in 1991 and in a Privy Council ruling later that same year. The area encompassed by the boundaries is an estimated 1.01 million hectares, but the area covered by the present research is limited to that of the Kaikoura District Council only.

The significance of knowing Kaikoura’s traditional history and boundaries lies in the fact that this knowledge identifies the people who hold mana whenua status in the area. The possession of mana (status) or rangatiratanga (chiefly rights) over a tribal area carries with it an obligation to manaaki or care for any other iwi - including tourists as an identifiable group - who visit or settle in that area. This obligation is entailed upon the mana whenua by tikanga, an inclusive mix of Māori values, customs, beliefs, practices, rituals, methods, protocols and processes. It is also a feature of kaitiakitanga, an inherited responsibility as spiritual guardians of ancestral lands and their resources to maximise the potential of those resources to sustain all life - that of visitors and iwi alike.
In 1995 Te Runanga O Kaikoura established the Resource Management Team, also known as the Silent File Group (named for the process by which ancestral sites of particular significance were recorded for the purpose of local body planning, but remain the intellectual property of the hapu or iwi to whom those sites belong). This six member team of Runanga volunteers, the Silent File Group, holds responsibility in the Kaikoura area for:

- Environmental issues;
- Waahi tapu (sacred sites);
- Rivers;
- The sea or coastal regions, especially in terms of mahinga kai (food gathering sites);
- Land usage;
- Flora and fauna.

One of the key functions of this group is to liaise with government agencies and regional councils (e.g., the Department of Conservation, Historic Places Trust, and Tranz Rail) on such matters.

At first Kaikoura Māori were not consulted over environmental matters, but in 1996 two representatives from the group were formally appointed to act as consultants to the Kaikoura District Council. This was in line with the requirements of the Resource Management Act 1991, which calls for district councils to consult with tangata whenua. An outcome of the present involvement has been greater participation by mana whenua in the business of the District Council. As an example, the minutes from all District Council meetings, as well as their policies and plans, are received by the group on behalf of the Runanga, so they can have a voice and express their views. The District Council is not obliged to action these views but is obliged to take them into account when considering options relating to environmental matters.

One of the key platforms advocated by the Silent File Group has been the strict monitoring of resource consents in relation to water being taken from local rivers. A consequence of this is that these rivers still have some fish whereas in other districts where monitoring has not been so strict, the fish have died. Members of the group believe that their policing of water use has reduced to some extent the degradation of local rivers.

Another perception expressed by this group is that the natural environment has been affected by an increase in tourism, which has placed a strain on existing resources. More stringent measures to control access to particular areas and resources are currently being mooted by and on behalf of the Runanga. It should be noted, however, that control does not imply the denial of access, but rather recognises the kaitiaki responsibilities of hapu and iwi in their own tribal rohe to care for and preserve the natural environment and its resources for the benefit of present and future generations.
2.4 Timeline of Key Influences on Kaikoura Māori

Historical events affecting Kaikoura Māori are shown in the following timeline. These include pre-colonial history of the South Island Māori tribes as well as legislative changes that have influenced their institutions, organisations and overall development since the beginning of settler government in New Zealand. (Sources: Kahu, 1996; McAloon, (pers. comm.), Sherrard, 1966). Particular attention is given to key events in the 1970s, 1980s and the 1990, and these details provide an account of important contemporary developments of Māori in Kaikoura, including developments in tourism.

1200 AD South Island Māori settlements well established, relying on moa, seals, fish, birds, horticulture.

1600-1700 Major contests for control of the South Island result in Ngai Tahu dominance. Kaikoura becomes a famed repository of West Coast pounamu or greenstone, the equivalent of ‘the white man’s gold’ (Sherrard, 1966, p.30).

1827-1828 Kaikoura raided by the North Island chief Te Rauparaha of Ngati Toa. About 1,400 of the 3,000-4,000 Ngai Tahu living at Kaikoura are killed or taken as captives to Te Rauparaha’s stronghold at Kapiti.

1830s American, French and British whalers become acquainted with the Kaikoura coast, with eight whaling ships reportedly working at Kaikoura in 1834.

1839 Kaikoura captives taken north by Te Rauparaha are released as a result of missionary activity, and return to the remnant of their tribe living at Takahanga under the chief Kaikoura Whakatau.

1840 ‘A. Oliver’ sends an application to the Commissioners of Land Purchases, claiming to have paid local Māori twenty pounds for Kaikoura Peninsula.

1842 Planning begins for the first shore based whaling station at Waiopuka, Kaikoura.

1843 First whaling station established at Kaikoura, with more stations operating by 1844.

1847 The Crown pays Te Rauparaha’s Ngati Toa for Kaikoura and various other places in the South Island. Ngai Tahu protest at this spurious recognition of Ngati Toa rights, but their protests go unheeded.
1852 Some stock driven off runholder land by Kaikoura Māori, and other acts of ‘petty annoyance’ committed in a bid to get government to pay them for land leased or sold to runholders. Some government officials doubt whether the Crown has legal title to land at Kaikoura, where Ngai Tahu claims were ‘not considered’.

1857 Nelson Provincial Council sees Kaikoura as an ‘admirable’ site for European settlement.

1857-1859 The Crown makes a token payment to Ngai Tahu of three hundred pounds for an estimated 1.01 million hectares of land within the Kaikoura tribal district. The Kaikoura Purchase of 1859 leaves 8.9 hectares of land remaining at Takahanga.

Kaikoura becomes part of Marlborough Province when the latter separates from Nelson.

1860s The name ‘Kaikoura’ becomes standard spelling in place of ‘Kaikora’, ‘Kai Kora’, etc.

Exploration of Kaikoura region complete, with the courses of the main rivers traced back to their watersheds and only mountain peaks left to climb.

1861-1864 Kaikoura Reserve surveyed into town and suburban sections. Swampy land turns farming into hard subsistence work.

1864 Kaikoura Reserve opened up for sale.

1868 Chief Kaikoura Whakatau killed in a fall from a horse.

Late 1870s Takahanga residents move to Mangamaunu Pa, at the mouth of the Hapuku River, after their village burns down. Takahanga Pa site leased for grazing for 20 years.

1870-1888 Public works focus on local roads, bridges, and completion of inland Kaikoura road. Coastal shipping dominates external links.

1890s Kaikoura County Council initiates a move to have Takahanga Pa site made a recreation ground and cottage hospital site. Ngati Kuri agree on condition that they be given an equitable exchange of land. This takes place in 1901.

1894 Kaikoura Dairy Factory established.

1895-1914 Spasmodic progress on the Waipara to Blenheim railway line.

1900 Recognition of Kaikoura region’s scenic virtues, although little tourism development results.
Transfer to Māori of 231 hectares at Mangamaunu in return for Takahanga Pa site at Kaikoura.

1901  Control of Takahanga vested in Kaikoura Domain Board.

1905  Native Councils (Runanga) abolished because they are slowing down government purchase of Māori lands.

1908  Tohunga Suppression Act imposes penalties on experts in Māori medicines, affecting local reliance on these medicines and impacting on traditional healing practices and methods of learning and transmitting knowledge.

Native Health Act legislates against the whangai system of adopting children, and discourages Māori women from breast-feeding their babies.

Explosives used for the first time to kill whales.

