

Maori Tourism: Concepts, Characteristics and Definition

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Maori Glossary

Most of the meanings of these Maori words/terms have been derived from the Maori glossary of 'Kaitiakitanga and Local Government: Tangata Whenua participation in Environmental Management', (PCE, 1998, p.132); "The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori" (Ryan, 2001); Poharama *et al.*, (1998) and Durie, (2002).

Aotearoa	New Zealand
aroha	love, compassion, sympathy
arohatanga	State of being sympathetic
haka	fierce rhythmical dance
hangi	earth oven, food from earth oven
hapu	sub-tribe
hinengaro	mind, heart, intellect, conscience, psychology
hongiri	press noses
hui	meetings or gatherings usually on the marae
iwi	tribal groups
kaikokiri	champion
kaitiaki	iwi, hapu or whanau group with the responsibilities of kaitiakitanga
kaitiakitanga	the responsibilities and kaupapa, passed down from ancestors for tangata whenua to take care of the places, natural resources and other taonga in their area
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
kapahaka	Maori cultural performances (song and dance)
kappa	
kaumatua	Elder
kaupapa	plan, strategy, tactics, methods, fundamental principles
kaupapa Maori research	Maori-based research
koru	spiral pattern
kotahitanga	unity, solidarity
mana tangata	human rights, integrity
manaakitanga	respect given to visitors, sharing and caring
manuhiri	visitor, guest
Maoritanga	Maori culture, Maori perspective
marae	local community and its meeting places and buildings
mauri	physical life force which imbues all created things
nga matatini Maori	Maori diversity
nga Tupunga	integrated development
whakakotahi	
Ngati Porou	iwi from the East Coast of the North Island
pa	fortified villages
pakeha	non-Maori New Zealanders - most generally referring to European New Zealanders
Papatuanuku	Earth Mother
poi	ball

Poutini Ngai Tahu	Ngai Tahu runanga from Westland
powhiri	welcome, opening ceremony
puawaitanga	the principle of best outcomes
Purotu	the principle of transparency
Ranganui	Sky Father
rangatiratanga	the state of chieftainship or leadership
rohe	territory, area
Runanga	Committee of senior decision-makers of an iwi or hapu
tangata whenua	people of the land, Maori people
taonga	valued resources, assets, prized possessions both material and non-material
te ao Maori	the Maori world
te ao Marama	the world of light; present day world
Te Ara a Maui	Maori regional tourism organisation based in Wellington
Te Puni Kokiri	Ministry of Maori Development
te reo	Maori language
Te Runanga o Ngati Porou	iwi authority of Ngati Porou
te taha hinegaro	mental
te taha tinana	physical and economic
te taha wairua	spiritual
Te Tai Rawhiti	East Coast
Te Tai Tokerau	Northland
Te Whaka Toi	Maori arts board of Creative New Zealand
tikanga	meaning, custom, obligations
tinana	body
Tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
tohukataka	state of being a wise person
toi iho	Maori made
tuhono	principle of alignment
waiata	song
waiata-a-ringa	action songs
wairua	spirituality
wairuatanga	state of being spiritual
whakakotahi	to be united
whakapapa	genealogy, cultural identity
whakatauki	proverbs
whanau	extended family
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AMTF	Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation
JHMRC	James Henare Maori Research Centre
RTO	Regional Tourism Organisation
TIANZ	Tourism Industry Association New Zealand
TPK	Te Puni Kokiri
TRREC	Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Although the terms 'Maori tourism', 'Maori tourism business' and 'Maori tourism product' are widely used there is a lack of an agreed or recognised working definition. Developing appropriate definitions for the above terms was raised in 'A Study of Barriers, Impediments and Opportunities for Maori in Tourism -He Matai Tapoi Maori Study Report, June 2001' as a step to improve Maori involvement in the tourism industry (Stafford Group *et al.*, 2001,p.47). Poharama *et al.*, (1998) in their study on "The Impact of Tourism on the Maori Community in Kaikoura" also expressed concern that "the tourism industry does not appear to have a standard definition or frame of reference for what actually constitutes or qualifies as a Maori cultural tourist attraction" (p.43).

The lack of appropriate, recognised definitions has contributed to a lack of information on Maori participation in the tourism industry. There is a paucity of research data on Maori tourism and Maori tourism businesses to guide Maori tourism development (Stafford Group *et al.*, 2000, p.6). For example, Statistics NZ does not currently specifically collect information on Maori businesses other than Census and Household Labour Force survey data on Maori self-employment (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000, p.9). This is partly due to the lack of a suitable 'Maori identifier' on the enterprise and industry surveys carried out by Statistics New Zealand (Ibid, p.33). Without this information it is difficult to plan for increased participation by Maori in the tourism sector (Stafford Group *et al.*, 2000, p.18). 'A Study of Barriers, Impediments and Opportunities for Maori in Tourism – He Matai Tapoi Maori Study Report, June 2001' also identified the need to develop appropriate definitions for 'Maori', 'Maori tourism business', 'Maori tourism product' in developing a market research programme (Stafford Group *et al.*, 2001, p.47). There is a lack of existing market research that specifically deals with Maori tourism businesses (their existence, ownership levels, levels of Maori employment etc.) (Ibid, p.46). Without this information "it is difficult to match market opportunities with local Maori expertise and skills or investment in plant and infrastructure" (Ibid, p.18).

The lack of a recognised definition of Maori tourism is partly due to the conceptual difficulty in defining a Maori tourism business and product. The concept encompasses different elements: 'Maori culture and identity', 'tourism', 'business' and 'product'. This results in difficulty in measuring the terms. The wide range of different criteria used to define Maori tourism also contributes to the lack of an agreed definition. Significantly, these different criteria reflect the different policy issues or agenda of various organisations, groups or individuals. Thus different perspectives elicit different definitions (Johnston, C, pers. comm., 2002). This report aims to address the lack of definitions of Maori tourism, Maori tourism business and Maori tourism product.

1.2 Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this report is to seek conceptual clarification of 'Maori tourism', 'Maori tourism business' and 'Maori tourism product'.

To achieve this aim, the report has the following objectives:

- To review the different definitions of Maori tourism;
- To provide a broad conceptual framework for defining Maori tourism (business and product);
- To identify and describe common values that characterise Maori tourism.

A Kaupapa Maori research approach was employed to achieve the objectives. It is critical that Maori research is framed within a culturally relevant perspective. This approach is outlined below.

1.3 Kaupapa Maori Research Approach

A Kaupapa Maori research approach is used in this report. This is expressed in several ways. Firstly, the assumption of the report is based on making a "positive difference for the researched" (Smith, 1999, p.191). There are benefits of this report for Maori tourism development as outlined in the recommendations.

Secondly, the whanau principle, an important aspect of Kaupapa Maori approaches (Smith, 1999, p. 187), was used in this research at a practical level to structure the gathering of the information. This involved incorporating Maori and non-Maori people to be part of what Bishop refers to as the 'research whanau of interest' (Bishop, 1994, in Smith, 1999, p.185). In addition to Maori tourism and Maori development literature written primarily by Maori, Maori staff in organisations involved in the tourism industry (Creative NZ and Department of Conservation), individual representatives of the Maori regional tourism organisations and staff of Te Papa and Whale Watch contributed information by way of interviews. The interviews were conducted during December 2001 and July 2002. Of the ten current Maori regional tourism organisations, eight were involved in interviews. One withdrew from the research process at the draft stage.

However, non-Maori who have written about Maori tourism including indigenous tourism researchers and non-Maori who had a responsibility or role with Maori in the tourism industry were also included in the "research whanau of interest". The latter were represented through information gained from interviews of staff at Te Puni Kokiri, Tourism Industry Association, Tourism NZ, Centre Stage, Totally Wellington, and two academics involved in Maori tourism research at Auckland University. These interviews were also conducted between December 2001-July, 2002. It is at the level of 'distributing tasks' and 'incorporating people with particular expertise' (Smith, 1999, p.191) that involving non-Maori in the 'whanau research group' is justified. Non-Maori assist in bringing significant issues to Maori (Ibid) from their particular role in the tourism industry. Therefore, the people (Maori and non-Maori) interviewed to define Maori tourism were selected because of their role their different roles in the tourism industry and their different perspectives. This provides a broad overview of the definitions. The analysis of the data was also carried out by the 'research whanau of interest'. While the interviews and the literature review were primarily analysed by the principal author who is Maori, non-Maori secondary authors also contributed. Analysis of the data involved the identification of common responses from respondents as identified by the 'research whanau of interest'.

A Kaupapa Maori research method employing storytelling or oral narrative, was encouraged in the interviews with Maori. This is the preferred mode of communication of some Maori.

Bishop suggests, "as a research tool, storytelling is a culturally appropriate way of 'representing the diversities of truth' in which the storyteller rather than the researcher retain control" (Bishop, 1996 in Smith, 1999, p.144). The interview questions were structured in an open way to allow for storytelling. While it was not a cultural issue to use storytelling for non-Maori respondents, it was also employed with positive results. The two main questions were: What is your understanding/definition of Maori tourism? What is the purpose/use of this definition? They were conducted according to Kaupapa Maori research practices of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face). However, one interview with a Maori regional tourism organisation was carried out via email.

The whanau concept also involves accountability to those providing information. Reporting back procedures of the results to the interviewees were carried out. Copies of relevant parts of the draft were checked by the participants for accuracy, and additional comments were recorded. Furthermore, the list of values and Figure 3, 'Maori-centred tourism - koru spiral of values' were sent to the Maori regional organisations for comment and verification.

A central objective of the report was to frame the defining characteristics of a specific Maori tourism. These are derived from Kaupapa Maori self-determined development models which are based on aspects of Maori philosophy, values and practices. "Kaupapa Maori is derived from different epistemological and metaphysical foundations and it is these which give Kaupapa Maori research its distinctiveness from Western philosophies" (Nepe, 1991 in Smith, 1999, p.187). Therefore, there is more to kaupapa Maori models of development than "our desires for self-determination", "we have a different epistemological tradition which frames the way we see the world, the way we organise ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions we seek" (Smith, 1999, p.188).

Defining the characteristics of specific Maori tourism within a Maori epistemology is also about reframing. Reframing occurs where "indigenous peoples resist being boxed and labelled according to categories which do not fit" (Ibid, p.153). Maori tourism needs to be defined according to a culturally relevant perspective otherwise it risks being defined within a pakeha worldview that 'does not fit'. "The need to reframe is about retaining the strengths" (Ibid) of a specific Maori tourism.

1.4 Limitations and Assumptions

The report acknowledges the limitations of defining the characteristics of Maori tourism based on existing information and selected interviews. There is very little literature on the topic. Interviews with the Maori tourism organisations were restricted to individual representatives who may not portray the full diversity and depth of understanding of Maori tourism operators. In this sense, the defining characteristics do not represent an exhaustive list, nor are they set in concrete. It is one attempt at defining Maori tourism and is subject to further evaluation from Maori.

To provide a defining framework of Maori tourism, an assumption has been made that Maori identity and society is not static but is dynamic and changing. Therefore, Maori identity cannot be assumed to be an expression of traditional values. "The relevance of traditional values is not the same for all Maori, nor can it be assumed that all Maori wish to define their ethnic identity according to classical constructs" (Durie *et al.*, 1995, p. 464). Defining Maori

tourism involves providing an inclusive framework to overcome the risk of assuming a stereotype 'Maori identity'.

