

The Values Associated with Maori-Centred Tourism in Canterbury

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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) Tau, (1993) and Durie, (2002).

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Aotearoa | New Zealand |
| aro | love, compassion, sympathy |
| aro | state of being sympathetic |
| hina | state of embracing, helping |
| haka | fierce rhythmical dance |
| hang | earth oven, food from earth oven |
| hapu | sub-tribe |
| harakeke | flax |
| hinengaro | mind, heart, intellect, conscience, psychology |
| Horomaka | Banks Peninsula |
| hui | meetings or gatherings usually on the marae |
| iwi | tribal groups |
| 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) |
| karakia | prayer |
| kaumatua | elder |
| kaupapa | plan, strategy, tactics, methods, fundamental principles |
| kaupapa Maori research | Maori-based research |
| korero | speak, news, narrative |
| koru | spiral pattern |
| kotahitanga | unity, solidarity |
| maata waka | Maori residing outside tribal area |
| mahinga kai | places where food and other resources are traditionally gathered |
| mana | respect, dignity, status, influence, power |
| manaakitanga | respect given to visitors, sharing and caring |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| manuhuri | visitors |
| marae | local community and its meeting places and buildings |
| Maungamanutanga | Maungamanu culture, perspective |
| mauri | physical life force which imbues all created things |
| nga matatini Maori | Maori diversity |
| Ngai Tahu | an iwi of the South Island |
| Ngai Tahu tangata | Ngai Tahu culture, perspective |
| Ngati Porou | iwi from the East Coast of the North Island |
| pakeha | non-Maori New Zealanders - most generally referring to European New Zealanders |
| papatipu runanga | Ngai Tahu regional collective bodies |
| Papatuanuku (Papa) | Earth Mother |
| pono | truth, principle |
| pounamu | greenstone |
| Poutini Ngai Tahu | Ngai Tahu runanga from Westland |
| powhiri | welcome, opening ceremony |
| puawaitanga | the principle of best outcomes |
| purotu | the principle of transparency |
| putea | fund |
| Ranganui (Rangi) | Sky Father |
| rangatiratanga | the state of chieftainship or leadership |
| rohe | territory, area |
| runanga | assembly |
| takiwa | area |
| tangata whenua | people of the land, Maori people |
| taonga | valued resources, assets, prized possessions both material and non-material |
| tautoko | support |
| te ao Maori | the Maori world |
| te reo Maori | Maori language |
| tika | rights, authentic |
| tino rangatiratanga | self-determination |
| toi iho | Maori made |
| tuhono | principle of alignment |
| wahi taonga | all those natural resources that sustain life and are culturally and historically important to Ngai Tahu |
| wahi tapu | special and sacred places |

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| waiata | song |
| wairua | spirituality |
| wairuatanga | state of being spiritual |
| wananga | place of education |
| whakairo | carving |
| whakapai ake | re-evaluation |
| whakapapa | genealogy, cultural identity |
| whakatauaki | proverb |
| whanau | extended family |
| whanaungatanga | relationship, kinship |
| whangaitanga | nourish, care |
| whanui | wider family groupings |

Executive Summary

Kaupapa Maori development is the underlying focus of the study. Kaupapa Maori development is essentially Maori self-determined development. This approach involves revitalising Maori traditional institutions and culture as the basis for development (Loomis, 2000). This is recognising that "the richness of their retained values, customs and institutions ...are more rather than less relevant as they explore avenue toward more holistic, self-determined development" (Loomis, 1999, p.17).

Kaupapa Maori development is also a unique Maori approach to sustainable development that is based on Maori social/cultural capital. Thus, Kaupapa Maori development protects and develops their social/cultural capital by basing development on traditional values and norms. It effectively strengthens Maori social/cultural capital for Maori self-determined development. Capacity building is identified as the strategy to build Maori social/cultural capital.

Maori-centred tourism has been described as Kaupapa Maori development in tourism in that it is based on a set of collective values identified by Zygodlo, et al., (2003).