1916-19  Māori servicemen returning from World War I declared ineligible for benefits from government’s rehabilitation scheme, which is available to European servicemen only.

1920  First sperm whale in sixty seasons caught at Kaikoura.

1922  Shore whaling at Kaikoura ends.

1923  Native Land Amendment Act authorises Native Land Court to investigate Ngai Tahu’s identity. Māori Land Court hearings verify lists of Ngai Tahu beneficiaries who were descendants of kaumatua alive in 1848. Kaikoura Māori attend all these hearings, often at great cost to them.

1924  Publication of Ngai Tahu Census of Kaumatua Alive in 1848. These lists are the primary source of Ngai Tahu identity today.

1929  Great Depression stemming from Wall Street Stock Exchange crash sees people worldwide reduced to begging and starvation. In New Zealand, Kaikoura Māori affected as well as Māori nationwide.

Note:
1. In rural areas such as Kaikoura, Māori were able to access mahinga kai resources in order to sustain themselves.
2. During this period Māori receiving half the unemployment benefit of Europeans, i.e., 7 shillings and sixpence for Māori and 15 shillings for Europeans.
1932  The Māori religio-political leader Ratana presents a petition to government containing 30,000 signatures, which calls for ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi. Government ignores this.

1936  The Labour Government pushes ahead with the Waipara to Blenheim railway line, completing it in 1945.

1939-45  World War II

1944  Ngai Tahu Claim Settlement Act passed, relating to Kemp’s Deed of Purchase of large areas of the South Island. Kaikoura Māori included in the resulting settlement.

1945  Māori population nationwide found to have increased from just over 40,000 in 1896 to around 100,000.

Kaikoura Tribal Committee (now Te Runanga O Kaikoura) receives executive status from Governor General to deal with influx of Māori coming to the South Island to work. Much of the work at Kaikoura is with the Main Trunk (Railway) Line and the Ministry of Works.

Kaikoura Tribal Committee takes care of social, cultural and administrative needs of an expanding Māori population. Many incoming Māori marry locally and elect to remain in the South Island, taking part in local community and Runanga activities.

1945-1960  A small crayfishing boom at Kaikoura ends in overfishing.

1946  Ngai Tahu Māori Trust Board established.

Early 1950s  As is happening elsewhere in New Zealand, tuberculosis takes a heavy toll of the Kaikoura Māori community. Māori are particularly vulnerable to this disease, and whole families are decimated.

1953  Māori Affairs Act passed allowing for Māori land not being used, and classified as wasteland, to be taken by government. This, coupled with the Town and Country Planning Act that prevents Māori from building on their land, effectively reduces Māori land holdings. A key aspiration of the Kaikoura Māori community during this decade is to build a marae at Kaikoura, although not realised until 25 years later.

Mid 1950s  A second influx of North Island Māori come to work in the South Island in schemes such as Ministry of Works/hydro electric power schemes, trade training schemes, and freezing works.

Again many of these Māori marry locally and choose to remain in the South Island. This has an effect on the Kaikoura Māori community, as these outside...
Māori participate in and became part of the social, cultural and administrative life of the community.

Kaikoura town labour force concentrated in transport and farm servicing occupations, both in the public and private sectors.

**1960s** Hunn Report recommends a stepping up of the government’s ‘assimilation’ process, which further erodes the status of Māori.

**1967** Māori Affairs Amendment Act gives Māori Trustee the right to ask individual Māori to sell their interests in land to the government, which can then on-sell this land at a profit. The Ratings Act means that Māori freehold land becomes subject to rates, which Māori are poorly placed to pay. These Acts affect land in Kaikoura as well as throughout the rest of the country.

**1975** Waitangi Tribunal established to look into Māori land grievances from that date forward.

Remaining land at Takahanga (0.4 hectares) becomes an historic reserve under the Historic Places Amendment Act 1975.

**1976** The dream to build a marae on the historic pa site at Takahanga is revisited, and work begins in earnest. Fundraising becomes the preoccupation of the Māori community, taking the form of raffles, stalls, housie, cards, dances, formal balls, hangi and kapa haka.

The rebuilding of Takahanga Marae becomes a community project, with hapu and iwi throughout the South Island contributing their time, labour and skills. Sponsorship to complete the interior of the wharenui or meeting house comes from Te Waka Toi, the Māori and South Pacific Arts Council. The wharenui, the focal point of the Marae, is named Maru Kaitatea after the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Kuri, the mana whenua of Kaikoura. The Marae sits above Kaikoura township, facing north and overlooking the spot where mana was ceded to Ngati Kuri in earlier times.

**Mid 1970s** Some tourist development in Kaikoura, although the township mostly serves as a ‘tea and comfort’ break or an overnight stop for Cook Strait Ferry passengers, whether travelling by road or rail.
1979  Takahanga Pa Trust Board set up.

1980s  Farm incomes and public sector employment decline considerably due to recession and restructuring. Two factors that intersect at Kaikoura are a vastly increased emphasis on tourism as a generator of overseas funds, and an increased visibility of Māori claims under the Treaty of Waitangi.

‘Māori development decade’ and Māori cultural renaissance.

1985  Waitangi Tribunal reconstituted to allow claims to be made retrospective to 1840. The Waitangi Tribunal Amendment Act 1985 has major significance for all Māori, including Kaikoura Māori, because it opens the door for Māori land grievances to be heard at last.

The Kaikoura Tribal Committee relinquishes its executive status and becomes the Kaikoura Māori Committee, in order to become eligible to access government funding for marae construction.

Confronted with a wave of redundancies and a falling population, a group of Kaikoura people establish a promotion association and tourist centre. Originally the emphasis on scenery and walkways, but once Whale Watch starts, visitor numbers soar.

1986  The introduction of a fisheries quota system creates a property right for fish and impacts considerably on local Māori fisherman and their families, who cannot afford to buy into the system.

1987  New Zealand Court of Appeal confirms the status of the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of New Zealand.

The State Owned Enterprise Act which results in the corporatisation of numerous different government departments impacts considerably on Māori throughout the country because of job layoffs. In Kaikoura, the corporatisation of the Railway Department affects Māori families who are heavily employed as train drivers, locomotive assistants, gangers and track maintenance crews. This acts as a catalyst by motivating Te Runanga O Kaikoura to create an economic base for itself.
1987-1988 Kaikoura Māori Committee reconstituted as Te Runanga O Kaikoura (its current status). Te Runanga O Kaikoura sets up a company called Kaikoura Tours Limited, which has as its primary purpose the generation of employment for Kaikoura Māori. Kaikoura Tours begins operating with a single ten-seater passenger vessel, taking visitors out to see marine life such as sperm whales and dolphins. The business is extremely successful and leads to an upturn in the local economy. More detail of Whale Watch’s development is provided in a later chapter.

1989 The Resource Management Act consolidates 54 different statutes into a single statute controlling land, air and water resources. This Act requires Māori to be involved and consulted in decisions affecting the use of New Zealand’s natural resources - a move which significantly empowers iwi throughout the country. Kaikoura Māori become more actively involved in local resource planning and management as a result.

1987-90 Waitangi Tribunal hears the Ngai Tahu Land and Fisheries Claim (WAI-27), the largest ever single Māori land claim, in terms of acreage, to be presented to the Tribunal. The presentation of Ngai Tahu’s case takes two years to be heard.