However, while it is critical to acknowledge the differences of what is Maori identity and hence Maori tourism, it is also important to be able to identify commonalities of a specific Maori tourism that does adopt traditional values. Maori traditional values need to be brought to the centre of discussion about Maori tourism as part of asserting a distinct Maori identity. This is sometimes called 'strategic essentialising'.

1.5 Structure of the Report

Chapter 2 provides a review of Maori tourism definitions. A broad conceptual framework is derived to define Maori tourism (business and product). Maori-centred tourism is identified as different from Maori tourism in general.

Chapter 3 discusses the 'business' dimension of Maori-centred tourism business within the context of sustainable development and indigenous development. Kaupapa Maori development models are outlined to help provide a set of values for defining Maori-centred tourism (business).

Chapter 4 identifies and describes values that characterise Maori-centred tourism.

Chapter 5 provides conclusions from the report. Recommendations are made for the broad defining framework of Maori tourism and the defining characteristics of Maori-centred tourism.

Chapter 2

A Review and Synthesis Of Maori Tourism Definitions

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will review the different definitions which reflect different perspectives. The approach is to provide a synthesis of the different perspectives. The review will be based on Maori tourism research written mainly by Maori, and interviews with Maori regional tourism agencies/organisations involved in the tourism industry (who either have an association with Maori in tourism or who have Maori staff representing Maori interests in tourism), and Te Papa and Whale Watch staff. Literature on indigenous tourism will complement these sources. Indigenous tourism definitions are relevant to Maori tourism as there are common issues about indigenous rights and development within developing countries. It is with indigenous tourism that the review will start.

2.2 Indigenous and Ethnic Tourism Literature

Three different approaches to indigenous and ethnic tourism are described. One approach classifies the different types of indigenous tourism according to the level of control and the cultural nature of the product. Another provides a wide, all-encompassing view of indigenous tourism to include all indigenous participation in tourism. The third approach provides a perspective on sustainable ethnic tourism.

2.2.1 Control of Business and/or Existence of Cultural Product

Butler and Hinch (1996) provide perhaps the most comprehensive interpretation of indigenous tourism. They describe indigenous tourism as "tourism activity in which indigenous people are involved directly either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction" (p.9). Thus, two key themes are identified - control and culture. The issue of control in tourism development is significant because "whoever has control can usually determine such critical factors as the scale, speed and nature of the development" (Ibid). The cultural nature of the product is also important. "The extent to which the attraction is focused on indigenous culture is also an indicator of indigenous tourism" (Ibid). The relationship between these variables is set out in a matrix format (Figure 1).

**Figure 1
Indigenous Tourism**

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

Source: Butler and Hinch (1996, p.10)

The control axis represents the level of control that indigenous people have over tourism development. This ranges from no control to total control including ownership and management (Butler and Hinch, 1996, p.9). In between are various degrees of indigenous involvement or influence through different roles such as employees, advisory board members, and formal partners in development. The other axis represents the degree to which the tourist attraction is based on an indigenous theme. The combination of the variables result in the following classifications: culture dispossessed, culture controlled and diversified indigenous. However, where the indigenous theme is absent in the tourism attraction (product) and where it is not controlled by indigenous people, this is classified as non-indigenous tourism. It is not clear whether employment of indigenous people is considered a low degree of control. If it is, then Butler and Hunch's interpretation would potentially exclude indigenous people employed in mainstream tourism e.g., an indigenous person employed in a non-indigenous owned tourism business such as a receptionist in a motel.

2.2.2 All-encompassing

An all-encompassing definition of indigenous tourism is provided by the National Centre for Tourism, Australia, (1999). It states that it is "tourism which provides visitors with an opportunity to appreciate Indigenous cultures and places of significance or which is either Indigenous owned or part-Indigenous owned or employs indigenous people. It can encompass a wide range of products and services including cultural heritage and nature-based tours, visitor/cultural centres, educational programs, production of art and craft, performances, events, accommodation, transport and hospitality" (National Centre for Tourism, 1999, p.59). This interprets an indigenous tourism business as one that involves indigenous people through ownership or employment or the existence of an indigenous cultural product. It includes the employment of indigenous people in mainstream tourism (i.e., a non-cultural attraction or service). Indigenous tourism encompasses both cultural products and non-cultural products. While this definition also focuses on involvement of indigenous people in

the business and the presence of a cultural product, it takes a wide approach to include all indigenous participation in tourism.

2.2.3 Sustainable Ethnic Tourism

Sofield developed a model of sustainable ethnic tourism in the South Pacific (Sofield, 1993 in Tahana and Mariu, undated, p.5). Cultural sustainability can be achieved if the following principles can be adhered to: indigenous control, community support, intergenerational skills, prioritising cultural integrity, cultural pride, responsible tourists, audience size control, cultural durability, government support, intrinsically interesting, financially viable (Ibid). The principles are seen not as "stand alone" generators but are linked in a complex network of mutually reinforcing relationships (Ibid).

Sofield emphasises that indigenous ownership and control has to be supported by the community. This requires the enacting of acceptable consultative and decision-making processes (Ibid).

2.3 Maori Tourism Literature

This section provides an overview of definitions of Maori tourism from Maori tourism literature or publications, including three recent Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre (TRREC) case studies, a James Henare Maori Research Centre (JHMRC) case study and He Matai Tapoi Maori Study Report, 2001.

2.3.1 Contact With Maori Culture

The Aotearoa Maori Tourism Federation (AMTF) defines a Maori tourism product as.... "an opportunity provided within the composite tourist product for the tourist to have contact with Maori culture" (AMTF, 1996, p.5). It includes an owner-operated business by pakeha providing a Maori cultural product and a Maori owner operated business (Barnett, 1997, p.473). The definition also incorporates "a wide presentation of Maori culture as tourism products" (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.3). Contact with Maori culture could be either a specific Maori cultural product that is provided for tourists or it could be a conversation with Maori owner of a camping ground about the history of the area (Barnett, 1997, p. 473). The tourists' contact with culture or the Maori tourism product is inclusive of Maori people as the product. The AMTF's definition also allows for a broad consideration of Maori businesses (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.3).

The nature of the Maori tourism product is also discussed further by AMTF. "The depth of the cultural experience is directly related to the number of different features of the culture presented " (AMTF, 1996, p.6). To be an authentic Maori tourism product the features of the culture must be presented by a person who has a direct relationship with those features (Ibid). The above definition of a Maori tourism product is expanded: as "any product or service that provides the visitor with an opportunity to have some contact with Maori culture - for instance via handicrafts, food and food preparation, music and dance, dress styles, history and mythology and leisure activities that reflect distinctive lifestyles etc". (The Stafford Group, in Stafford Group *et al.*, 2001, p.48).

Control of Business and Control of Interpretation of the Product

A more specific definition that focuses on the issue of control is provided by Keelan (1996), and Walsh (1996) (cited in Zeppel, 1997, p. 475). "Maori tourism now means any tourist activities or attractions directly owned, operated or interpreted by Maori people " (Ibid). Thus, Maori tourism must at least directly involve Maori people either in the control of the business or in the delivery of the product. This perspective is refined further by Ingram (1997) below.

Control of Business and of Maori Cultural Product.

Ingram (1997) defines Maori tourism as "tourism products that utilise cultural, historical, heritage or natural resources that are uniquely Maori with substantial Maori ownership and control of the business" (Ingram, 1997, p.2). Accordingly, ownership and control of the business is critical to Maori tourism. It is the benchmark. Barnett (2001) draws upon the same criteria. To be classified as a Maori tourism operation businesses have to fulfil the following criteria: firstly to provide a Maori tourism product and secondly to have substantial ownership (more than 50%) (Barnett, 2001, p.86).

Explicit Maori Cultural Experience or Interpretation

Ingram (1997) expands on her description of a Maori tourism product by stating that there are two types of Maori tourism, one that provides a unique cultural experience such as hangi and/or kapahaka, and Maori arts and crafts (Ingram, 1997, p.2). The other type is Maori owned businesses that provide a unique Maori perspective and interpretation. This includes ecotourism experiences (whale watching, swimming with the dolphins), marae stays and other accommodation such as 'B and B', backpackers, marae tours, tours of urban landscapes with Maori interpretation, and museum tours (Ibid).

Maori Values in the Business and an Explicit Cultural Product

Although not directly defining Maori tourism the TRREC case study on "The Impact of Tourism on the Maori Community in Kaikoura" described a Maori cultural framework to be applied to participation in the tourism industry (Poharama *et al.*, 1998, p.3). This included an understanding of Maori culture as being expressed in two ways, whether internally as values, philosophies and concepts; or externally as kapahaka (e.g., songs, waiata-a-ringa, haka, poi), or arts and crafts (e.g., weaving, carving) (Ibid). Thus it could be assumed that a Maori tourism business is one that incorporates Maori values, and a Maori tourism product involves an explicit cultural aspect.

Defined by Maori and Which Sustains the Integrity of Maori Culture.

In another TRREC case study, "Tourism and Maori Development in Westland" Maori tourism is defined as that which is defined by Maori and which sustains the integrity of Maori culture (Zygadlo *et al.*, 2001, p.4). This describes a specific form of Maori tourism rather than an all-encompassing definition. Control over Maori culture with the incorporation of Maori values is critical.

Wide Perspective of Business and Product, Benefits to Maori Community and Culture.

Tahana *et al.*, (2000) adopt a wide, all encompassing definition of Maori tourism in their TRREC case study on "Tourism and Maori Development in Rotorua". This includes a "broad consideration of Maori businesses and the wider presentation of Maori culture as tourism 'products', and the multiple effects that flow back to Maori communities and their culture" (Tahana, 2000, p.3). It allows for all involvement of Maori in tourism. The benefits of the activity to the Maori community and Maori culture are also important.

Sustainability Through the Incorporation of Maori Values in the Business

An interpretation of Maori tourism by the James Henare Maori Research Centre for their case study on Te Tai Tokerau was gleaned from participants at a hui during 1994 (JHMRC, 1998, p.70). The components are:

- activities must be Maori owned (this is to ensure that the benefits of tourist activities accrue to the indigenous people of the local areas)
- environmentally, socially, culturally and economically sustainable (the development and maintenance of tourist activities should not carry the risk of irreversible outcomes and must not impose unacceptable cost on future generations)
- community orientated and supported (benefits should accrue to wider communities as well as individual Maori) (Ibid).

In addition to this, sustainable Maori tourism must incorporate indigenous perspectives and values (Ibid, p.520).

Wide Range of Explicit and Implicit Factors.

In pointing to the need to define a Maori tourism business and product the He Matai Tapoi Maori Study Report (2001) lists a wide range of "factors for consideration in defining a Maori tourism business" (Stafford Group *et al.*, 2001, p.48). In addition to Keelan (1996); Hall (1996) (in Zeppel, 1997) and Ingram's (1997) definition above the following factors are listed:

a Maori tourism business:

- is a business where the owners and operators believe it to be so
- is a business that is more than 50 per cent owned by Maori
- exists where Maori owned resources and land are used
- exists where the business employs Maori
- where the tourism product offered focuses on Maori history
- if there is some sense of family operation (perhaps reflected in the structure of the business)
- where there is some attention to the precepts of: Manaakitanga, Tohukataka, kaitiakitanga, Kaikokiri and respect.
- where there is a focus on Maori product and lifestyle" (Stafford Group *et al.*, 2001, p.48).