The overall aim of this study was to analyse Maori tourism development in the Canterbury region according to values of Maori-centred tourism. The objectives to achieve this aim were to validate the relevance of the values of Maori-centred tourism to Maori tourism business practices in Canterbury and to identify the strategies for achieving Maori-centred tourism business ethic in Canterbury.

A Kaupapa Maori research approach was used to achieve the objectives. This approach was seen appropriate given the need for a culturally relevant perspective. This included employing Maori values derived from a Maori epistemology as measures to analyse Maori tourism development. The list of Maori-centred tourism values include: whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, kaitiakitanga, nga Matatini Maori, kotahitanga, tino rangatiratanga, manaakitanga, tuhono, puawaitanga and purotu.

The Kaupapa Maori research approach also involved 'a research whanau of interest' to collect and analyse the data. In-depth interviews with Maori tourism businesses in Canterbury were conducted and provided the basis for the information. The researched became part of the 'research whanau of interest' by being part of the on-going re-evaluation of the list of values of Maori-centred tourism and owning the data through the reporting back procedure. The size of the businesses was found to correspond to the nature of the ownership. For example, small businesses were individual or whanau based, medium were runanga or marae based and large were hapu/iwi based. There were two emerging businesses and no failed businesses, the rest were successfully established. All the businesses were tangata whenua, except Bone Carving Inspirations and Nga Hau E Wha National Marae which is a maata waka marae.

The re-evaluation process of the list of values of Maori-centred tourism by the businesses strongly affirmed the relevance and appropriateness of the values. The 'other' values identified by the businesses as important for their business were not seen as being significantly different from the existing values of Maori-centred tourism.

Chapter 1

Introduction: Research Objectives and Background

1.1 Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this report is to analyse Maori tourism development in the Canterbury region according to values of Maori-centred tourism.

Specifically, the report has the following objectives:

- To validate the relevance of the values of Maori-centred tourism to Maori tourism businesses practices in Canterbury
- To identify the strategies for achieving Maori-centred tourism business ethic in Canterbury.

This research is important as most research on Maori tourism development fails to incorporate unique Maori values and has not been defined or determined by Maori. In contrast, this research is about Maori self-determined development based on Maori values. In this sense, the report advances on most Maori tourism research in that this is an unique Maori approach to sustainable tourism development.

1.2 Background to Maori-centred Tourism

Kaupapa Maori Development

Kaupapa Maori development is the underlying focus of this report. Kaupapa Maori development is essentially Maori self-determined development. It is "about the development of Maori people as Maori" (Durie, 2000, 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.). The strategy adopted by many Maori has been to revitalise their traditional institutions and culture as the basis for development (Loomis, 2000, p.21). Such an approach recognises 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).

Furthermore, Kaupapa Maori development is a unique Maori approach to sustainable development. In the literature on sustainable development, four types of capital are identified in attempting to implement sustainable development: human, manufactured, natural capital and social/cultural capital (Costanza and Daly, 1992 in Loomis, 1999). Social/cultural capital includes institutions, legal codes, governance, networks, values, shared worldviews, traditional ecological knowledge. Decisions are to be made in ways that do not deplete any of the stocks of the different types of capital for future generations (Loomis, 1999, p.6). However, there is little attention given to the dimensions of social/cultural capital in sustainable development literature and it has generally been left in the "too hard basket" (Ibid, p.8). The main reason is the difficulty in measuring or valuing social/cultural capital. This has largely ignored attempts by indigenous people, including Maori, who are actually identifying and valuing social/cultural capital "as a vital resource.... to conceptualise and accomplish their own self-determined development" (Ibid., p.8). Thus, Kaupapa Maori development protects and develops social/cultural capital by basing development on

traditional values and norms. It effectively strengthens Maori social/cultural capital for Maori self-determined development.