1991 A Waitangi Tribunal report on the Ngai Tahu Land Claim has considerable impact, as it helps to establish the identity of Ngai Tahu and its constituent hapu at a public level as well as within Ngai Tahu itself.

A Māori Appellate Court decision and a Privy Council ruling uphold the traditional boundaries claimed by Ngati Kuri, Ngai Tahu.

1993 The first reading of Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu Bill takes place in Parliament.

1996 Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu Bill passed.

1997 Ngai Tahu Settlement Bill signed at Takahanga Marae, Kaikoura.

After its initial significance as a centre of Māori (particularly Ngai Tahu) activity, Kaikoura has experienced many of the same vicissitudes as those of other small coastal towns in New Zealand whose communities face a serious lack of employment opportunities. With tourism playing an increasingly visible role in the life of the community, employment and educational opportunities have the potential to reverse the negative trends of the last century and return Kaikoura to its earlier economic importance.
Chapter 3

Some Demographic Characteristics of Māori in the Kaikoura Community

3.1 Introduction

A statistical profile of the Kaikoura Māori community was compiled using data from a number of sources. The first to be presented are census data that show changes in the respective populations of Māori and Europeans. These are followed by data generated from specific Māori groups who have access to visitor data of different types and High School attendance data. An analysis of these statistics prepares the way for an examination of how the community is currently being affected by tourism.

3.2 Population Statistics

Background information on the Māori community at Kaikoura comes from the national census figures for 1991 and 1996 published by Statistics New Zealand (Table 1). The data given in the table show that the Māori population in Kaikoura has risen by 349 since the 1991 census, compared with a decline of 18 for the European population. The reasons for the increase in Māori can only be guessed at in the absence of confirmatory data, but one such reason could be that back migrations are occurring as a result of Kaikoura’s improving economic situation.

Table 1

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In 1989, South Island Māori conducted their own ‘Ngai Tahu Census’ and found that approximately 25,000 people claimed Ngai Tahu descent. Of this number approximately 5,000 to 7,000 people were estimated to belong to Ngati Kuri. The census data above show this figure to be unrealistically high unless other reasons can be found for the discrepancy. One of these is that many of Ngati Kuri do not live in their own tribal rohe, following a trend during the 1940s and 1950s that saw Māori move from smaller outlying areas of high unemployment to the towns and cities in search of work. That is, out-migrations could account for the discrepancy between Ngati Kuri population figures for the South Island as a whole, and for Kaikoura itself.

However, this is only part of the story. Following on from the ‘Māori development decade’ and cultural renaissance of the 1980s, many Māori discovered (or in some cases re-discovered) their roots. The success of a number of hapu and iwi land claims before the Waitangi Tribunal since 1985 has also increased Māori awareness of their tribal links and affiliations. These factors have resulted in more hapu and iwi registrations throughout the country, with a flow-on effect into census figures and other declarations of iwi identity.

3.3 Visitors to Takahanga Marae

Visitor numbers to the Marae were extracted from yearly diaries kept from the opening of the Marae in 1992 to the present day, and personal commentaries from two Runanga representatives whose task it was to keep the Marae booking diaries. Table 2 shows the data for visitor type, ethnicity and gender for 1992 to 1997.

The table shows that the greater proportion of visitors to Takahanga Marae were Māori, with considerable numbers of Europeans attending also, possibly as guests at hui. Gender and ages are as might be expected from a representative cross section of the community. Peak numbers of visitors occurred in 1992 when the Marae was opened and again in 1997 when the Ngai Tahu Settlement Bill was signed there. International visitor numbers (mainly tourists) show a significant increase in 1997 as a result of the presentation to Whale Watch Kaikoura of several prestigious international tourism awards.
Table 2
Characteristics of Visitors to Takahanga Marae, 1992-1997

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<td>2734</td>
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3.4 Clients of Te Tai O Marokura Health and Social Services

Te Tai O Marokura Health and Social Services are mandated by Te Runanga O Kaikoura to offer services in a broad spectrum of areas that come within the parameters of health and social portfolios. No gender breakdown could be obtained for those who visited Te Tai O Marokura Services for social reasons, but those who visited under the Health Kaupapa (Plan) came for reasons such as the following:

- Health promotion
- Health development
- Alcohol and drug services
- Community liaison
- Health education
- Government agencies
- Health hui

Table 3 shows demographic data for both visitors and clients attending the Social and Health Services between 1995 and 1997.
The table shows that considerably more Māori than Europeans attended the agency, as might be expected from its situation in a marae base setting. Most of the client base in both services are primarily Māori, whilst visitors to the service are primarily Europeans. More children than adults attended for social reasons in the first year and are a reflection of the size of the whanau groups worked with. In subsequent years the number of adult clients have increased with the “size” of whanau groups decreasing.

These data reflect the extent of health and social problems in Kaikoura as noted by Māori respondents to the surveys, in terms of suicides, domestic violence, alcoholism, drug abuse and under age drinking.

Table 3
Characteristics of Health and Social Service Clients and Visitors, 1995-1997

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<td>376</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4    -</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9    -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Group</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>1074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>502  -</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>375  -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1405</td>
<td></td>
<td>1704</td>
<td></td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 District High School Data

The following data on High School attendance were supplied by Kaikoura District High School. They relate to the numbers of Māori students who attended the school from 1993 to 1998, according to school returns submitted to the Ministry of Education on 1 March 1998. Table 4 shows that Māori students make up a fraction of the total school roll, especially at higher levels (Forms Three to Seven). Numbers given in the table are too small for a pattern to be extrapolated, although more students appear to transfer to other schools - presumably out of Kaikoura - than remain to find work or undertake job training.
### Table 4
High School Attendance Data and Destination of School Leavers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māori Students, Form 1-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub total</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Roll</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destination Leavers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaikoura</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another School</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Course</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Polytech</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.6 Clients of the Kaikoura Centre for Continuing Education

The Kaikoura Centre for Continuing Education is a Māori Private Training Establishment (PTE) and registered charitable trust, providing second chance education for people between the ages of 16 and 60 years. Training schemes were first initiated at Takahanga Marae in 1984 under the ACCESS/ MACCESS system of work schemes, but in 1993 the trustees of the Centre established a charitable trust of their own and moved away from the Marae. During this period the number of students taught through the Centre increased from the initial requirement of 16 students to 46 students at any one time. A unique course taught at the Centre is Marine Tourism, which was developed locally and has proven popular.

Table 5 shows that although more European than Māori students attended the Centre, the number of male students compared with female, and Māori compared with European, continues to grow. This suggests that young Māori men especially are taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the Centre to make themselves more employable through advanced education and training.
Table 5
Characteristics of People Attending the Kaikoura Centre for Continuing Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnicity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7 Conclusion

The tables in this chapter show that the Māori population has risen since 1991 whereas the European population has been static. Most visitors to Takahanga marae are Māori but there are also European and international visitors. Data on the use of health services indicate that there is considerable use of the facilities, which suggests that there are significant social problems in the Kaikoura area. While the numbers of Māori pupils at the High School are low there are increasing numbers attending the Centre for Continuing Education in order to make themselves more employable.
Chapter 4

Whale Watch: Background and Evolution

4.1 Introduction

Whale Watch is a major attraction for tourists and it is one of the major tourist operators in Kaikoura. It is relevant then for Whale Watch to be the main focus of attention of contemporary involvement of Kaikoura Māori in tourism and for this reason it is considered as a separate chapter in this report. The chapter examines Whale Watch by focusing on its background and origins, its early operations and changes in its organisational structure. This chapter will show that Whale Watch has evolved in the way that it has followed its principles of integrating cultural, economic and environmental factors. The chapter begins with a summary of the key events in Whale Watch’s development and this timeline is then expanded in the following sections.