In addition to issues of ownership and the existence of a Maori cultural heritage product, other explicit criteria are self-identification, and the employment of Maori. More implicit criteria are the family-style of the business and the incorporation of Maori values in the business.

2.4 Interviews

Definitions of Maori tourism based on interviews with government and private organisations involved in the tourism industry are outlined below.

Owned by Maori and/or Sells a Maori Cultural Product

Six key dimensions emerge from analysis of responses. The Tourism Industry Association (TIANZ) is a private organisation, which represents the interests of tourism operators (Barnes, pers. comm., 2002). There are members of TIANZ who are Maori. Part of TIANZ's role is to advocate on behalf of its members the interests of the tourism industry to central and local government and other stakeholders. This organisation defines a Maori tourism business as:

- Any business or activity that enables interaction with and/or promotes understanding of Maori people, place and cultural identity.

This may include (but is not necessarily restricted to) these activities:

- Performing acts such as theatre, dance, music, oratory, or story-telling.
- Visual arts such as studios, exhibitions and markets.
- Museums and galleries.
- Festivals and events.
- Accommodation e.g., Marae stays.
- Products e.g., crafts and services e.g., guides.
- Food and catering services e.g., hangi food and other food traditionally prepared and eaten by Maori.

Such businesses may or may not be wholly or partially owned and/or operated by Maori.

Diverse and Contemporary Maori Tourism Product

Tourism New Zealand's (TNZ) role with Maori involvement in tourism is to create sustainable international demand for Maori tourism product. TNZ does not specifically define Maori tourism (business and/or product) due to several conceptual difficulties. However, their policy is to portray a diverse and contemporary picture of Maori tourism product and they actively work to educate off-shore wholesalers and retail travel agents. This is achieved by facilitating opportunities for Maori tourism operators to participate in trade shows and in hosting international media (e.g., Travel and Leisure magazine) so they can experience the diversity of Maori cultural products in New Zealand. A partnership programme with iwi to promote the Maori tourism product is important to TNZ as seen in the recent 'powhiri project' on their www.purenz.com consumer website.

Providing an Authentic Maori Cultural Product

Creative New Zealand, through its Maori Arts Board, Te Waka Toi, has developed the toi iho (TM) Maori Made Mark, which is a mark of authenticity and quality for Maori arts and crafts (Te Hiko, pers. comm., 2002). This has implications for Maori tourism product as the toi iho Mark could be applied to some types of Maori tourism products. Creative New Zealand defines Maori tourism as "Products or services deriving from or related to Maori culture which are created or provided by persons of Maori descent". These products or services will be deemed to be "Maori authentic".

Maori Culture

The Department of Conservation (Maori Unit) adopts the AMTF definition where Maori tourism includes any tourism operator that includes Maori culture (Manuera, pers. comm., 2002; Lawton, pers. comm., 2002; Black, pers. comm., 2002). Also, "if it is Maori owned and operated but there is no Maori cultural product then this is still Maori tourism" (Ibid).

Offering a Maori Experience or Perspective

Centre Stage is an organisation that promotes four regions as a visitor destination and supports off-shore travel trade (Holt, pers. comm., 2002). They have a working relationship with the local Maori regional organisation, Te Ara a Maui, which is supported by a formal memorandum of understanding. For Centre Stage, a Maori tourism product is "a product offering a Maori perspective or experience to the visitor". It is important that Maori are delivering the product but it is not essential. However, if Maori are not delivering, approval from Maori is required to ensure a quality standard. A Maori tourism business is one "that offers a Maori perspective/experience". The purpose of this definition is to ensure that "visitors get an experience that is indigenous of the country they are visiting".

Culturally and Economically Sustainable Maori Tourism

'Totally Wellington' is the Wellington city tourism organisation (Lamers, pers. comm., 2002). They have a working relationship with the local Maori regional tourism organisation, Te Ara a Maui. 'Totally Wellington' takes a broad approach to defining a Maori tourism product. It includes a diverse range from a Maori bus driver on tour coach providing insight into the cultural history of the land right through to Te Papa. The organisation particularly supports a Maori tourism product as a contemporary product or as a 'living culture' (e.g., Maori treasures which allows visitors to experience the Maori culture through traditional and contemporary art) and Maori ecotourism/natural tourism. A Maori tourism business must be owned/operated by Maori so the product will be authentic. Totally Wellington takes a dual approach towards supporting Maori tourism. On one hand it is about promoting the product to bring tourists to the region, however it is also important to foster Maori tourism because of its cultural significance and to support Maori development. The two aims are not seen as mutually exclusive. "Maori tourism brings lots of people here but in order to maintain this we need to do it sustainably which is good for the culture....'capitalism with a conscience' " (Ibid).

Self-identification and Ownership of Business

Te Puni Kokiri (TPK) is responsible for assisting Maori economic advancement as part of the Government's industry development policy (TPK, 2000, p. 3).

There is currently no official definition of Maori business for statistical purposes. However, TPK considers that Maori ownership is the key criteria for defining a Maori business (White, pers. comm., 2002). That said, there are also some other elements that one might also consider (Ibid). These include:

- Self-identification -i.e., do people promote themselves as a Maori tourism business;
- Employment - a business that employs a large percentage of Maori staff;
- Values - e.g., employing whanau, welcoming visitors, using traditional practices.

Their broad view defines a Maori tourism product as including both traditional and contemporary aspects of Maori culture and values. This element of the product may be used or seen by others as a point of distinction to other similar products on offer. For example, a Maori adventure tourism operator that includes a significant Maori cultural component and history of the area can be considered to offer both Maori tourism product and adventure tourism.

The primary purpose for considering Maori ownership as the key criteria is for statistical information related to Maori development. This information assists government policy

development in both accelerating Maori development and the tourism sector. Maori tourism data can also assist the understanding of the Maori asset base or ownership levels and, in so doing, recognise the Maori contribution to the tourism sector. Such data may also assist Maori tourism operators to develop further in the tourism sector and to understand the contribution that they make to the sector as a whole.

2.5 Framework for Defining Maori Tourism

In summary, there is no single definition of either Maori tourism, Maori tourism business, or product. To achieve its principle aims we take a broad, inclusive approach focussing on the two main themes that emerged from many of the different interpretations: a focus on the level of control in the business and the nature of the Maori tourism product. These were also the two themes identified by Butler and Hinch (1996, p.5) in their definition of indigenous tourism. A diagram (Figure 2) depicting these themes is adapted from Butler and Hinch's (1996) diagram (Figure 1). This is an attempt to represent a proposed or possible definition of Maori tourism.

**Figure 2
Maori Tourism**

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Maori
Tourism
Business
(Maori
ownership
and/or
control)

Non-Maori
Tourism
Business
(No Maori
ownership
and/or
control)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Maori Quad Bike Operator with no Maori culture ▪ Maori owned and operated B&B with no Maori culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Whale Watch <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Marae stays ▪ Tamaki Tours ▪ Maori owner and operated guided bush walks with Maori interpretation ▪ Maori Quad Bike Operator with Maori interpretation of the bush ▪ Maori interpreter on eco-tourism ventures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Te Papa
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Non-Maori hotel owner <p>Non-Maori Tourism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Non-Maori gondola business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Non-Maori Bus Tour Company with Maori interpretation of places by Non-Maori Tour Guide <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Non-Maori owned shop selling Maori art

Non-Maori Tourism Product

Maori Tourism Product

NATURE OF PRODUCT

(adapted from Butler and Hinch, 1996)

From Figure 2, Maori tourism business is therefore defined as any Maori control in a tourism business from owner-operator to being an 'employee with ownership' at the top of the scale. A Maori tourism business may provide either a Maori tourism product or a non-Maori tourism product. A Maori tourism product is defined as an implicit or passive (e.g., a warm welcome given by the Maori owners/operators of a bed and breakfast business) to an explicitly Maori cultural product such as a kapahaka performance and everything in between such as Maori eco-tourism. A Maori tourism product may be provided by a Maori tourism business or a non-Maori tourism business. This means that a non-Maori business can provide a Maori tourism product and be part of Maori tourism as a whole even though it is not a Maori tourism business. A non-Maori tourism product provides no cultural element even if the operator is Maori. Together these interactions define Maori tourism. However, the interaction between a non-Maori tourism product and a non-Maori tourism business is not defined as Maori tourism.

Real life examples of Maori tourism are plotted on Figure 2 to illustrate the interactions. Whale Watch is owned and operated by Maori and employs Maori and is therefore high on the scale of a Maori business. They offer a Maori tourism product that while not overly explicit provides a living perspective of Maori culture. This is represented as being mid-way on the 'Maori tourism product'. Tamaki Tours is similar except it offers a more explicit Maori tourism product and is therefore further along the scale. Te Papa also delivers an explicit Maori tourism product however, it is plotted further down the 'level of control' scale as Maori involvement is more indirect through a 'community partnership' (i.e. partnership with Maori in the community) and through the Maori strategic unity within Te Papa. A Maori owned/operated quad bike business is a Maori business, however because it lacks any cultural elements such as any Maori interpretation or whanau based operation then it is a non-Maori tourism product. This is plotted on the diagram in the top left area. A Maori employee of that business is plotted down further in the 'level of control' scale as shown on the diagram. In contrast, a Maori quad bike operator with Maori interpretation of the bush to the tourists is plotted in the top right region as it delivers a Maori tourism product. A non-Maori owned shop selling Maori arts would be plotted on the non-Maori business area but at the far right end of the scale of the Maori tourism product, as it is an explicit Maori product. Further self-explanatory examples are plotted on the diagram to give a fuller understanding of how Maori tourism is defined.

While the report has provided a framework defining 'Maori tourism' in terms of control and nature of the product these mostly reflect quantitative dimensions. This reflects a general understanding of Maori tourism as Maori involvement in the tourism sector. However, the level of description of the framework lacks a culturally acceptable perspective of Maori tourism. It fails to capture the more qualitative, cultural valued-based criteria such as maintaining the integrity of the Maori culture, benefits to the community and environmental sustainability. These more detailed definitions describe a specific form of Maori tourism that incorporates cultural values in Maori tourism development.

We argue that a distinction needs to be made between these two forms of Maori tourism. This is affirmed in the TRREC Westland case study on Maori tourism where a specific Maori tourism defined by Maori that sustains the integrity of the culture is distinguished from general 'Maori involvement/participation in the tourism sector' (Zygodlo *et al.*, 2001). The James Henare Maori Research Centre case study on Te Tai Tokerau observed that a specific "Maori tourism" may well be epistemologically different from "Maori doing tourism" (JHMRC, 1998, p.255). This difference is also highlighted by comments from Maori regional

tourism organisations. For example, "the Maori regional tourism organisation in Taranaki is committed to developing product that promotes, protects and preserves the integrity of Maoritanga while on the other hand Maori participate in such projects as the Puke Ariki museum or supply stone art for the Foreshore Walkway ..." (Heremaia, pers. comm., 2002). Te Tai Tokerau Maori Tourism Association identifies 'spiritual values' as a key factor defining their Maori tourism which is different from 'Maori doing tourism' (Kitchen, pers. comm., 2002).