Strong and appropriate social/cultural capital is the essential foundation for Maori self-determined development (Ibid.) or Kaupapa Maori development. Capacity building or capacity for development strengthens Maori social/cultural capital. Capacity for development means having appropriate ownership structures, good governance, effective management and stakeholder involvement (Loomis, 1998, p.5). It is the "process by which individuals, community groups, organisations and nations develop their abilities to perform functions, solve problems and achieve desired outcomes" (Ibid., p.4). Thus capacity building is a strategy that enables Maori to achieve effective economic development in the face of structural inequalities imposed by colonisation. It is based on self-determined development.

Kaupapa Maori development or self-determined development is significantly different from a mainstreaming approach. The latter focuses on Maori as being disadvantaged and how to make them equal with non-Maori. This entails working within a Western understanding of development. The western notion of development represents a "compartmentalised approach to development heavily underwritten by Western and commercial values" (Loomis, 2000, p. 11). This is reflected in the mainstreaming approach's focus on business development, financial management, educational and technical assistance (Ibid.).

In contrast, Kaupapa Maori development takes an holistic view, where the commercial aspect is but part of a broader picture of social, cultural, environmental, spiritual elements. As a result it embodies more than solving the economic disparities between Maori and pakeha, it is Maori development, which is about Maori as a people with a unique Maori culture. This involves more than providing technical assistance and funding, it is effectively about capacity building for self-determined development (Loomis, 1998). Following this approach, Te Puni Kokiri has called for a major effort to overcome structural impediments through capacity building for Maori, in order that they might control and manage their own self-determined development (Ibid.).

Maori-centred Tourism Development and the Canterbury Case Study

Kaupapa Maori *tourism* development coined 'Maori-centred tourism' is the basis of this Canterbury case study. Maori-centred tourism is identified and described by a series of collective values identified in Zygadlo et al. (2003). These values are wairuatanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, kotahitanga, tino rangatiratanga, nga matatini Maori, manaakitanga, tuhono, purotu and puawaitanga. Figure 1 depicts these values of Maori-centred tourism as a "koru spiral". Zygadlo et al. (2003) recorded the strategies of each value. These values and strategies are then used in this present report on Maori-centred businesses in the Canterbury region to identify more specific strategies at a regional level. The strategies are strategies of Maori social/cultural capital in tourism development.

Figure 1
Koru/Spiral of Maori-centred Tourism Values



Thus, this report is an attempt at identifying specific strategies of Maori-centred tourism in Canterbury. As such, strategies of Maori-centred tourism provide a basis for assessing Kaupapa Maori development in the Canterbury region.

Historical Background of Case Study

The Ngai Tahu tribe, originating with ancestors Paikea and his descendant Tahu Potiki from the North Island East Coast, inter-married with the South Island resident Waitaha people (Te Karaka, 1998). The first pakeha contact with Ngai Tahu was with pakeha sealers and whalers from around 1795 (Ibid.). By the 1830's Ngai Tahu developed a successful industry supplying the whaling ships with provisions such as pigs, potatoes and wheat.

Seven southern chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. By 1849 the Crown began defaulting on the terms of a series of ten major land purchases dating from 1844. The Crown undertook to set aside adequate reserves, approximately ten per cent of the 34.5 million acres sold, but this was never enacted (Ibid.). Dispossessed Ngai Tahu suffered from poverty as a