4.2 Whale Watch Timeline

1985 - 87  Macess/Access Schemes on Takahanga Marae were used to train personnel to work for Kaikoura tours and Takahanga Marae (e.g., guides etc.). Courses relevant to Kaikoura tours were in Hospitality, Tourism and Marine Life. There were also course run in Te Reo, Carving, Horticulture, Driving Instruction, Paper Hanging and Bakery.

1987  Kaikoura Tours Ltd began operating with a single ten seater passenger vessel.

1989  In December, Kaikoura Tours Ltd bought out Nature Watch Charters Ltd, thus the partnership with Ngai Tahu began.

1990  The number of vessels had increased to four, each capable of carrying twelve passengers. The company also won its first Tourism Award, which was presented by the New Zealand Tourism Industry Federation for excellence.

1992  A 32 seater vessel called the ‘Uruao’ was built, over 25,000 passengers were carried that year. The company restructured and changed its name to ‘Whale Watch Kaikoura Ltd’. They had a 95 per cent success rate for sighting Whales.
1993 - 1996  During this period the company built two new vessels, Wawahia and Makawhiu, both capable of carrying 50 passengers. The company won the "Tourism for Tomorrow" Award presented by the British Airways. Around 140,000 visitors were attracted to Kaikoura and the company carried over 40,000 passengers.

1997 - 2000  The company committed $1 million toward refurbishing their base at what was the Kaikoura Railway Station, now known as the Whaleway Station. These refurbishing included Reservations, Bookings, Restaurant and Merchandising facilities. Foreshore developments include a children’s play area, outside patio and volleyball courts. The company also won the Pacific Asia Travel Association Gold Award for Culture and the Green Globe Distinction Award. In 1997 the company carried over 50,000 passengers.

4.3 Background and Origins

The relationship between Māori and whales might seem at first glance to be an ambivalent one. On the one hand whales were traditionally regarded as a sign of plenty and a source of food. On the other, they had spiritual significance as taniwha (mythical sea creatures), such as those that accompanied the founding canoes to Aotearoa. They also acted as kaitiaki or guardians to particular individuals or tribes, and could be called upon in time of need. That is, they occupied a place in Māori mythology and history that was both physical and metaphysical. However, their role as ‘taonga’ or prized possessions of the Māori people is beyond dispute.

Whales were exploited commercially at Kaikoura from 1834, and the first shore-based whaling station began operating there in 1843. Kaikoura Māori worked with the whalers until shore based whaling ended in 1922, although commercial whaling in New Zealand waters continued until the 1960s. The last whale harpooning by a New Zealand vessel occurred off the coast of Kaikoura on 21 December 1964 (Hutching, 1990).

In order to gain a greater understanding of Whale Watch Kaikoura Limited and about its inception and history, the researchers canvassed all those involved with Whale Watch at every level. This included past and present employees, initiators, families, trustees and directors, and was achieved in the main through interviews followed by surveys and observations. One of the key points to emerge was a consensus that Whale Watch was originally a Māori venture, and that it formed the starting point for Māori involvement in the tourism industry. At the same time there was a perception that Māori had been involved in tourism for years, but just how long was not made clear to the researchers.

Prior to the establishment of Whale Watch, Kaikoura’s economy and employment depended largely on farming and fishing industries and on government organisations such as the
Railways, Public Works and Post Office. With the closure of many of these organisations Kaikoura witnessed a growing trend in Māori unemployment - in particular, a worrying 90 per cent Māori youth unemployment. For Kaikoura Māori it was time to search for alternative ways of creating employment for those cast out of jobs, and so an initial meeting was called to look at initiatives and consider ideas. Some of the ideas that came out of that meeting included tramping and utilising the huts through the Kowhai Saddle; whale watching; flavoured honey (to be marketed to the United States under contract); Ivanhoe hats and knitted jerseys; and opossum hides. Of these, two major ventures were considered: whale watching and flavoured honey. Eventually, whale watching was the venture that was chosen.

According to respondents Whale Watch took two years to plan and develop. Beginning in 1985, monthly meetings were held to discuss finance, boats, training needs, legal aspects and other requirements. These meetings were held prior to initiating a feasibility study. According to those who were in the forefront of the venture the Department of Conservation knew that a feasibility study was being undertaken on behalf of local iwi, and that they were the only applicants seeking a permit to begin operating as a whale watching venture. The Marlborough Development Board gave a business development grant of $5,000 for an initial study into the feasibility of whale watching in Kaikoura waters (Brett, 1992).

A difference appears to exist between various accounts at this point, in that many respondents believe that Barbara Todd and Roger Sutherland were contracted to carry out the study on behalf of the families involved. Many respondents said it was well researched, although one informant believed that consulting fees were never actually paid to the consultants. Others thought that the consulting fees were repaid to the families to discharge any moral obligations that might have been felt.

In tourist literature and newspaper reports of the early 1990s, Todd and Sutherland are described as competitors and former consultants to Kaikoura Tours (APEC, p.35), and as rival operators (Keene, 1992) who worked with the marae on a study (Ansley, 1991), or were commissioned by the marae (Brett, 1992). However, Kaikoura Tours, now known as Whale Watch, is held by Māori informants to have been started by the five Māori families who attended the initial meeting. Unable to obtain a loan from the banks the families mortgaged their homes and cars as collateral for a loan which they obtained from the Māori venture-capital agency, Mana Enterprises, a branch of the then Department of Māori Affairs.
In March 1988, nine months before Kaikoura Tours started up, Todd and Sutherland began operating their own company which they called Nature Watch Charters Limited. For some, controversy still lingers over whose ‘moemoea’ or dream gave rise to the initial venture, but whether that of Todd and Sutherland or the Māori people of Kaikoura, the latter consistently maintain that the original idea was theirs. This view was also held by informants whose tribal affiliations were neither Ngati Kuri nor Ngai Tahu, and who have nothing to gain in the way of reflected mana by siding with either side.

There were also differing views amongst those immediately involved. Some say the whale watching idea came out of a hui held in Dunedin to discuss work schemes, ‘Mahi Tangata’, which was attended by three people from Kaikoura. Others say one particular whanau member mooted the idea on more than one occasion, to both whanau and hapu. According to informants the reason this idea was bought to the fore was the imminent corporatisation of the Railways. Whatever the facts of the case, minutes taken from Te Runanga O Kaikoura minute books in April 1988 confirm that Roger Sutherland was told that the purpose of Whale Watch was to support the people and the planned Takahanga Marae.

According to Bill Solomon, the upoko Runanga (‘head’) of Takahanga Marae:

The operation was originally set up as an employment creation venture to help discourage young Māori locals from leaving the district, and to provide a source of funds for the development of Takahanga Marae (Scott, 1991).