The difference between the two forms of Maori tourism is also reflected in the various models of commercial development adopted by Maori depending on whether they incorporate Maori values or not. The TRREC Maori tourism case study on Rotorua notes that the nature of some of the new Maori businesses are distinctive as they are being developed and managed on a cooperative basis, thereby demonstrating both business success while sustaining Maori values (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.79). In contrast, other Maori businesses operate as a strictly mainstream or western business model (Ibid; JHMRC, 1999a, p.79).

At one end of the spectrum are people who see commercial development as something to be driven by the needs of traditional culture and heritage, for them nothing is to be gained by commercial development if it compromises traditional values and structures. These views are often associated with what is known as marae-based analyses of commercial development. At the other end of the spectrum are people who believe that integration into the profit-driven orthodox pakeha economy is the only hope for effective commercial development. Between these two extremes lies a range of intermediate positions (JHMRC, 1999a, p.212).

This report acknowledges that there are different approaches to Maori tourism development reflecting the diversity within Maori society. However, a 'specific Maori tourism' is argued to represent a culturally relevant approach as opposed to that depicted in the framework (Figure 2). In recognising this difference, this report will now discuss the implications of a specific Maori tourism.

2.6 Specific Maori Tourism – 'Maori-centred Tourism'

There is considerable support in conceptualising and expressing Maori tourism as a specific/distinct activity. From interviews with Maori regional tourism organisations (RTO) a majority strongly express and advocate a distinctive Maori tourism based on Maori traditional values. For example, the 'Maori Tourism Development Board' (Maori RTO from the Auckland region) describes Maori tourism as "being more than the person being Maori, there needs to be interaction with those things and values that are Maori and cultural elements that are relevant to Maori society" (Ormsby, pers. comm., 2002). Ngai Tahu clearly state that while the commercial side is important it is the value set of Ngai Tahu that underpin the development that is critical (Tau, pers. comm., 2002).

Reasons for this support involve issues to do with protecting and developing Maori culture /identity to avoid further misappropriation and misrepresentation of the Maori culture in tourism. These issues are identified in Maori tourism literature as a whole but more specifically in the TRREC Maori tourism case studies of Rotorua (Tahana *et al.*, 2000), Kaikoura (Poharama *et al.*, 1998) and Westland (Zygodlo *et al.*, 2001). For example, Poharama *et al.*, describe the problem where Maori "shared a strong commitment to keeping their cultural heritage intact" but "these aspirations have not been formalised by being incorporated into the tourist 'package' itself" (Poharama, 1998, p.42). Pere (1982) coins this

situation as "commercialising culture" (Pere, 1982 in Tahana and Mariu, no year, p. 5), and concludes that there should be a move to "culturalise commerce" ...a move towards sustaining culture" (Ibid). This reflects a clear direction from the TRREC Rotorua case study for "the need for strong leadership and advocacy within Maori of how culture can be deployed for commercial gain and protected for future generations" (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.78). Maori need to control the tourism development process to protect and develop their cultural and intellectual property. Effectively, this describes a process of Maori self-determination in tourism development.

Given the significance of expressing Maori tourism as a distinct activity as discussed above, the rest of the report will now focus on this tourism hereafter coined 'Maori-centred tourism' (adapted from Durie's (2002) term a 'Maori-centred business'). This focuses on the need to identify in more detail the characteristics of Maori-centred tourism. Therefore, the report will ask: what are the fundamental values that characterise/define Maori-centred tourism? Such definitional frameworks are crucial if tourism with Maori values and ideals are to be developed and supported (JHMRC, 1998, p.568).

2.7 Summary

A broad, integrating framework for defining Maori tourism was derived from a review of the different definitions. This was based on the dimensions of 'control of the business' and the 'nature of the product'. While useful as a tool for measuring Maori involvement in tourism, this framework failed to capture the cultural value-based definitions of Maori tourism. This illustrated the difference between Maori doing tourism and a more specific Maori tourism based on cultural values, coined 'Maori-centred tourism'. There is considerable support for conceptualising and expressing Maori tourism as a distinct activity. This was particularly evident from the interviews with Maori RTOs. Maori-centred tourism entails protecting and developing Maori cultural and intellectual property and the need for self-determined development. Maori-centred tourism is argued to be a culturally relevant approach as opposed to that depicted in the framework. As such a more detailed valued-based definition for Maori-centred tourism is the focus of the rest of the report. The next chapter will discuss literature on Maori business and development to provide further insight into Maori-centred tourism.

Chapter 3

Maori-Centred Tourism: How to Integrate Maori Culture into Western Commerce - a Kaupapa Maori Approach

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will address the nature of the 'business' dimension in conceptualising a Maori-centred tourism business. A fundamental issue of Maori-centred businesses is how to incorporate Maori cultural values and practices into commercial development. This will be examined in the context of a discussion on Maori development. The overarching theme of Maori development is Maori self-determination. Insights into how to combine 'commerce and culture' in Maori self-determination development are provided by Kaupapa Maori development models. Together they help provide sets of values for defining a Maori-centred tourism business.

3.2 Sustainable Development and Indigenous Development Models

Maori development is distinct from pakeha development in Aotearoa as Maori come from a different cultural, social, historical and economic position. In recent years the focus of New Zealand government's approach to Maori development has been on business development, financing, management, education and technical assistance (Loomis, 2000, p.11). Loomis argues that this approach reflects Western and commercial values that effectively compartmentalise social, cultural, and economic goals, values and development activities. This focus on economic development is incompatible with holistic or integrated approaches of sustainable development and with Maori self-determined development. "Maori approaches to development do not recognise clear sectoral demarcations between social, cultural and economic areas" (Durie, 1998 in Loomis, 1999, p.11).

According to many definitions, sustainable development requires a pluralistic perspective of development not just commercial development, but social and cultural well-being, life-style and environmental quality (Bluden and Cocklin, 1995; Robinson, 1994 in JHMRC, 1997a, p.282). Four types of "capital" are identified in attempting to implement sustainable development (Loomis, 1999, p.5). These are: manufactured (produced goods and services, finance etc), human (acquired education, skills, health, research, and knowledge), natural (renewable and non-renewable resources), and social/cultural (institutions, legal codes, governance, networks, values, shared world views, traditional ecological knowledge etc). These types of capital are interrelated. Decisions are to be made in ways that do not deplete any of the stocks of the different types of capital for future generations (Ibid, p.6). However, little explicit attention is given in the development literature to the social and cultural dimensions (Higham and Sharp, 1995, p.4). Sustainable development has often been described in terms of economics, natural resources population and natural ecosystems (Ibid). Social/cultural capital has been difficult to value and left in the 'too hard basket' for the time being (Loomis, 1999, p.8).

While conventional sustainable development theory provides a holistic approach to development it "has largely ignored attempts by indigenous peoples to articulate their own self-determined 'holistic development' " (Loomis, 1999, p.5). Furthermore, indigenous

peoples are actually identifying and valuing social/cultural capital "as a vital resource ...to conceptualise and accomplish their own self-determined development" (Loomis and Morrison, 1998 in Loomis, 1999, p.8; Black, 1994; Durie, 1998). The strategy adopted by many indigenous peoples, including Maori, is to revitalise their traditional institutions and cultures as a basis for development (Loomis, 2000, p.21). Kaupapa Maori development models adopt this strategy.

3.2.1 Kaupapa Maori Development as Maori Self-determined Development

Kaupapa Maori development is a unique Maori approach to sustainable development. It aims to protect and develop their social/cultural capital in development. This is achieved by basing development on traditional cultural values. For example, recent Maori intellectual efforts have attempted to identify concepts and principles contained in oral history, myths, whakatauki and waiata that could provide essential components of an alternative Maori model of development and well-being (Loomis, 1999, p.10).

Kaupapa Maori development significantly embodies the essence of Maori self-determined development. Durie (2000) clearly states that the overriding aim of Maori development is that it is "about the development of Maori people as Maori" (p.13). This is more than Maori participating fully in society, it is about "being Maori and being part of te ao Maori, the Maori world" (Ibid). "Maori want to retain their distinct identity that comes from a unique heritage, common journeys, a familiar environment, and a set of shared aspirations" (Ibid). This is reflected in the approach of Kaupapa Maori development in that " the richness of their retained values, customs and institutions ...are more rather than less relevant as they explore avenues toward more holistic, self determined development" (Loomis, 1999, p.17).

Kaupapa Maori development is reflected in the following strategies to Maori tourism development.

3.2.2 Strategies of Maori Tourism Development

Maori tourism research of Te Tai Tokerau by the James Henare Maori Research Centre argues for an integrated model that is sensitive to tradition yet can succeed in the broader market economy (JHMRC, 1999a, p.212). They assert that it is only by bringing together the range of resources - capital, people, physical resources, tradition that successful sustainable commercial development will arise. This model is a holistic approach that involves inclusion of community values and desires so that the business is run in a way that is culturally and socially sustainable (Ibid, p.301). By incorporating Maori socio-cultural elements the very business itself is conducted in a manner that is essentially non-western in nature. Embracing both commercial development and cultural values "maximises economic and cultural sustainability" (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.79) and "produces sustainable Maori businesses" (JHMRC, 1999a, p.125).

Similarly, a tikanga-based business model has been suggested in the TRREC research of Maori tourism in Rotorua (Tahana *et al.*, 2000) and in Te Tai Tokerau (JHMRC, 1997a, p.264). In the Rotorua case study tikanga was seen as the foundation for the achieving success in business terms while at the same time meeting requirements of Maori cultural norms and values (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.79). It provided the rules and conduct to guide Maori wanting to achieve the two objectives (Ibid). In discussing how Maori value/tradition can be incorporated with commercial development in the West Ngati Kahu region of Te Tai

Tokerau, a tikanga business was suggested, a universe of customs and rules developed by Maori for the contemporary experience (JHMRC, 1997a, p.264).

3.2.3 Kaupapa Maori Development Models

Below is a list of common values identified by various Kaupapa Maori development models of which some relate specifically to Maori tourism development. The models (referenced below) are based on a review of literature on Maori development including Maori tourism development and an analysis of interviews with Maori regional tourism organisations in New Zealand.

Table 1
Values of Kaupapa Maori Development Models

Values	Explanation
Nga Matatini Maori Durie, 1995 in Henare, 1999) (‘Te Ara a Maui’)	Maori diversity
Kotahitanga (Maaka and Fleras, 2000), (Henare, 1997 ; 1998 in Henare, 1999) (Maori Tourism Taranaki)	Maori unity, shared sense of belonging
Tino Rangatiratanga (Durie, 1995 in Henare, 1999) (Maaka and Fleras, 2000) (Zygadlo <i>et al.</i> , 2001) (JHMRC, 1998) (Maori in Tourism Rotorua Association)	Self-determination, ownership, active control
Whanaungatanga (Henare, 1997;1998 in Henare, 1999) (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997 in Henare, 1999) (Poharama <i>et al.</i> , 1998) (Zygadlo <i>et al.</i> , 2001) (JHMRC, 1998) (‘Maori in Tourism Taranaki)	An ethic of belonging, kinship
Kaitiakitanga (Henare, 1997; 1998 in Henare, 1999) (Zygadlo <i>et al.</i> , 2001) (‘Maori Tourism Taranaki’) (‘Maori in Tourism Rotorua Association)	Guardianship of natural resources
Wairuatanga (Maaka and Fleras, 2000) (Poharama <i>et al.</i> , 1998) (‘Maori in Tourism Taranaki’) (‘Maori in Tourism Rotorua Association’)	Spirituality.