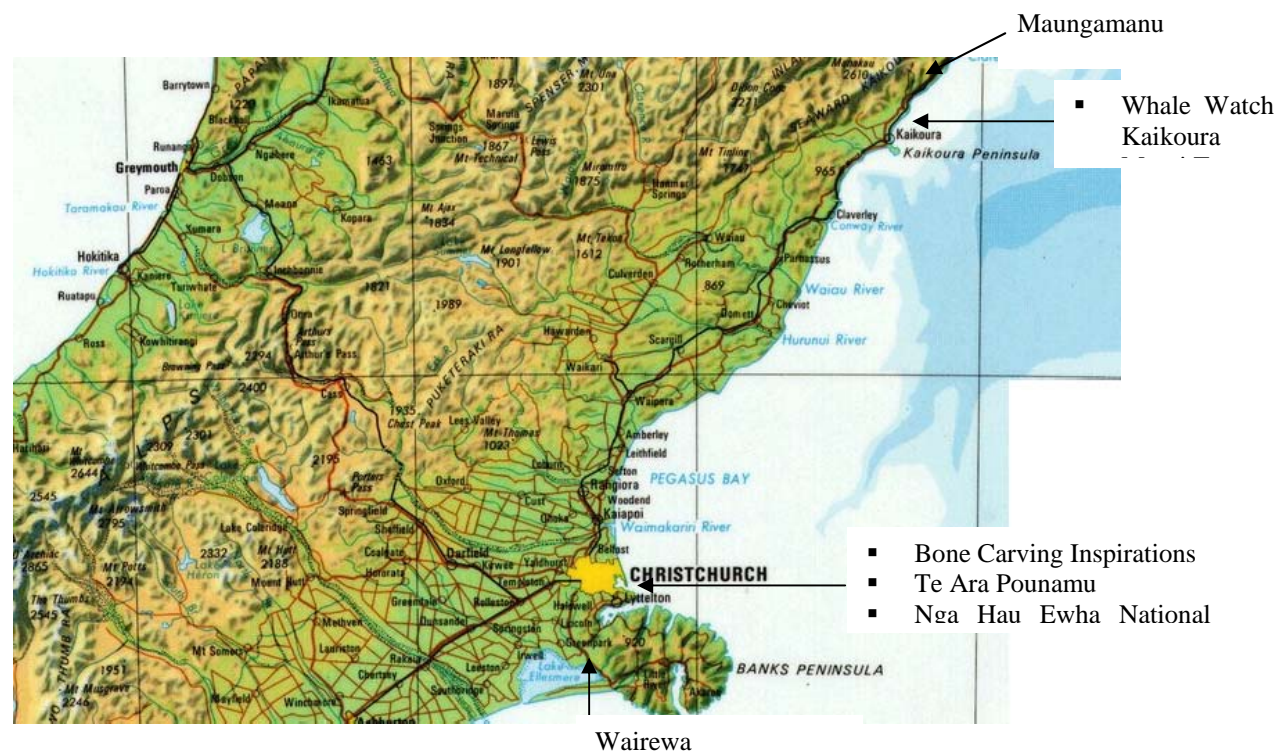
result due to the loss of access to their mahinga kai or food gathering resources. The Crown also failed to establish schools and hospitals as promised.

The 1998 Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act redressed these grievances. The Cultural Redress elements include enhanced access to mahinga kai resources and greater recognition of Ngai Tahu values on the management and planning processes. The Economic Redress deals with the major economic compensation elements.

Ngai Tahu Whanui consists of eighteen Papatipu Runanga. Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu is recognised as the iwi authority of Ngai Tahu Whanui under the Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Act 1996. The boundary for Ngai Tahu includes all of the South Island except the north part from Kahurangi on the west coast to Te Parinui o Whiti on the east coast.

The location of Maori owned/operated tourism businesses assessed in this study in the Canterbury region is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Map of Maori Tourism Businesses Assessed in the Canterbury Case Study



Source: Topomap New Zealand. (Scale 1:2,000,000).
Published by MapWorld Christchurch (2001). Version 2.0

1.3 Chapter Outlines

Chapter 2 provides a description of the Kaupapa Maori research approach employed in the case study research.

Chapter 3 identifies the strategies of Maori-centred tourism in Canterbury as identified from interviews with the Maori tourism businesses. These are set under the values identified by Zygodlo et al., (2003). These are specific strategies of Maori self-determined tourism development at a regional level.

Chapter 4 includes conclusions from the research and recommendations for achieving successful Maori self-determined tourism development and Maori-centred tourism in the Canterbury region.

Chapter 2

Research Approach

2.1 Kaupapa Maori Research

This report used a Kaupapa Maori research approach to analyse Maori tourism development in the Canterbury region. This approach was seen as appropriate, given the need for a culturally relevant perspective.