4.4 Initial Operations and Maturation of Whale Watch

Formally established in 1987 as Kaikoura Tours Limited, Whale Watch demonstrated for local iwi a sense of sovereignty in that they are a people whose customs come from a marine environment, and it is from this environment that they derive their kawa or ‘ways of doing things’. Whale Watch was officially opened in July 1989 by Koro Wetere, the then Minister of Māori Affairs, who described it as ‘a positive example of Māori people helping themselves by providing employment and conserving New Zealand’s unique natural and cultural heritage’ (The Press, 1989).

When Whale Watch began it had three key operating bases for the creation of employment opportunities: the Whale Watch enterprise, the Whale Watch Craft Shop, and the Whale Watch Restaurant. During its initial starting up phase Whale Watch and the Craft Shop faced many barriers. For instance there was no local support for the initiative as other craft shops were against the development of yet another of their kind, and the Whale Watch Craft Shop could not get local artists to support it. In any case, doubt remains as to the wisdom of supporting non-Māori artists because of matters such as authenticity of product (discussed more fully in the next chapter). Eventually the initiators had to go beyond Kaikoura to seek the support of Māori artists who supplied the Craft Shop with bone carvings and pounamu pieces. In return the Craft Shop promoted and marketed these artists and their works for, as one interviewee said, “There is a need for Māori to support Māori initiatives”.

Not all local iwi were behind the venture, and in its first year of operation the only businesses to support it in terms of bringing it to the attention of visitors were Whitehouse
Backpackers and the Norfolk Pine Hotel. According to several informants racism “really escalated” in Kaikoura in those early years, to the point where non-Māori who supported the venture were reported to be receiving abusive telephone calls, and petitions were circulated to try and stop Whale Watch from berthing their boats in South Bay. In November 1990 all eight outboard motors on the boats were sabotaged by having the gearbox plugs removed - which added $25,000 worth of damage to the $14,000 stolen two weeks earlier, when thieves broke into the Whale Watch office (Brett, 1992). In February 1991 the company’s 44-seater shuttle bus was gutted by fire in suspicious circumstances, after which “[their] insurance company refused to insure them” (Ansley, 1991). The police were unable to solve these reported crimes and so Whale Watch was obliged to set up its own nightly patrol roster to check boats, offices and other assets.

From these accounts it can be seen that Whale Watch Kaikoura Limited, as it is today, went through a turbulent stage in its early years of operation. This state of affairs did not continue indefinitely, and in 1989/90 Kaikoura Tours was given the opportunity to buy Nature Watch Charters Limited. Financial support was provided by the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board, which now holds a 47 per cent shareholding while the Kaikoura Runanga holds the remaining 53 per cent. The acquisition by Whale Watch of both permits was seen as a conservation monopoly which ‘polarised the community’ (Brett, 1992, p.60; APEC, 1997, p.35), although the two companies continued to operate as separate entities, with Nature Watch emphasising wildlife and Kaikoura Tours, Māori culture.

Since the establishment of Whale Watch, Kaikoura has witnessed a rapid increase in tourism. Many respondents believe the economy and employment opportunities in Kaikoura are now largely dependent on the tourism industry, and that Whale Watch is the biggest tourist attraction Kaikoura has to offer. It possesses an enviable record for, from its humble beginnings, it has turned into a multi-million dollar business that is tribally owned and operated. To local iwi, tourism is a young but growing enterprise, and many see Whale Watch as the beginnings of their participation in the tourism industry.

The following table gives an indication of the company’s evolution between 1987 and 1998.
Table 6
Structure of Whale Watch, 1987 and 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1987</th>
<th>1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trustees</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Directorate</strong></td>
<td>Informal Directors (10)</td>
<td>Directors (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Management</strong></td>
<td>General Manager</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Administration and Accounts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Divisional Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Divisional Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Operations</strong></td>
<td>Sea Crew (3 skippers, 6 guides)</td>
<td>Sea Crew (5 skippers, 11 guides)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maintenance and transport (4)</td>
<td>Maintenance and transport (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Office Staff (3)</td>
<td>Office Staff (15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 Perception of Māori Culture Within Whale Watch

Within Whale Watch itself there appear to be differing perceptions of Māori culture, and how this culture is expressed. For most staff the perception exists that the interpretation and portrayal of Māori culture is about the passion and pride of being Māori, with its accompanying spirituality and related aspects of the Māori ethos. This sense of ‘being Māori’ resulted in the creation of a whanau atmosphere when Whale Watch was set up five years ago, when its smaller size made greater interaction possible amongst staff. Now, while the notion of whanaungatanga still exists and Whale Watch is still seen as having a supportive environment, many feel that the portrayal of Māori culture is optional, being left up to tour guides to express it as they see fit.

A related perception is that expressions of Māori culture within Whale Watch are seen as having changed dramatically to the point where they no longer exist. Some respondents spoke of former practices that are no longer observed, such as offering karakia (prayers) before entering the realm of Tangaroa (the sea), inclusive decision-making and consultation processes as part of the initial whanau orientation of the company, and the telling of oral histories and traditions on the Whale Watch boats. In the early days, the telling of such stories was part of every trip but, according to some informants, tourists were perceived as wanting only to see the whales. This was interpreted as a lack of respect for Māori cultural heritage (which is seen as a taonga by its people), and the practice was stopped. In any event there seemed to be little interest in or appreciation for wider aspects of Māori mythology and history, even when related directly to whales.
Other respondents felt the expression of Māori culture by Whale Watch lies in the fact that the company is Māori owned and operated, as evidenced by the Whale Watch logo that appears on the company’s brochures and boats. To this group of respondents cultural aspects are more outward (and hence more visible to the tourist) than those which resided in the family atmosphere of earlier years.

4.6 Conclusion

The company structure of Whale Watch Kaikoura Limited is now made up of capital and directors from Te Runanga O Kaikoura Trust Board (the corporate body of the local hapu, Ngati Kuri), and Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu (the corporate body of the major South Island iwi). Described in the literature as ‘a greenfields eco-tourism venture’ (‘Whale Watch’, Te Karaka, 1997, p.11; ‘Whale Watching’, Te Māori, 1997, p.4), Whale Watch portrays a mix of indigenous history, culture, heritage and natural environment. According to APEC, (1997, p.34), it is “run by indigenous people with a heritage and a view of the future based on strong principles” Those principles are: that everything it does must be culturally acceptable, economically viable, and environmentally sensitive (Stone, quoted in APEC, 1997, p.40). This is reflected in the path the company has followed since its inception. However, the path has not been easy or straight and now the presentation of Māori culture is more muted as the scale of operation makes it more difficult to practice the principles that emphasise culture.
Chapter 5

Māori and Tourism

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter looked at Whale Watch because it is a major player in the tourism industry in Kaikoura. The present chapter moves on to consider related issues including the current state of Māori involvement in tourism, the use and changes in expression of Māori culture, and changes in the relationship between Māori and the environment. The chapter thus addresses the main objective of this report. It does this by using the results from the survey and from the in-depth interviews. Since the survey is more useful in giving a broader account of Māori and tourism, these results are presented first and are then followed by the more detailed results from the interviews. The final sections focus on some outstanding points such as the perceived benefits and costs of tourism.

5.2 Māori Involvement in Tourism and Perceived Benefits and Costs

Of those surveyed, 70 per cent had been involved in the tourism industry and, of these, 45 per cent were still employed in tourism.