Manaakitanga (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997 in Henare, 1999) (Poharama <i>et al.</i> , 2001) (Zygodlo <i>et al.</i> , 2001) ('Maori Tourism Taranaki') (Maori in Tourism Rotorua Association)	Hospitality, generosity, care and giving.
Tuhono (Durie, 2002)	Principle of Alignment: cross sectoral approach to align Maori aspirations on all platforms.
Puawaitanga (Durie, 2002)	Principle of Best Outcomes: indicators of 'best possible return' reflect the integrated goals.
Purotu (Durie, 2002)	Principle of Transparency: Maori businesses have multiple responsibilities and levels of accountability

Together these common values characterise Maori self-determined tourism development or the necessities of Maori-centred tourism. Identifying cultural values important to Maori tourism development "means that Maori retain the ownership and control of their cultural identity and property rights" (Hinch *et al.*, 1998, p.4) in the tourism industry. It clearly helps ensure that the model meets Maori social and cultural expectations and requirements (JHMRC, 1997a, p.284) specific to tourism. This is seen as the critical first step in Maori tourism development. Significantly, it therefore provides the *basis* for commercial development (JHMRC, 1997a, p.283).

The values can be expressed as either "moral principles/beliefs or standards held by Maori to guide their behaviour or as desired states of existence worth striving for" (Matunga, pers. comm., 2002). Therefore, Kaupapa Maori approaches to development focus on "processes, relationships and people's selfhood as well as on so-called outcomes" (Durie, 2002, p.17). Durie (2002) suggests that the interaction of these two dimensions provides a framework for a Maori business ethic (p.9). Both the outcomes and the principles provide distinct defining characteristics of a Maori-centred business.

The process of identifying values applies to an individual Maori-centred tourism business. These values will differ due to the diversity of Maori society. However, there are some commonalities between them that characterise Maori-centred tourism as distinctive from mainstream tourism. It is the focus of the next chapter to describe in detail these common values in terms of Maori-centred tourism.

3.3 Summary

Kaupapa Maori development models provide values helpful for defining characteristics of Maori self-determined development. These models integrate Maori cultural values and commercial activity. This ensures the protection and development of Maori social and

cultural capital. This aligns business with the broad aims of Maori development - the development of Maori people as Maori (Durie, 2002, p7; Durie, 2000, p.13). The values involve both outcomes and processes. The critical factor is that Kaupapa Maori development emphasises the *internal* control of these processes and outcomes (Roderick, pers. comm., 2002). In other words, whilst published literature details values essential for Kaupapa Maori development, as potentially applied to tourism, these values have lacked validation by Maori using a Kaupapa Maori research approach. To address this, this study provides a Maori perspective on Maori tourism - here called Maori-centred tourism. The following chapter describes in more detail the values of Maori-centred tourism.

Chapter 4

Maori-Centred Tourism - Defining Characteristics

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes in detail the values that represent key defining characteristics of a Maori-centred tourism. The identification of the values based on the Kaupapa Maori development models in Chapter 3 were checked by the Maori regional tourism organisations (RTOs) for acceptability and verification. Most (80%) of the Maori RTOs supported and endorsed the list of values. The Maori cultural values are: nga matatini Maori, kotahitanga, rangatiratanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, wairuatanga, tuhono, puawaitanga and purotu (see Table 2). They are expressed either as a principle or as an outcome. Some of them relate specifically to the individual businesses, while others are about broader processes of development, and some apply to both. An important factor is that Maori-centred tourism is based on whakapapa i.e., that it "deliberately revolves around Maori people, Maori assets and Maori priorities" (Durie, 2002, p.6).

A synthesis of research literature on Kaupapa Maori development and interviews with Maori regional tourism organisations provides the basis for describing the values in this chapter. In reviewing the literature, a number of values are seen as important to Maori tourism (Table 2), however there lacks a perspective of what makes these values unique to Maori. In this respect, framing these values within a Kaupapa Maori approach provides a Maori perspective of Maori tourism. Thus, while the information is not new, framing it in a culturally relevant perspective is. Information from the interviews complements this approach. Together it represents a 'moving forward'. It will provide new insight into Maori tourism, one that informs a Maori-centred tourism.

Table 2
Values Of Maori-Centred Tourism

<p><u>Wairuatanga</u> (state of being spiritual)</p> <p><u>Principle:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ expressing the spiritual element in the product <p><u>Outcome:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ recognition and protection of spiritual values
<p><u>Whanaungatanga</u> (relationship, kinship)</p> <p><u>Principle:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ making a contribution to Maori self-determined tourism development ▪ fostering a whanau-work environment ▪ being part of a Maori tourism network <p><u>Outcome:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ economic, social and cultural sustainability ▪ cultural pride of staff ▪ sense of belonging and support
<p><u>Nga matatini Maori</u> (Maori diversity)</p> <p><u>Principles :</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ belonging to traditional and/or non-traditional Maori tourism organisations ▪ representing the diversity of Maori culture in the Maori tourism product ▪ acknowledging that Maori tourism development is tribally and regionally specific ▪ allowing for different types of Maori tourism development strategy <p><u>Outcomes:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ recognition of diverse Maori structures ▪ a more reflective portrayal of Maori culture in the product ▪ recognition of tribal and regional diversity in Maori tourism acknowledgement of the different social/commercial realities of Maori tourism development
<p><u>Kaitiakitanga</u> (guardianship)</p> <p><u>Principles</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ carrying out responsibilities of kaitiakitanga – guardianship and wise care of the environment ▪ acknowledging Maori close affinity to the environment <p><u>Outcomes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ environmentally sustainable tourism development ▪ development of products that protect and promote Maori close relationship with nature

Manaakitanga (warm hospitality)

Principles

- fostering sharing of knowledge and beliefs
- being hospitable with tourists

Outcomes

- recognition of Maori way of interaction with visitors

Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination)

Principles

- controlling the process of tourism development (i.e. the decision making process)
- controlling commercial /economic independence
- controlling the representation of Maori culture in tourism
- asserting Treaty of Waitangi rights for ownership of resources for tourism development

Outcomes

- ownership of the business (or partnerships with non-Maori) and management
- self-determined tourism development
- protection of cultural integrity of the tourism product
- determination of authenticity of Maori tourism product
- expression of 'constitutional ownership' under the Treaty of Waitangi

Kotahitanga (unity, solidarity)

Principles

- establishing cooperative relationships and strategic alliances with other Maori in tourism

Outcomes

- enhanced tourism business opportunities
- sense of unity and cooperation with other Maori involved in tourism

Tuhuno (principle of alignment)

Principle:

- aligning the economic, social, cultural and environmental goals of the business

Outcome:

- integrated, sustainable development

Purotu (principle of transparency)

Principle:

- addressing both Maori and non-Maori accountabilities and responsibilities

Outcome:

- western and Maori cultural business practices

Puawaitanga (principle of best outcomes)

Principle:

- using indicators/guidelines that measure the social, economic, cultural and environmental aspects of the tourism business

Outcome:

- integrated measurement of the 'best possible outcome' of the business

Significantly, the values are not a rigid set of rules. This approach is also emphasised in the TRREC Westland case study (2001) when identifying characteristics of tourism for Poutini Ngai Tahu. The characteristics were "not to be treated as concrete absolutes as this falls into the trap of essentialising Maori and Maori culture" (Zygodlo *et al.*, 2000, p.19). Instead they constitute guidelines to be maintained. "This recognises the distinctiveness of Maori culture but at the same time acknowledges that Maori culture is fluid and evolves within the context of socio-economic influences..." (Ibid).

4.1.1 Values of Maori-centred Tourism

Values of Maori-centred tourism are listed below as individual elements. However, it is important to be aware that Maori-centred tourism is not just a simple list of values, rather there exists dynamic relationships between the values. To help understand this, Maori-centred tourism is represented in Figure 3 as 'a koru spiral of values'. This idea is adapted from Henare (1999) whereby he states that the values for sustainable Maori development are not to be seen in isolation nor do they represent a hierarchy of values but rather a "koru spiral" (Henare, 1999, p.50). Each value in the koru spiral has its own unique nature, life and form (Smith in Salmond, 1985, p.247 in Henare, 1999, p.52), yet each is part of a continuum with an identifiable core. Like a fern's frond an inner core is revealed as the koru unfolds. Each value is also part of 'growth' as represented by the koru shape (Matunga, pers. comm., 2002). This "illustrates that we must understand the parts to understand the whole, as they are all integrated, interconnected and interdependent, both with each other and clusters of other values significant to Maori " (Henare, 1999, p.52).

Figure 3
Maori-centred Tourism – Koru Spiral of Values



4.1.2 Wairuatanga

Wairuatanga is the spiritual dimension of Maori values. As described under 'kaitiakitanga', "whakapapa incorporates a spiritual dimension reaching back to the beginning of time and explaining humankind's relationship with the universe, earth and matter, both inanimate and animate (Keelan, 1991 in Keelan, 1996, p. 197). The importance of these spirituality links is perpetuated in the creation myths, art, waiata, demonstrating the indivisibility of Maori people from their environment (Keelan, 1996, p.197).

Wairuatanga is identified as an essential part of Maori-centred tourism. Wairua provides guidelines for Maori tourism unique to Maori (Heremaia, pers. comm., 2002). For Tai Tokerau Maori Tourism Association it is the expression of spiritual values in relation to Maori identity to the land, sea and sky that makes Maori tourism distinct (Kitchen, pers. comm., 2002). Explaining the spiritual side to visitors makes the product authentic rather than staged (Ibid). In other words, "cultural interpretation to visitors based on genuine Maori values enables visitors to experience the spirit (wairua) of living Maori culture" (Zeppel, 1997b). Hokianga Maori in Northland stated that while Maori tourism has to be run on

business lines, it is essentially a spiritual experience (James Henare Maori Research Centre (JHMRC), 1998, p.710). "When Pakeha come to visit our marae they can meet our ancestors as well as us" (Ibid). The spiritual or emotional experience is emphasized by three successful Maori tourism attractions as a strategy to foster the protecting of cultural integrity of the product:

Particular attention is paid to the connection and association that people have with a place. The mauri (spiritual life force) of these places is emphasized. For example, the cultural dimension is not only important, but also 'the perspective of actually getting insight into the way Maori view their natural environment' as 'the spirituality that Maori have with their taonga' (Hinch et al., 1999, p.6).

One of the aims of the East Coast Maori Tourism Operators Association is to develop tourism that recognises and protects the spiritual values of the people in the area (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002).

Principles

- expressing spiritual experience in the product

Outcomes

- recognition and protection of spiritual values

4.1.3 Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is an organisational principle, a way of structuring and maintaining social relations within the whanau (Smith, 1999, p.26). It provides a support structure which has inbuilt responsibilities and obligations (Ibid). This creates a sense of "belonging and solidarity" (Henare, 1999 p. 48). In terms of Maori-centred tourism, the notion of whanaungatanga is expressed as contributing to Maori development, being part of a Maori network and creating a whanau environment in the business. These aspects are discussed below.