"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). Employing values derived within a Maori epistemology to analyse Maori tourism development is integral to the research study. These values are provided by Zygadlo et al. (2003), which identified a list of Maori values appropriate to tourism development. These values are whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, nga matatini Maori, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, tino rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, tuhono, puawaitanga and purotu. These values were seen as defining a collective direction of a distinctive Maori tourism coined Maori-centred tourism. Zygadlo et al. (2003) recorded the strategies of each value. These values and strategies are then applied in this present report to identify more specific strategies of Maori-centred tourism at a regional level. Both the values and strategies structured the interview questions. This Kaupapa Maori approach provides a culturally relevant approach to understanding Maori tourism at a case study level. It uses *Maori* values to analyse *Maori* development.

This research approach is different from other research on Maori tourism (except Hinch et al., 1999) as it captures a more specific form of Maori tourism that is based on Maori unique cultural values (i.e., Maori-centred tourism). This effectively provides a Kaupapa Maori model of development, where there is more 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).

Employing values of Maori tourism development derived within a Maori epistemology is also about reframing. Reframing occurs where "indigenous peoples resist being boxed and labelled according to categories that do not fit" (Smith, 1999, p.153). Maori-centred tourism needs to be understood according to a culturally relevant perspective otherwise it risks being defined within a pakeha worldview that does not fit and is of questionable use to Maori. Therefore, "the need to reframe is about retaining the strengths" (Ibid.) of a distinctive values-based Maori tourism, namely Maori-centred tourism.

2.1.1 Identification of Tourism Businesses

The whanau principle, an important aspect of Kaupapa Maori approaches (Smith, 1999), was used in this research at a practical level to identify the Maori tourism business operators in the Canterbury region. Networking and connecting with Maori in the community, an important part of the whanau principle, enabled an effective process of identifying the businesses. The principal author then contacted the seven identified businesses by telephone to assess their interest in the research. Our objective was to interview every Maori tourism business that we could identify within the region. However, some Maori tourism businesses were not available or declined to be involved in the research. Interviews were therefore

arranged with those businesses that were interested in participating in the research. The following characteristics were identified from the businesses, namely the;

- size of the business (small, medium, large)
- nature of the ownership (individual, whanau, hapu, iwi)
- stage of business development (emerging, established, failed)

Interviewing Process

The whanau principle was also employed in this report to structure the gathering of the information. This involved incorporating Maori tourism operators to be part of what Bishop refers to as the "research whanau of interest" (Bishop, 1994 in Smith, 1999, p.185). Effectively, the 'researched' became part of the research team. Individual in-depth interviews were conducted with seven Maori tourism operators in the Canterbury region. The interviews were tape recorded with the interviewee's approval. A consent form signed by all participants outlined that the individual businesses could be identified. The principal author carried out the interviews which were based on the list of values established by Zygodlo et al., (2003). The analysis of the data from the interviews involved the identification of common and individual strategies adopted by the businesses as an expression of the Maori-centred tourism values.

A significant aspect of the report is that the values are not set in concrete, rather they are subject to further evaluation by Maori as a dynamic process. This process is indicative of a Maori policy process where the 're-evaluation stage' is coined *Whakapai ake* (Roderick, pers.comm. 2003). This creates a process whereby Maori own the research or model. Therefore, a key way in which the interviewees participated as being part of the 'research whanau of interest' is that they were integral to the on-going evaluation process of the appropriateness or acceptability of the list of values established in Zygodlo et al., (2003). This involved asking the interviewees specific questions (Appendix 1) in the interview aimed at re-evaluating the values. The questions were: 'What do you think of the list of Maori values in relation to your business?' and 'Are there any other Maori cultural values that you consider important for your business?'

The whanau concept also involves accountability to those providing information. As such, reporting back procedures of the results to the interviewees were carried out. Copies of relevant parts of the draft of results were checked by the participants for accuracy and any additional comments or corrections were made.

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). While the interview questions involved a series of questions framed by the Maori-centred tourism values (Appendix 1) they were structured in an open way to allow for storytelling. The interviews were conducted according to Kaupapa Maori research practices of *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face). One interview was conducted (except one) for each business. The time per each interview varied from one hour to several hours.