The main occupations as given by the respondents were:

- Service industry (waitressing, hotel work, shop assistants, service station staff);
- Whale Watch;
- Kaikoura Information Centre.

Sixty per cent of those surveyed said that other members of their household were currently employed in tourism, with an average of two persons per household working in the tourism industry.

Interview respondents generally accepted that tourism is a fact of life in Kaikoura today, and that the future of Kaikoura township is becoming more and more dependent on tourism as a main industry. Whale Watch has by far the greatest number of Māori employed or involved in the tourism industry, whether directly or indirectly. The company itself was set up to create employment opportunities for Māori, and most of its current employees are
employed long term. During the peak (summer) season in 1997, when this research began, Whale Watch was employing 50 people, both Māori and Pakeha (APEC 1997; Keene, 1992). However, while employing this many people, it suffers from a shortage of skilled workers such as engineers. It operates on a yearly tenure that compares unfavourably with an operation such as the Shotover Experience that took the Department of Conservation to court and now operates on a sixteen-year tenure.

In terms of the perceived benefits and costs of tourism, 60 per cent of those surveyed said they had personally benefited from tourism through:

- Increased job prospects;
- The creation of opportunities to interact with people from other countries and cultures;
- Learning of new skills such as communication skills;
- Ongoing personal development and training.

Nearly all respondents felt the wider community of Kaikoura had gained from tourism as a result of:

- An increase in the number of businesses (which were seen to be thriving);
- An expanded number of accommodation and food outlets;
- Greater employment opportunities;
- Improved township facilities;
- More community spirit (the town’s ‘aliveness’, as one respondent put it);
- People becoming more open-minded;
- More people learning about the environment.

Forty per cent of those surveyed believe tourism has had negative impacts on both the natural environment and the wider community. Those impacts that relate to the environment and to Māori concerns for the environment include:

- The contamination of water in mountain streams, caused by the introduction of giardia;
- The loss of mana and rangatiratanga suffered by those holding kaitiaki responsibilities in the area;
- A lack of nurturing and honouring of Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother;
- Little regard by tourists for Aotearoa’s natural beauty;
- An abuse of cultural values and customs by overseas tourists.

Other effects of tourism which relate to the Kaikoura community include:

- The increasing cost of living in Kaikoura (e.g., higher rates, greater cost of food, clothing and petrol);
- The presence of selective employment practices;
- A perceived rise in unemployment;
- A perceived increase in the crime rate.
5.3 Māori Perceptions of Tourism

Those surveyed aged under 25 years and over 45 years believed that Māori had been involved in the tourism industry for many years. Most felt that the involvement had extended back for more than 100 years. However, it was not made clear to the researchers how or in what form that involvement had been expressed. Conversely, those between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five years believed that Māori had been involved in tourism for the past ten to twelve years only. Of this latter group, most indicated that their perceptions of tourism were interlinked with perceived changes in the expression of Māori culture. For the most part, these changes would have occurred as a result of the Māori development decade of the 1980s, which points to an almost immediate awareness by the relatively isolated Māori community at Kaikoura of the cultural renaissance that was going on in the cities at the time. Those currently older than 45 may not have been affected by this ‘renaissance’ to the same extent as the 25-45 year old group, while many of those currently younger than 25 would have been brought up in their culture and felt that this is the way it had always been. For both older and younger groups it could be said that although the pace of life had increased in Kaikoura its quality and timeless nature remain.

Some interview respondents regarded as positive the changes that have occurred as Māori have developed Whale Watch, which have resulted in increased employment and economic benefits for Māori locally and nationally through the international recognition gained by the company. Many past and present employees of Whale Watch feel that working for the company has enhanced their personal development and created opportunities which would not have occurred had they worked for some other organisation. For some, it was about being given a chance when others were not so fortunate. In an interview with Bill Solomon in 1992, it was estimated that at least 20 of those who were being employed by Whale Watch were ‘essentially unemployable’ (Brett, 1992, p.56), because of the lack of jobs and job training facilities.

5.4 The Current Use of Māori Culture as a Tourist Attraction

Fifteen per cent of those surveyed believe that very little if any Māori culture is currently being used as a tourist attraction in Kaikoura, while 75 per cent, most of them under 35 years of age, believe that Māori culture is currently portrayed (and principally used) in the selling of carvings and other taonga. Just over half believe that Māori culture is also portrayed by Whale Watch through the oral histories given by its guides. Half the respondents felt that Takahanga Marae is a cultural attraction, albeit an informal one, as tourists are not encouraged to visit or participate in any of the activities that take place there.
The slight ambivalence that this suggests is reflected in literature which says that tourists are ‘encouraged … to visit the recently refurbished Takahanga Marae’ (APEC, p.36) - being referred there, according to respondents, by the Kaikoura Information Centre without consultation with iwi. This state of affairs possibly arose out of a short-lived experience in 1989 of providing tourists with entertainment and hangi meals after regular cultural practices on a Sunday. In a marae situation, visitors are expected to observe tribal protocols but, when unsupervised, instances of inappropriate behaviour can and do occur. Wandering into the marae complex and looking around is generally allowed through the goodwill of the mana whenua, but if the Marae is booked for a hui or if one is in progress then those people are asked to leave.

A significant number of older people surveyed believe that ‘Māori as a people’ and ‘the cultural experience’ are prime reasons for overseas tourists coming to Aotearoa. For while the environment is rightly regarded as spectacular, they argue that it is ‘things Māori’ that ultimately define New Zealand as a tourist destination. Other tourist attractions were in most cases deemed secondary by this group. However, their views were not shared by most younger people, who tended to take a more ‘western’, commercialised view of tourism. For this group, Māori cultural offerings are those that are visible, like kapa haka and Takahanga Marae and the selling of carvings and other taonga. Both young and old felt that Māori culture finds its clearest expression in the performing arts (waiata-a-ringa, haka, songs, poi), although the more elderly were forthright in stating that ‘Māori performances for tourism’ would not take place in Kaikoura either in their time or in the foreseeable future.

The suggestion that Takahanga Marae might become a tourist attraction received a strong response from this older group also, who emphasised that the Marae was built for the people and should remain that way. A prime example of the conflicting agenda of iwi and tourists concerns the holding of tangi or funerals on the marae, as these take priority over all other events. The Māori Tourism Task Force (Butterworth and Smith, 1987, p.47) emphasises the need to maintain strict timetables when running a tourist enterprise in a marae setting, and this can be a strong disincentive when contemplating such a step.

The interview data show that for kaumatua and kuia of Ngati Kuri the priority has always been to ensure the long term survival and well being of their cultural heritage. They resist the idea of homogenising key aspects of their culture in the name of tourism. Operating from the matrix of the Māori world view, they feel that if they welcome tourists to the marae as manuhiri then they too become part of the tourism market, and their integrity is compromised by so doing. So although there is considerable outside interest in the Marae as a tourist attraction the idea continues to be vigorously rejected. As one informant explained:

The marae is in many ways a ‘safety area’ for our people, where things that happen beyond the marae become very misty. The marae is the one safe place for our people.
In essence, Takahanga Marae is the ‘source’ or fount from which the people can be sustained and nourished within their own cultural worldview. The difference between the dissemination of tribal culture through its own processes and what it offers to others (in this case, tourists), is that ‘traditions stress content’ (Ryan and Crotts, 1997, p.916), while tourism stresses ‘context’. That is, many tourists look for a simplified and neatly packaged instant experience, while the process through which an iwi hands on its knowledge to others (including its rangatahi) requires them to serve a period of apprenticeship first, both to demonstrate their worthiness to receive that knowledge, and to gain the maturity necessary to appreciate its worth.