Being part of a Maori network characterises Maori-centred tourism development. Maori institutions were identified as playing an important role in sustainable Maori tourism development as they define the capacity of effective commercial development (JHMRC, 1999a, p.243). Tahana *et al.*, (2000) noted that the involvement of kaumatua and other hapu members in an advisory capacity has enhanced the development of some Maori tourism businesses in Rotorua. Marae/whanau based tourism development was strongly supported by some participants in the James Henare Maori Tourism research of Te Tai Tokerau (JHMRC, 1997a, p.262). This included the marae as the context in which Maori culture may be protected and preserved, the commitment to a collective, and whanau based model of production and distribution (Ibid). However, not all Maori-centred tourism development is supported by traditional Maori structures. Organizations that embrace the urban whanau are also important (JHMRC, 1996, p.62). Some Maori-centred tourism operators are part of a Maori network through Maori tourism regional organisations that support Maori tourism businesses in their rohe.

Nurturing staff in a whanau working environment is identified as an important strategy for Maori tourism (Heremaia, pers. comm., 2002). This was particularly notable with the 'Whale Watch' work place and was reflected in the "passion and pride of being Maori " by the Maori

staff (Poharama *et al.*, 1998, p.30). Empowering staff to make their own decisions consistent with Maori values contributes to this whanau work environment (Heremaia, pers. comm., 2002).

Making a deliberate contribution to Maori development also characterises whanaungatanga. This reflects the strong sense of belonging. There is natural commitment to tribal or whanau based development (Heremaia, pers. comm., 2002). This aspect of whanaungatanga is emphasised by all the Maori regional tourism organisations (RTO). Below are some examples.

For the (Auckland) Maori Tourism Development Board, Maori tourism entails whanaungatanga supporting the development of hapu/whanau/iwi by helping their own people to build up opportunities in tourism (Ormsby, pers. comm., 2002). Opportunities of employment for Maori are seen as an important aspect of Maori tourism by Ngai Tahu (Tau, pers. comm., 2002). Te Ara a Maui view Maori tourism as a Maori development issue – economically, socially and culturally (Barrett, pers. comm., 2002). This takes place at a personal /community/hapu level (Ibid). A goal of East Coast Maori Tourism Operators Association is to assist and empower their hapu or whanau based tourism businesses to become economically sustainable by providing information, promoting their products and providing business development and planning (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002). Providing opportunities for iwi/hapu to be part of the commercial realities in this Country and giving them the best information to succeed is a key purpose of Maori tourism development (Hakiwai, pers. comm., 2002). Te Tai Tokerau Maori Tourism Association also strongly identifies the support and working together of whanau and hapu as important (Kitchen, pers.comm., 2002).

This approach reflects that of a sustainable Maori tourism development model developed by James Henare Research Centre which is "supportive of Maori social systems and productive of a sustainable economic base for their communities, thereby promoting their overall development aspirations which included improved employment opportunities and living standards" (JHMRC, 1998, p.708).

Principles

- making a contribution to Maori self determined development
- fostering a whanau -work environment
- being part of a Maori network - traditional and non-traditional

Outcomes

- economic, social, and cultural sustainability
- cultural pride of staff
- sense of belonging and support

4.1.4 Nga Matatini Maori

Nga Matatini Maori is the principle of Maori diversity. "Maori are organised into a variety of traditional and non-traditional bodies, each of which is legitimate in its own right and deserves protection of its integrity" (Maaka and Fleras, 2000, pp.101-102). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge and allow for the complex diversity within Maori society, this includes differences between iwi and non-traditional organisations and differences within iwi.

Acknowledgement of this diversity means that there are different Maori regional tourism organisations. Te Runaunga o Ngati Porou Maori RTO/Tourism Ngati Porou, is solely iwi based. Other organisations are regionally based and incorporate several or more iwi in their rohe e.g., Te Ara a Maui which represents Maori from the greater Wellington region involving 13 iwi. This diversity is also discussed under whanaungatanga as these values are interrelated and reinforce each other.

The representation of Maori culture in tourism must reflect this diversity of Maori identity (Heremaia, pers. comm., 2002) to avoid misrepresenting Maori as a homogenous group (Zygadlo *et al.*, 2001, p.10). In other words, the Maori tourism product needs to be more reflective of the culture itself or more accurate in terms of who we are (Hakiwai, pers. comm., 2002). A diversified Maori tourism product which carries authenticity and integrity is needed (Ibid). This is reflected in a "culturally sustainable Maori tourism that involves Maori interpretation of diverse cultural practices, not just concert party performances" (Ministry of Tourism, 1992 in Zeppel, 1998 p. 68). "There is a need to look at the whole diversity of the Maori tourism product and how to break down the stereotypes of Maori tourism as entertainment" (Ormsby, pers. comm., 2002). The visitor is aware of the Rotorua experience but this is rather restrictive and limiting if this is the only perception of Maori tourism (Ibid).

Strategies to promote a diversified culture include Maori tourism products that give a portrayal of a "lived" perspective of their culture rather than a staged performance. 'Whale Watch' has placed emphasis on sharing their culture not on mythical stories to visitors but a perception of who they are as Maori and their relationship with the whales (through conservation and preservation) (Hinch *et al.*, 1999, p.11). Tamaki tours provide visitors with an understanding of pride of culture and Te Papa show that Maori culture is very much alive, it's vibrant and dynamic but also inextricably tied to the past (Ibid, p.6).

Emphasis by Maori on a deeper level of interaction with the tourists is part of providing an alternative to the staged experience. "We want to provide an authentic experience, learning experiences, through which we learn too, interacting with our guests" (Mahuta, 1987, p.1). Examples of these experiences are "guided tours of pa sites, old fishing grounds, trails, hunting areas and small rural marae "(Ormsby, pers. comm., 2002).

Nga Matatini Maori is also reflected in the different types of development strategy for Maori-centred tourism. For example, Mahuta provides a description of some different types as models for Maori tourism development (Mahuta, 1987, p.5). A key-defining characteristic of these models, among other criteria, was the retention of Maori values and perceptions (Ibid). These are:

- custodial developments - the resource is the land held in Maori ownership where the developments would all be small scale. They would provide training and employment opportunities for the local marae groups and owners
- dependant developments - largely through joint ventures e.g. overseas marketing of Maori - owned tourist enterprises carried out by non-Maori companies
- spontaneous developments - these remain in Maori control, each area defines for itself the unique qualities of the resources of each particular area or group (Ibid).

Adopting a mix of these types is called pluralistic model of commercial integration (JHMRC, 1997a, p.266). Some iwi such as Ngai Tahu adopt this pluralistic model as a commercial strategy (Tau, pers. comm., 2002). Each provides their own particular contribution to the iwi's commercial portfolio. (Mahuta, 1987, p.5).

Nga matatini Maori also means that each Maori-centred tourism development is spatially an/or iwi/hapu/whanau specific. To emphasise these differences, hapu-based Maori tourism is coined 'hapu tourism' by the East Coast Maori Tourism Association (Kaua, pers.comm., 2002). There are different iwi/hapu/whanau expressions or interpretation of tikanga in tourism (Ormsby, pers. Comm., 2002 and Grant, pers. Comm., 2002). For example, different hapu express manaakitanga in different ways, whereby some may hongiri while others may provide a formal powhiri. It is argued "it is this cultural diversity that makes indigenous tourism unique and provides each destination with a competitive advantage" (Parker, 1993a, 1993b in Butler and Hinch, 1996, p.13). Research on three successful Maori tourism businesses revealed, "each of three attractions advocated the need for differentiation in the cultural experience" (Hinch *et al.*, 1999, p.8). It was seen as important for both cultural and business reasons for each attraction to ask itself "what is it that makes us uniquely Ngai Tahu (or more generally Maori) in this area?" (Ibid).

Principles

- belonging to traditional and/or non-traditional Maori tourism organisations
- representing the diversity of Maori culture in tourism - as a living culture as well as of the past
- acknowledging that Maori tourism development is tribally/regionally/spatially specific
- allowing for different types of development strategy

Outcomes

- recognition of different Maori structures
- a more reflective portrayal of Maori culture
- recognition of different ways of expressing tourism
- acknowledgement of the different social/commercial realities of Maori

4.1.5 Kaitiakitanga

Kaitiakitanga is defined as the "responsibilities and kaupapa, passed down from the ancestors, for tangata whenua to take care of the places, natural resources and other taonga in their rohe, and the mauri of those places, resources and taonga" (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 1997, p.132). Only tangata whenua can be kaitiaki, can identify kaitiaki, can determine the form and structure of kaitiaki (Minhinnick, 1989 in Roberts *et al.*, 1995, p.11). Taonga are the tangible and intangible valued resources of Maori culture (Zygadlo *et al.*, 2001, p.21). It includes nature and its resources - nature's taonga.

The concept of kaitiakitanga is defined by the JHMRC as "Maori traditionally controlling their major resources strictly to sustain these resources and to hand them on intact to future generations" (Higham and Sharp, 1995, p. 12). "The Maori perspective is that if non-renewable (stock) resources are depleted then the land must be returned to its original state or better (Nottingham, 1989 in Higham and Sharp, 1995, p.12). Therefore, kaitiaki (or guardians) must ensure that the mauri (or life force) of their taonga is healthy and strong (Patterson, 1992 in Roberts *et al.*, 1995, p.11). In sum, kaitiakitanga means guardianship and includes aspects of wise care and management (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.57).

An important implication of kaitiakitanga is that tourism development must not compromise the role of kaitiaki in caring for the natural environment (Zygadlo *et al.*, 2001, p.23). This was identified as a critical issue in all the three TRREC case studies on Maori tourism (1998-

2001). For example, in the Westland case study there was concern about the impacts of tourism on their role of kaitiakitanga to protect the natural environment from pollution of waterways and from damage to the forest and glaciers (Ibid). Clearly, then for Maori tourism development, their underlying attitudes towards the environment affect the manner in which tourism development occurs (Hall *et al.*, 1993, p.318). For instance tourism development, must be 'environmentally responsible' (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002). For Maori, environmental integrity is central for sustainable tourism development (Zeppel, 1998, p.74). At a wider level, Maori values (about the natural environment)... increasingly impose a perspective upon the overall management of the natural environment, itself a fundamental part of New Zealand tourism product and central element of the New Zealand way of life and self-image (Fitzharris and Kearsley 1987; Kearsley, 1999 in Kearsley *et al.*, 1999, p.12).

Kaitiakitanga is grounded in a worldview in which humans and nature are not separate entities but related parts of a unified whole (Roberts *et al.*, 1995, p.16). This based in Maori philosophy where creation plays a fundamental role (Tahana *et al.*, 2000). Tahana outlines Maori cosmogony or the spirituality of whakapapa in the Rotorua case study:

*All things in the natural world are seen as the progeny of Papatuanuku (maternal earth) and Ranganui (paternal sky). Because there is a common bond recognised in this order, Maori interrelate to the surrounding environment accordingly. Maori perceive the environment in a holistic way and see themselves as an intrinsic element of that environment. The holistic view is also reflected in the different dimensions that all aspects of the universe are understood to have. The dimensions include; Te Taha wairua (spiritual), Te taha hinengaro (mental), Te taha tinana (physical and economic). Wairuatanga refers to the spiritual dimension of Maori relationship with the environment (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.57).*

This affinity with nature is reflected in all the three TRREC Maori tourism case studies, where most Maori expressed a close or special relationship with the natural environment. The Kaikoura case study affirms that this relationship is an essential part of the Maori worldview (Poharama *et al.*, 1998, p.39). This holistic world-view is seen as representing a "Maori notion of heritage" in the context of heritage tourism (Hall *et al.*, 1992; Hall and McArthur, 1993; in Hall, 1993, p.316). This has implications for Maori-centred tourism development as discussed below.