2.2 Limitation

The results from this study are based on interviewed Maori tourism operators in the Canterbury region. Given the regional diversity of Maori, the report acknowledges the limitation of applying the findings of Maori tourism development in one region to Maori tourism development in general.

Chapter 3

Values and Strategies of Maori-centred Tourism in Canterbury

3.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies the values and strategies of the Maori tourism businesses in Canterbury. It is based on an analysis of the interviews with Maori-centred tourism businesses in the Canterbury region and their response to specific questions about Maori-centred tourism values derived from earlier work. Each business was asked how they achieved the general strategies of each of the values into their business. All of the values and general strategies were seen as important by the businesses. Further, from the analysis of the interviews, specific strategies of Maori-centred tourism in Canterbury were drawn out. These specific strategies are identified and described below for each value. The specific strategies include a range of those common to all businesses and those that are particular to individual businesses. To set the scene, the chapter begins with a profile of the Maori tourism businesses interviewed in the research.

3.1.1 Maori Tourism Businesses Interviewed in the Canterbury Case Study

A brief profile of the Maori tourism businesses interviewed as part of the Canterbury case study is provided below. All the established businesses are successful. These businesses were not the only Maori tourism businesses in Canterbury but were the businesses that were available and willing to be interviewed for the study. The information is based on the general questions asked from the interview questionnaire (Appendix 1).

Bone Carving Inspirations

Bone Carving Inspirations is a bone carving business. It is an individual/whanau based business and employs two full time (husband and wife) people and one part-time person (daughter). The husband is Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Muaupoko. The business has been operating for six years and sells directly from the Arts Centre at Christchurch. The Maori designed bone carvings are considered a Maori cultural product by the owners.

Te Ara Pounamu

Te Ara Pounamu is a whanau-based pounamu (greenstone) carving business. The whanau are from Poutini Ngai Tahu which includes two Ngai Tahu runanga from the Westland District. They employ six Maori carvers (of which all except two are Poutini Ngai Tahu). It is based in Christchurch. The business mainly sells the carvings at the Arts Centre and Cathedral Square Markets and has been operating for three years. The business started with collecting and selling the naturally shaped pounamu pieces from the Arahura River and developed into selling carved pounamu. Te Ara Pounamu promote the fact that they exclusively sell carvings that are made from authentic pounamu and not from imported jade.

Maori Tours

Maori Tours operates from Kaikoura. It is a whanau-based business with the intention of becoming hapu (Ngati Kuri) based. The whanau members are Ngati Kuri, a hapu of Ngai Tahu. The product includes a tour of old pa sites in the Kaikoura area and a bush walk with a Maori interpretation that includes local Maori history, protocols, and knowledge of food and medicines. It currently employs two guides (one full time) and several part time workers. The

employees are all whanau members. It opened in January 2002 and as such has been operating for one year.

'Wairewa Warenga Mahinga Kai Cultural Park' (Wairewa)

'Wairewa Warenga Mahinga Kai Cultural Park' is a proposed tourism development that is part of a larger project initiated by Wairewa Runanga. Their hapu affiliations are Kati Mako and Ngati Irakehu. The project is the rehabilitation of Lake Wairewa, Banks Peninsula (Horomaka) in collaboration with Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, Ministry for the Environment, Banks Peninsula District Council, Environment Canterbury and Department of Conservation. It is an intergenerational project that may take up to 30–35 years. This project will be developed around the concept of a Mahinga Kai Cultural Park; an idea first proposed by Ngai Tahu in their 2025 vision statement (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2001). However the concept is imbedded in tribal history. In 1868 Ngai Tahu were awarded what are known as the 'Fenton Reserves' by Judge Fenton, Chief Judge of the Maori Land Court. These reserves were meant to provide access for Ngai Tahu to important waterways so the iwi could continue to exercise the traditions of mahinga kai. The original reserves have since been severely degraded due to drainage, pollution and natural watercourse changes, thus reducing their value as mahinga kai. A Mahinga Kai Cultural Park is fundamentally an area of land, and/or water, managed for the primary, although not exclusive, purpose of traditional food gathering. So the idea stems from concept embodied in the original Fenton Reserves.