Another concern expressed by many of those interviewed, centres around the use of Māori images as a marketing tool in the promotion of tourism. These respondents felt strongly that Māori culture has been exploited for too long by many people, especially non-Māori, who portray Māori heritage forms in culturally damaging ways. An example given here was the depiction of Māori faces on tea towels. This constitutes an inappropriate mixing of tapu and noa in that Māori believe the head is the most sacred part of the body, and should not be brought into proximity - even in the abstract - with food, which is noa and neutralises tapu. These kinds of images were often marketed without consultation with Māori, and brought no benefits whatsoever to them. On the contrary they upset and alienated those who understood their true significance. Similarly, non-Māori artists who use cultural resource materials and designs to produce items for the tourism market are seen as trading unfairly on Māori images for monetary gain, which removes the image from its cultural context and jeopardises its claims to authenticity.

While it was accepted that Māori images have commercial value within tourism, there was an expressed desire to have control over those images in order to build a genuine Māori dimension into the industry. Culture is very broad in its parameters, and if there is no standard of what can be termed Māori culture as a tourist attraction, then the way is paved for Māori taonga to be debased and multiple cheap imitations to be marketed as genuine. There are no guidelines that have been determined by Māori tribally or pan tribally, nor are there any quality controls or monitoring processes in place that have been decided by Māori for Māori.

Significantly, pounamu and bone carvings were seen to fit into another category altogether in the cultural world view of many interview respondents, for sales of this type of product were not seen as a priority consideration when discussions arose about Māori culture. It could be that the traditional element of cultural giving (Ryan and Crotts, 1997, p.915) is absent here, and that tourists are seen purely as “purchasers of products” rather than the “recipients” of gifts into which the artists have injected much of their personality.
Some interview respondents, mainly women, took a different attitude towards the production of woven products for the tourism market - a move, they said, which should be resisted. The traditional craft of weaving has been revived only in recent years, and the processes by which it was taught and transmitted are still being recovered and incorporated back into iwi cultures. These processes need to be safeguarded from change resulting from non-traditional practices, or they will be lost forever.

5.5 Changes in the Expression of Māori Culture

Eighty per cent of those surveyed believed that the expression of Māori culture has changed, while fifteen per cent were unsure and five per cent felt that no changes had occurred. Of the 80 per cent who believed that changes have occurred, the following reasons were offered as to why and how this should be so:

- Māori culture is becoming more commercialised and ‘modernised’;
- Māori culture has become ‘Pakeha-fied’ or Europeanised;
- There are more demands for items made of greenstone and other carved taonga;
- Cultural values are vying with the dollar;
- Cheaper more marketable materials are being used;
- The oral history of Whale Watch’s beginnings reflect a tradition that is currently not being practised;
- Taonga are being targeted for tourists;
- Carvings and oral history are being made available at the Kaikoura Information Centre;
- Māori cultural aspects have changed to accommodate other cultures.

Some respondents felt that changes are positive in that they:

- Bring about a greater understanding of Māori culture, with a consequent reinforcing of respect;
- Allow more access to Māori arts and crafts;
- Create a climate that encourages more Māori to learn about their culture and heritage.

The situation regarding changes in the expression of Māori culture in Kaikoura is a complex one which carries with it wide-ranging implications. The uneasy juxtaposition of Māori philosophies and market forces gives rise to conflicts such as commercialisation versus tikanga Māori, the exercise of tino rangatiratanga by mana whenua over their mahinga kai and taonga, and institutional racism, to name a few. Obvious examples of change are the commercialisation of Māori images and souvenirs and the mass production of pounamu, bone carvings, and other taonga. Where tourists might once have been satisfied with plastic tiki, market demands are such that more ‘authentic’ bone and pounamu are now being produced, not necessarily by Māori artists.
5.6 The Relationship between Māori and the Natural Environment

All survey respondents expressed the belief that, traditionally and historically, Māori have always had a special relationship with the natural environment, and that this relationship forms an essential part of the Māori worldview. Ten per cent said also that an increasing number of non-Māori are learning about, or already have an awareness and appreciation of, the natural environment. Further, this relationship was seen as a special one that finds its expression in the relationship that Kaikoura Māori have with the whales. As one kaumatua said:

Our greatest taonga - Nga Tohora, nga tamariki o Tangaroa
- the whales, the children of Tangaroa.

What tourism has highlighted for many respondents is the lack of respect that some visitors show towards the environment, and the need to emphasise the importance of resource management to Māori. A case in point is the support by Whale Watch of international moves to protect whales from a resumption of industrial slaughter (‘Whale Watch’, Te Karaka, 1997, p.12). While it may be seen as fair comment that Kaikoura Māori supported (or at least did not actively resist) the exploitation of whales by the early whalers, it is equally true that they maintained their relationship with the natural environment. This is evidenced by the fact that, while others treated the environment as an inexhaustible source of raw materials, many Māori have retained their traditional kaitiaki practices to the present day.

Within the Māori worldview are values, customs and norms that give Māori people the ability to view life holistically. One such value is the discipline of spirituality, which puts parameters around resources to protect them from exploitation. It arouses a consciousness of what is environmentally sustainable and appropriate, and determines the boundaries that Māori need to work within to keep their environment intact and safe. This, say the kaumatua, is the ‘seed’ that will give rise to future Māori development and involvement in the tourism industry. It is already evident in the pool of knowledge and accumulated data (from their experience and years of observing whales) that Whale Watch staff now contributed to tourism. This is in turn a reminder and a reflection of the centuries of information gathering that ensured Māori survival in this country.

The research results did not indicate that the relationship between Māori and their environment had changed significantly in recent years.
5.7 Conclusion: Māori Concerns and Needs Regarding Tourism Development

One important issue coming out of the interviews and survey was concern about foreign ownership and the lack of local control (a number of examples were cited from tourism experiences overseas). Clearly, Māori want to maintain and develop their position as a key part of tourism in Kaikoura and thereby obtain its benefits in ways that maintain Māori culture.

There is a perceived need amongst Māori surveyed for Kaikoura as a town and a community to give greater effect to the Māori presence, such as facilitating the setting up of Māori owned shops for the marketing of Māori designed clothing and jewellery. There is also a need for the creation of opportunities for future generations of Māori to enter into tourism business ventures. Such opportunities include the establishment of workshops to teach young Māori traditional skills such as weaving, carving, and other income generating crafts. An even greater need is for the development of management and monitoring techniques that care for the natural environment, one of Aotearoa’s greatest resources. Coupled with this is the need to protect the environment from pollution and from exponentially increasing numbers of visitors.