"Sharing an element of our relationship to the land (based on the relationship of Te Papa and Rangi) to the tourists is Maori tourism" (Ormsby, pers. comm., 2002). A tourism product that expresses this spiritual attachment to the environment allows for Maori tourism that is based on and promotes our kaitiaki roles and responsibilities (Kitchen, pers. comm., 2002). One significant expression of this relationship to the land is Maori attaching unique meanings to virtually all places in Aotearoa (Hall 1996; Hall *et al.*, 1993; Pawson, 1992; Yoon, 1986 in Hinch *et al.*, 1998, p. 2), reflecting "strong spatial affinities" (Kearsley *et al.*, 1999, p.3) and "a distinct sense of place" (Relph, 1976 in Hinch *et al.*, 1998, p. 1). This aspect of Maori values has implications for product development.

*"A failure to recognise this unique Maori sense of place would seem to one of the more important factors that has contributed to current issues in Maori tourism related to marketing, product development and environmental impacts" (Maori Task Force 1986; in Hinch *et al.*, 1998, p. 3).*

Kaitiakitanga is an inherent part of the exercise of rangatiratanga (Roberts *et al.*, 1995, p.12). To meet the responsibilities of kaitiakitanga Maori need an effective form of control and authority. Maori carrying out their kaitiaki responsibilities in tourism development is essentially about asserting their right to tino rangatiratanga.

Principles

- carrying out responsibilities of kaitiakitanga - guardianship and wise care of the environment
- acknowledging our close affinity to the environment

Outcomes

- development of a product that promotes our 'sense of place'
- tourism development must be environmentally sustainable

4.1.6 Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga is about the respect given to manuhuri (visitors), sometimes described as "sharing and caring" (Sharp, 1990, p.53) and being hospitable. "Maori notions of hospitality (manaakitanga) meant that visitors were accorded a warm welcome" (Ryan, 1997, p.260). Hospitality has always been an important aspect of Maori society (Barnett, 2001, p.84).

Manaakitanga is seen as one key element for the way Maori should engage themselves with tourists (Zygodlo *et al.*, 2001, p.22). Being Maori means sharing knowledge, hospitality, beliefs and well being and that ultimately, this is Maori tourism (Ulrich-Cloher and Johnson, 1997 in Barnett, 2001, p.85). Therefore, the nature of genuine Maori tourism is the sharing of core principles, for example manaakitanga (hospitality and caring) (Ibid). For example, fostering practices of manaakitanga by Maori staff is part of the essence of each of three successful Maori tourism attractions (Hinch *et al.*, 1998, p.5). East Coast Maori Tourism Operators Association take pride in claiming that Maori tourism in Te Tai Rawhiti is renowned for its hospitality (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002).

Principle

- fostering sharing of knowledge and beliefs and being hospitable with tourists

Outcome

- affirmation of Maori way of hosting/welcoming visitors

4.1.7 Tino Rangatiratanga

The concept of tino rangatiratanga is about the self-determination of Maori. The right of Maori to have control over their resources, culture, social and economic well being (Zygodlo *et al.*, 2001, p.23). An integral factor is the control over the decision making process.

Control was identified as a key issue in tourism for Maori (Keelan, 1996 in Zeppel 1997c, p. 79; Barnett, 1997, p.473; Hall, 1996, p.172). In all the three TRREC Maori tourism case studies, more control over tourism development was identified as an issue. Whoever has control can generally determine such critical factors as the scale, speed and nature of the development (Butler and Hinch, 1996, p.9) and the location and the management of development (Hall, 1996, p.172). What does this mean in terms of tino rangatiratanga? Firstly, it means Maori control "Maori" culture.

Control Over Culture

Maori have been historically misrepresented by the tourism industry (Tahana and Mariu, nd, p.2) and "with little commercial benefit to Maori" (Maori Task Force, 1992, p. 25). It is therefore paramount that Maori are in control of the commercialisation of Maori culture

(Tahana and Mariu, nd, p.2). This is reflected in the Maori Task Force Report, which requests for policy that "ensures that the definition and use of Maori culture in the tourism industry is firmly in responsible Maori hands" (Maori Task Force, 1992, p. 12). Keelan echoes this request in relation to Maori hosting requirements, which should be renegotiated only by Maori owners of the resource, lest the culture be commodified and bastardised (Keelan, 1992 in Keelan, 1996, p.199).

In this context, tino rangatiratanga is Maori retaining the ownership and control of their culture and property rights in tourism. This ensures "control over authenticity" (Hinch *et al.*, 1998, p.4). Maori determination of the authenticity of the product, practice or information about Maori culture was strongly advocated in the Westland Case study (Zygadlo *et al.*, 2001, p.31). This was identified as a key factor for defining Maori tourism (Ibid). For Maori, authenticity is simply defined as having the right to control access to their heritage (Barnett, 1996 in Ryan and Crofts, 1997, p.911). For example, "Maori themselves utilize their mythological heritage for tourism purposes, an acceptance of such practice being possible where they have direct control over the final product" (Kearsley *et al.*, 1999, p.9). Use of Maori culture including "interpretation strategies relating to Maori art and culture must be based on a recognition of the Maori ownership of the product and Maori participation in all stages of the planning and information delivery process" (Keelan, 1996, p.200). In the words of 'Maori in Tourism Rotorua Association', "rangatiratanga means Maori control over the product" (Grant, pers. comm., 2002).

Thus tino rangatiratanga is central to Maori determining authenticity. The notion of what is authentic has to be defined by Maori and not from external sources. This enables Maori "to build a genuine Maori dimension into the tourism industry" as expressed in the TRREC Maori tourism Kaikoura case study (Poharama *et al.*, 1998, p.37). Similarly, as noted in the Maori tourism Westland case study "it allows for their own version of Maori as an authentic 'culture' within the tourism industry" (Zygadlo *et al.*, 2001, p.32).

At a personal level, tino rangatiratanga is the right to define yourself, who you are, what is important to you and, therefore, what is authentic (Matunga, 2001, in Zygadlo *et al.*, 2000, p.32). It is therefore, the right to express "our own personal identity as Maori" (Grant, pers. comm., 2002) and it is this which gives "our own unique cultural dimension to the tourism product" (Ormsby, pers. comm., 2002). For example, a Maori home stay owner or bus tour guide who talks about their attachment to the land is providing a Maori cultural dimension to the tourism experience (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002) in a way that expresses their identity. This allows Maori to present themselves how they would like to present themselves and not compromising their cultural identity (Hakiwai, pers. comm., 2002).

Maori providing an authentic experience to visitors involve safeguards such as consultations with kaumatua, maintaining appropriate protocol among visitors, and placing the marae as the central focus of 'who they are' and 'what they are about', (Hinch *et al.*, 1998, p. 5). Consultation should also include the broader Maori community about permission to exhibit taonga, the use of iwi images/stories in promotional material and modifications of protocol (Ibid, p.8). Providing employees who work directly with visitors with a sense of cultural ownership and control is also part of ensuring an "authentic product' (Ibid, p. 4). This cultural ownership of the product allows "Maori to use their cultural identity in tourism to promote Maori culture, - to promote Maori way of doing things" (Tau, pers. comm., 2002). Authentic Maori tourism experiences can therefore be seen in terms of maintaining the cultural integrity of Maori culture (Haifa, pers. comm., 2002). The Maori RTO in Taranaki is committed to

developing products that promote, protect and preserve the integrity of Maoritanga (Heremaia, pers. comm., 2002).

Business Ownership and Management

One vision of rangatiratanga in Maori-centred tourism development is for Maori "to be financially independent and make our own decisions and to have pride" (Tau, pers. comm., 2002). According to the East Coast Maori Tourism Operators' Association this means being economically sustainable (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002). This is expressed through business ownership, which gives Maori control over the development process. However, Maori also recognise the need for investment partners (Ingram, 1997, p.8) even while seeking a retention of control (Ryan, 1997, p.267). Maori are pursuing approaches of partnership and cooperation with non-Maori in tourism (Ryan 1997, p. 267; Ryan and Crofts, 1997, p. 912-13). To prevent loss of control of the decision making process, Mahuta warns that Maori:

"must act to retain their position as the controllers and regulators in any joint venture and this must be written clearly in all contracts. They must always be seen as the kaitiaki of their resource be it cultural, spiritual or physical" (Mahuta, 1987, p.5).

Maori management of the tourism business is also an important aspect of control over the decision making in the business (Tau, pers. comm., 2002).

Treaty of Waitangi

Tino Rangatiratanga is about Maori rights under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi. These rights have been asserted through recommendations made by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. This includes legal recognition of Maori tribal sovereignty, land ownership and rightful use of natural resources (Hall *et al.*, 1992 in Zeppel, 1998, p.68). Thus, Maori ownership of land and culture under the Treaty of Waitangi is about Maori claiming "constitutional ownership" (Ryan, 1997, p.266). Maori tourism is "intimately related with the overall restoration of rights under the Treaty of Waitangi" (Keelan, 1993 in Hall 1996, p.172). Therefore, a Maori tourism business operates in a socio-political context where the meaning of rangatiratanga is a part of a process of a constitutional partnership with pakeha (Ryan, 1997, p.274). For example, Te Tai Tokerau Maori and Cultural Tourism Association assert that Maori tourism is related to rights of Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi (Kitchen, pers. comm., 2002)

Principles

- controlling the process of tourism development (i.e., the decision making process)
- controlling commercial /economic destiny
- controlling the representation of culture in tourism
- asserting a treaty partnership with the government

Outcomes

- business ownership and management
- self determined development
- protection of cultural integrity
- determination of an authentic Maori tourism product
- expression of 'constitutional ownership' under the Treaty of Waitangi

4.1.8 Kotahitanga

Kotahitanga is the principle of Maori unity. "Despite diversity in affiliations and structures , there remains a cohesive core based on a shared sense of belonging and common destiny" (Maaka and Fleras, 2000, pp.102-102). Kotahitanga is one value that is integral to the way Maori structure works and must be taken into account in plans for sustainable Maori tourism development (JHMRC, 1997a, p.179). It means "establishing relationships or alliances between Maori organisations and groups" (Durie, 2002 p. 9). There are a great number of organisations and institutions operating on behalf of Maori and their collective contributions need to be explored (Durie, 2000, p.15). Business opportunities will be enhanced as a result (Durie, 2002, p. 9). Alliances can foster a spirit of cooperation rather than fragmentation of effort (Ibid). In sum, kotahitanga "recognises linkages and reinforces them through cooperation" (JHMRC, 1997a, p.179).