In order to generate the resources needed to continue to manage the project in the long term, Wairewa are developing a series of eco-cultural tourism businesses associated with the lake and takiwa as the first step in economic independence. The businesses will be owner-operated businesses based on the franchise model with some consistent branding. They will be tended out to whanau who will receive business-mentoring support which will decrease over a three year period. A percentage of the profit from the businesses will contribute to financing the regeneration of the environment and the habitat of the lake. So the 'Wairewa' tourism development is about regenerating funds for the restoration of the lake; attracting their own people back to their takiwa and a profit making venture for operators.

Mangamaunu

The 'Mangamaunu' project is a marae based tourism development at the emerging stage. Mangamaunu is situated north of Kaikoura and their hapu is Ngati Kuri. The project proposes a cultural eco tourism product. This includes a 'star walk' at night and a native bush walk with outdoor artwork. In particular a giant pou (stick) which will be a landmark seen from Kaikoura will be established on a historically significant site. There will also be marae accommodation with traditional meals. A new marae will be developed specifically for this purpose, as they don't want tourism to take place at the current marae. Three key people have been involved in the planning, with one in particular being the vision keeper. These people are all members of Mangamaunu marae. The ownership of proposed project lies with the marae.

Whale Watch Kaikoura

Whale Watch is a well-known established and successful eco tourism business in Kaikoura. It is a hapu/iwi based business where most of the personnel are from the local hapu, Ngati Kuri which is a hapu of the iwi, Ngai Tahu. The business employs 70 people over summer and about 30-40 people in the off-season. While the product, whale watching, is not a Maori cultural product, Maori values underpin the business. The business has been operating officially since 1989.

Nga Hau E Wha National Marae

Nga Hau E Wha National Marae, Christchurch is maata waka based marae which provides a kapahaka performance, hangi and/or a tour through the marae. It employs three full-time staff and between seven to 18 part-time performers. The tourist attraction has been operating for seven to eight years and was set up by a Trust Board to develop an income for the marae. There has been a recent proposal to incorporate a marae stay that provides a more 'lived' interactive experience for tourists.

A matrix (Table 1) depicts the businesses according to the nature of the ownership and the stage of development. The nature of the ownership refers to who owns the business. There are businesses owned by both traditional Maori organisations such as marae and iwi and non-traditional Maori organisations such as runanga reflecting the diversity of contemporary Maori society. There are also individual or whanau businesses that are not owned by any Maori organisation further reflecting the diversity of Maori in business. There were two emerging businesses and no failed businesses, the rest were successfully established. All the businesses are owned by tangata whenua except Nga Hau E Wha and Bone Inspirations.

The size of the business corresponded to the nature of the ownership. For example, the "small" businesses were "individual or whanau owned", "medium" were "runanga or marae owned" and "large" were "hapu/iwi owned". The size of the business is defined according to how many people were employed i.e., the larger the business the more people employed. The "small-sized" businesses were owned and operated by a husband/wife team and employed members (up to six) of either the nuclear family or the extended family or whanau. The "medium-sized" businesses were owned and managed by either a runanga or marae whereby the established business employed up to 18 members of the marae. The only "large-sized" business was a hapu/iwi based business that employed up to 70 people mainly from the local hapu.

Table 1
Maori-Centred Tourism Businesses Interviewed in the Canterbury Case Study

| | | NATURE OF OWNERSHIP | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|--|--|---|
| | | Individual/whanau based (small size business) | Runanga or marae based (medium size business) | Hapu/iwi based (large size business) |
| STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT | Emerging | Tangata Whenua | Mangamaunu Wairewa Waerenga Mahinga Kai Cultural Park (Wairewa) | |
| | | Maata Waka | | |
| | Established | Tangata Whenua | Te Ara Pounamu Maori Tours | Whale Watch Kaikoura |
| | | Maata Waka | Bone Carving Inspirations | Nga Hau E Wha National Marae |

3.2 Values and Strategies of Maori-centred Tourism in Canterbury

Table 2 shows the values and specific strategies of Maori-centred tourism in the Canterbury region. Table 2 provides an illustration of the following values and their strategies.