While not relating directly to tourism, wider social and health indicators highlight a number of concerns. These include a high incidence of Māori suicides and attempted suicides, an increase in domestic violence, and under age drinking with its attendant alcoholism and drug abuse. According to staff at Te Tai O Marokura Health and Social Services, and to the Safer Community Council Profile on the Kaikoura Community (Manson, 1996), which lists priority concerns in Kaikoura, urgent action is needed to address the fact that many Māori lack life-coping strategies and responses. The successful Alcohol and Drug Rehabilitation Scheme (alluded to by Keene, 1992; Brett, 1992 and Butterworth and Smith, 1987, as funded by Whale Watch) was, in fact, the founding initiative of Te Tai O Marokura Health and Social Services. The service has continued as an independently funded organisation. This is an example of the ‘pastoral care’ spoken of by Berwick (1995), that justifies extending preferential consideration to iwi initiatives that benefit their communities. APEC (1997, p.40) notes that the success of Whale Watch has ‘exceeded all expectation’, with profits being used to divert young people away from welfare dependency and give them skills and a stake in the future.

Kaikoura Tours, as it was then, is an example of whanau coming together to explore the prospect of employment opportunities for their members in a rapidly shrinking job market. Many participants feel that Whale Watch is still not exempt from this imperative, and that the organisation should revisit the intentions of those who set up the tours in the beginning. At the same time, many recognise that aspects of Māori culture have been and continue to be influenced by other cultures, and that Māori should share their cultural values and customs in a reciprocal manner with non-Māori.
Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to describe and evaluate the interaction between the local Māori community, their culture, and tourism. This was addressed by canvassing the mana whenua and tangata whenua of Kaikoura as determined by the Kaikoura District Council’s boundaries and administering a survey in the form of structured interviews and informal discussions. The approach used in the study involved the adoption of culturally appropriate techniques to validate Māori knowledge and experiences. In line with recognised procedures for carrying out research in Māori communities, the idea was to produce a piece of work which could return benefits to those surveyed, and be used by them in culturally constructive ways.

6.2 Summary of Findings

Data from the fifty students and ten parents surveyed showed that about one half were currently employed in tourism, and over one half had other family members employed in tourism. Over one half of Māori surveyed said that they had benefited from tourism via employment (jobs, skills and meeting people). Nearly all believed that the community had benefited from tourism via improvements in business, facilities, community spirit and environmental awareness. However, 40 per cent said that tourism had negative impacts, particularly on the environment, and with increased costs of living, perceived selective employment practices, a rise in unemployment and in increase in crime.

Elders and younger people believed that Māori had been involved in tourism for over 100 years. Māori between 25 and 45 years believed that Māori had been involved in tourism for the last ten to twelve years. Many of the Māori less than 35 years old believed that Māori culture was currently portrayed in the selling of Māori carvings and taonga, but about one half of all Māori surveyed believed that Māori culture is also portrayed by Whale Watch via the oral histories given by the guides. While some saw Takahanga marae as a cultural attraction there was resistance to the idea of this becoming a tourist attraction because it was seen as the supporting base for local Māori. Many of those interviewed were concerned about the use of Māori images in marketing to promote tourism, and they want more control over the use of those images.
Changes in the expression of Māori culture mainly relate to its commercialisation, including increased demands for greenstone, carved products. A key change is that Māori culture is having to accommodate other cultures.

All Māori surveyed stated that Māori have a special relationship with their environment. The rise of tourism has shown that some visitors do not respect the environment in the same way. There were no obvious changes in the relationship between Māori and their environment.

Kaikoura Māori want to play a key role in tourism in future and do not want foreign ownership and its lack of local control. There is a perceived need to facilitate Māori owned businesses, workshops to teach traditional arts and monitoring techniques to care for the environment. These developments can go a long way to address social problems.

6.3 Outcomes and Recommendations

The most noticeable outcome of this study was the uncovering of a range of issues that require further discussion rather than the identifying of a set of problems for which simple solutions might be proposed.

Many issues sprang from the different meanings attached to ‘Māori involvement in tourism’ by those who participated in the research. However, most respondents shared a strong commitment to keeping their cultural heritage intact. They want to be involved in tourism, but they also want to have their priorities recognised, their views heard, and their knowledge taken into account. The difficulty is that these aspirations have not been formalised by being incorporated into the tourism ‘package’ itself. So, although Kaikoura Māori may have benefited from tourism in a material sense, this is seen as having come at a cost to the cultural and spiritual life of the community. But even then, the economic development of the mana whenua in Kaikoura has been hampered by factors that impact upon its asset base or structures, or are the inadvertent outcomes of private sector activities. These, according to informants, have disadvantaged Ngati Kuri with regard to its profitability and to the control and utilisation of its resources.

A point that was strongly made was that ‘Māori performances for tourism’ were not presently offered in Kaikoura, although some respondents expressed the view that future tourism developments might include Māori performing arts. Some suggested that this might be a choice for future generations to make, and that other initiatives would be forthcoming that would reflect not only the culture but the aspirations of the mana whenua. Such ventures, it was felt, should be developed in settings other than Takahanga Marae in order to preserve the mana (status) and mauri (‘life force’) of the Marae. In the meantime, accounts of Māori culture that are given by Whale Watch Tour Guides are done so of their own discretion.

Significantly to Māori, the tourism industry does not appear to have a standard definition or frame of reference for what actually constitutes or qualifies as a Māori cultural tourist.
attraction. Concerns have been and are being expressed over this lack of definition of what lies at the heart of Māori touristic endeavours. For this reason the two researchers involved in this study found they needed to formulate their own working definition of Māori culture in the absence of clear guidelines from the Māori research community. There is no suggestion that this working definition should become a standard for Māori researchers in general, nor is it an attempt to pre-empt the right of Māori research communities to decide what the standard should be - or, indeed, whether a standard should exist at all in relation to the tourism industry.

A small though significant outcome of the research for Kaikoura Māori, and for Takahanga Marae in particular, was the highlighting of previous inadequacies in the keeping of records and diaries. The research also emphasised the need to keep accurate records for strategic planning purposes, and for the benefit of future generations. Steps have already been taken by the Marae to address this shortcoming, and new logbooks have been bought for the purpose. The study also identified the need for better consultation between Kaikoura Information Centre and the Marae in the provision of more up-to-date information for tourists.

With regard to the Māori tourism initiatives that resulted in the setting up of Whale Watch, research suggests that further study be undertaken to:

- Expand the historical timeline of Māori activities in Kaikoura;
- Set up an historical database of newspaper articles and periodicals written on Whale Watch;
- Assemble an accurate statistical profile of Whale Watch employees, within the permitted limits of privacy regulations, for the reinforcement of Māori identity in this pioneering endeavour;
- Set up a database on Māori environmental knowledge, for the benefit of future generations of Māori who live in Kaikoura, or who whakapapa back there.

Records kept by Whale Watch during the initial establishment period had not been sorted and archived at the time of this study, and so could not be accessed by the researchers. These records when available will undoubtedly contribute to the historical database suggested in the first two points above. On the other hand, the amassing of Māori environmental knowledge of the Kaikoura region will require an even more culturally attuned research approach than that taken here, and must be left to the mana whenua to initiate and pursue.
In the matter of possible back migrations occurring amongst Ngati Kuri, there is a need to monitor the situation in order for an adequate level of health and social services to be provided. While this does not at first glance come within the ambit of tourism, the kind of ‘pastoral care’ that Whale Watch provides through job training and educational schemes justifies a continuation of Ngai Tahu’s so-called monopoly over whale watching in Kaikoura waters, since the benefits are so markedly returned to the local community.
References


Whale Watch: the Kahurangi of the Ngai Tahu Waka Huia. (1997) *Te Karaka* No. 6,