The principle of kotahitanga was the overriding theme at the Omaka Marae Maori Tourism Hui (May, 2002) whereby Maori tourism operators were strongly encouraged to establish a network of relationships and strategic alliances. Networking with other Maori organisations to share information and ideas is critical (Hakiwai, pers. comm., 2002). Te Ara a Maui, the Wellington based Maori RTO, particularly stated the importance of being part of a Maori regional tourism organisation for developing a useful network (Barrett, pers. comm., 2002). Maori regional tourism organisations also need to strengthen their national Maori tourism relationships in addressing common issues (Ibid). Forming strategic alliances with other Maori organisations such as Te Puni Kokiri, and Te Runanga o Ngati Porou, is part of the role of The East Coast Maori Tourism Operators Association (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002). An expression of kotahitanga as Maori being part of a network is interrelated and reinforces an aspect of whanaungatanga as discussed above. Forming relationships also means Maori operators clustering their products and services with other Maori tourism operators (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002). For example, several marae stays in an area may link up together or a marae stay may link up with guided bush tours.

Principles

- establishing cooperative relationships and strategic alliances with other Maori

Outcomes

- sense of unity and cooperation with other Maori involved in tourism
- enhanced business opportunities

4.1.9 Tuhono

Cross-sectoral alignment of Maori-centred businesses is the basis of the principle of tuhono (Durie, 2002, p.7). Maori development depends on the interaction of social, economic and cultural goals (Ibid). An approach that integrates these sectors is needed to "be aligned with Maori aspirations for advancement on all platforms, simultaneously" (Ibid).

In relation to Maori-centred tourism business, the principle of tuhono describes how the business integrates the different goals and/or values. Thus, while economic independence is seen as a condition of cultural independence, this needs to be balanced with cultural and environmental performance (Hinch *et al.*, 1998, p.4). This approach is reflected in Whale Watch's company philosophy to "only undertake activities that are commercially viable, culturally acceptable and environmentally sustainable" (Kearsley *et al.*, 1999, p.10).

The sustainable Maori tourism approaches advocated in the Te Tai Tokerau research are also indicative of the principle of tuhono. The research approach was to 'put in place a Maori tourism that is culturally authentic and sustainable relative to local Maori culture, communities, environment, and their economic well-being' (JHMRC, 1998, p.17). The goals or conditions included local employment, preservation of culture, maintenance of environment, education, family values, profit, service development, sense of community and Maori control or ownership (JHMRC, 1999b, p.397).

Tuhono is also evident in how Maori tourism development is viewed as an integration of economic, social, environmental and cultural development by Te Ara a Maui (Barrett, pers. comm., 2002).

Principles

- aligning the economic, social, cultural and environmental goals of the business

Outcomes

- integrated, sustainable development

4.1.10 Purotu

Purotu is the principle of transparency (Durie, 2002, p.7). Maori businesses have dual responsibilities and levels of accountability (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002). There is direct responsibility to shareholders or stakeholders and with non-Maori legal accountabilities such as rules and regulations (Durie, 2002, p.7; Kaua, pers. comm., 2002). However, when Maori values are involved, a Maori tourism business is also accountable and responsible to the Maori community - to whanau and hapu (Grant, pers. comm., 2002). 'Maori Tourism Taranaki' point out that they have to comply with established guidelines unique to Maori (Heremaia, pers. comm., 2002). Addressing both Maori and non-Maori accountabilities and responsibilities is an important feature of a Maori tourism businesses.

This dual accountability of Maori-centred tourism operators is identified by the East Coast Maori Tourism Operators Association. They provide support for Maori operators in the non-Maori accountabilities such as developing strategic plans, budgeting, monitoring and understanding rules and regulations (Kaua, pers. comm., 2002). This is part of upskilling and empowering Maori out of dependency (Ibid), which is also an expression of tino rangatiratanga and whanaungatanga.

Principles

- addressing both Maori and non-Maori accountabilities and responsibilities in the business

Outcomes

- recognition of both the western business structure and cultural practices

4.1.11 Puawaitanga

Puawaitanga or the 'principle of best outcomes' is about endorsing the use of multiple measures for the 'best possible return' in a Maori-centred business (Durie, 2002, pp.8-9). "Care must be taken to ensure that indicators of 'best possible return' reflect the balanced motives and the integrated goals of a Maori-centred business" (Ibid). Indicators of business performance need to be developed to measure social, cultural, and broader economic goals

"to give a more comprehensive picture of outcome" (Ibid). According to a Maori-centred model, a good outcome will be reflected in several areas (Ibid).

Puawaitanga reflects that of a sustainable ethnic tourism model which "... must incorporate ways to measure not only socio cultural impacts and capacity to retain or reproduce authenticity but also ways to measure the financial viability of a venture" (Sofield, 1993 in Tahana and Mariu, nd, p.5).

He Matai Tapoi Maori 'Barriers and Impediments' Report (2000) identified the lack of standards and clear guidelines for the objectives of Maori in the tourism industry that have been decided by Maori for Maori (Stafford group *et al.*, 2000, pp.12, 15). Measures/indicators of the diverse values of Maori tourism can effectively be guidelines or standards. Measures or indicators to evaluate sustainable Maori tourism are suggested for Maori tourism development in the Te Tai Tokerau case study (JHMRC, 1999b, p.414). These are viewed in terms of what is acceptable to the Maori community, such as does the opportunity enable: retention of culture and values, environmental preservation; employment; local ownership and control; improved living standards; education; improved social well-being (Ibid).

Principles

- using indicators/guidelines that measure the social, economic, cultural and environmental aspects of the tourism business

Outcomes

- established measurement of the 'best possible outcome' of the business

4.2 Summary

This chapter described in detail the core common values of Maori-centred tourism. These values are wairuatanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, kotahitanga, tino rangatiratanga, nga matatini Maori, manaakitanga, tuhuno, purotu and puawaitanga. A synthesis of Maori tourism and Maori business literature and interviews with Maori regional tourism organisations provided the basis of the information. The values represent some commonalities of a collective direction of a Maori-centred tourism that captures what "drives them" or "describes where they are coming from" (Grant, pers. comm., 2002). This list is not set in concrete. It is subject to further review and evaluation by Maori. For the moment, the values described in this chapter could potentially provide a set of indicators or guidelines for a Maori-centred tourism. Effectively, this creates a basis for a Maori-centred tourism business ethic.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a conclusion of this report. First, the aims and objectives are discussed in relation to the summaries of the chapters. Recommendations are then suggested.

5.2 Summary

The aim of this report was to seek conceptual clarification of 'Maori tourism', including 'Maori tourism business' and 'Maori tourism product'. Specific objectives were focussed on reviewing the different definitions of Maori tourism, providing a broad conceptual framework for defining Maori tourism (business and product), and identifying and describing common values that characterise in more detail a value-based, or, Maori-centred tourism business.

A Kaupapa Maori research approach was employed. It is critical that Maori research is framed within a culturally relevant perspective. The main sources of data were: Maori tourism publications including those from the Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre (TRREC) and James Henare Maori Research Centre (JHMRC) Maori tourism case studies; indigenous tourism literature; Maori development literature; interviews with Maori regional tourism organisations, organisations involved in Maori tourism and academics involved in Maori tourism research.

A review of existing published definitions indicated the potential for a broad, integrating framework that represented a synthesis of different perspectives. Within the published literature, there is a predominant focus on defining Maori tourism in terms of the dimensions of control and the nature of the product itself. According to this framework a Maori business included Maori ownership and operation, and/or Maori employees. A non-Maori tourism business had no Maori ownership or control. Both businesses could provide a Maori tourism product. The Maori tourism product was defined as implicit/ passive or explicit such as kapa haka performance. A Maori business could provide a non-Maori tourism product.

While useful as a tool for measuring Maori involvement in tourism, this framework failed to capture the more qualitative, cultural value-based criteria of Maori tourism such as maintaining cultural integrity, environmental sustainability, and community based development. These broader definitions described a specific form of Maori tourism that incorporated cultural values in Maori tourism development, coined 'Maori-centred tourism'. It represented a different perspective from general Maori involvement in tourism. A distinction was made between these two forms of Maori tourism. This difference was also reflected in the various models of commercial development adopted by Maori. Some of the Maori businesses were distinctive as they demonstrate business success while sustaining Maori values (Tahana *et al.*, 2000, p.79). Others operated as a strictly western business model (Ibid).

There is considerable support for conceptualising and expressing Maori tourism as a distinct activity. This was particularly evident from the interviews with Maori regional tourism organisations. Maori-centred tourism entails protecting and developing Maori cultural and intellectual property and the need for self-determined development. Maori-centred tourism is argued to be a culturally relevant approach as opposed to that depicted in existing definitions.

Therefore, the report asked: what are the fundamental values that characterise Maori-centred tourism?

Maori-centred tourism values were identified from a review of literature on Kaupapa Maori development models and in-depth interviews with Maori regional tourism organisations. The values were: nga matatini Maori, kotahitanga, rangatiratanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, wairuatanga, tuhono, puawaitanga and purotu. They were expressed as both outcomes and processes/principles. Framing these values within a Kaupapa Maori approach provided a Maori perspective of Maori tourism. Thus, while the information was not new, framing it in a culturally relevant perspective was. Information from the interviews complemented this approach. Essentially, it represents a 'moving forward'. It provided new insight into Maori tourism, one that may inform a Maori-centred tourism.

The list of values was not seen as exhaustive nor were they set in concrete rather they represented a starting point to document some commonalities of a collective value-based Maori tourism, Maori-centred tourism. This was subject to review and evaluation by Maori. The values described could potentially provide a set of indicators or guidelines for a Maori-centred tourism. Effectively, this created a basis for a Maori-centred tourism business ethic.

5.3 Recommendations

Defining Maori tourism and the identification and description of the values of a Maori-centred tourism have policy implications for Maori tourism.

Defining Maori tourism provides a framework for those involved in Maori tourism who require a measurement of Maori economic development in the tourism industry. For example, to achieve greater Maori participation in the tourism industry, there is a need to increase the number of Maori tourism businesses regardless of whether they provide a Maori tourism product. Maori ownership and employment may thus be targeted. However, to fulfil obligations under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi with the protection and development of cultural values and the support and promotion of Maori self-determined development then Maori-centred tourism is highly relevant and useful. Below are some potential reasons:

- Maori-centred tourism promotes Maori having control over their economic, social, cultural and environmental resources. It is "about the development of Maori people as Maori" (Durie, 2000, p.13). Therefore, the collective values of a Maori-centred tourism represents an expression of a right as Treaty partners and as indigenous peoples to control their future.
- Maori-centred tourism seeks to reflect a Kaupapa Maori self-determined development model that is a unique Maori approach to cultural, social, environmental and economic sustainability. It aims to successfully protect and develop social/cultural capital in development. As such it aims to contribute to more holistic, sustainable development.
- Maori-centred tourism aims to support and empower Maori regional tourism organisations to pursue their own development. Maori self-determined development can only be accomplished by Maori through Maori structures (Loomis, 2000, p.13).
- Maori-centred tourism seeks to describe how Maori are involved in the tourism industry rather than just measuring their participation in the industry. The defining characteristics could potentially provide indicators and/or guidelines for Maori tourism development that

reflect a culturally acceptable approach to tourism. These could be developed to establish a Maori Tourism trademark along the lines of the Maori Made Mark.

- The defining characteristics of Maori-centred tourism are founded on indicators for a "Maori self-determination measure or a Tino Rangatiratanga Index" (Loomis, 2000, p. 15). This provides the Crown with potential indicators to guide an approach to Maori development that meets their obligations under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi.

To support and promote Maori-centred tourism, it is recommended that capacity building which focuses on "strengthening governance, human capital and infrastructure" (Loomis, 2000, p.12), so Maori can control their own development is required.

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