Table 2
Values and Strategies of Maori-Centred Tourism in Canterbury

| Values | Strategies |
|--|---|
| Wairuatanga Expressing the spiritual element in the product | Sharing of knowledge Recognition that the spiritual element comes from the people |
| Whanaungatanga Contribution to Maori development | Successful development models Opportunity to acquire skills Investment in future generations Financial contribution to marae development |
| Fostering a whanau work environment; | Equal access to opportunities Recognition of wide range of skills Effective communication Whanau ownership of decision making Mutual support |
| Networking with Maori | Supportive Maori business network Collaborative tourism development between runanga Recognition of roles representing traditional values and authority Access to sound business advice. |
| Nga Matatini Maori Belonging to traditional and/or Non-Traditional Maori organisations | Open to the benefits of both traditional and non-traditional Maori organisations |
| Representing the diversity of Maori culture | Smaller scale of the experience Experience driven product |
| Acknowledging that Maori tourism development is tribally and regionally specific | Expressing hapu/iwi identity through the product |
| Allowing for differences of Maori tourism development strategy | Successful integration of traditional values and western commercial development |
| Kaitiakitanga Carrying out responsibilities of kaitiakitanga | Vision of development based on kaitiakitanga values Embedded in values that guide the businesses Responsive to contemporary environmental issues Balance the protection and use of the natural resources for tourism |
| Acknowledging close affinity to the environment in the product | Sharing Matauranga Maori Underpins how the product is delivered |
| Manaakitanga Sharing of knowledge and beliefs | Focus on educational interaction |
| Being hospitable to tourists | People being who they are |

Table 2 continued

| Values | Strategies |
|--|---|
| Tino Rangatiratanga control over the decision making | Combination of bureaucratic managerial and whanau-based decision making |
| Control over commercial development | Governance structures that integrate efficient management and cultural values |
| Control over representation of Maori culture in tourism | Accountability and authenticity |
| Asserting a treaty partnership | Educational role Tino rangatiratanga rights |
| | |
| Kotahitanga Establishing cooperative/strategic relationships with other Maori in tourism | Involve other hapu/runanga in the wider vision at the planning stage Think strategically Network with other Maori tourism operators |
| | |
| Tuhono Integrating the different values | Wide consideration of all values All embracing approach based on future generations |
| | |
| Purotu Addressing Maori and non-Maori accountabilities and responsibilities | Recognition of traditional procedures and principles Clear lines of responsibility and accountability Acquiring business skills |
| | |
| Puawaitanga Using the values and strategies as measures of the performance of the business | Quantifying the values and strategies |

The remainder of this section will take each value listed on the table and provide more detail for each indicator.

3.2.1 Wairuatanga

Wairuatanga is the spiritual dimension of Maori values. 'Expressing the spiritual experience in the product' is an indicator of wairuatanga in Maori-centred tourism. How Canterbury Maori tourism businesses incorporated this indicator in their businesses is outlined below.

Expressing the Spiritual Element in the Product

Sharing of Knowledge

Particular attention was paid to 'sharing Maori knowledge' with a strong spiritual element by some businesses. This knowledge included Maori customs, protocol, stories, legends and whakatauki (proverbs). Both Nga Hau E Wha National Marae and Maori Tours reported that the story of Papa and Rangi, Maori legends, Maori protocol such as karakia and powhiri are incorporated into their guided tours. Sharing Maori spiritual knowledge about the carvings with customers was fostered by Bone Carving Inspirations.

Recognition that the Spiritual Element Comes From the People

The significant role of Maori being themselves in expressing the spiritual element in the product was strongly fostered by most of the businesses. This was evident in the comment by Mangamaunu, that "the tourist experience will be focussed on the interaction with the people of the marae who express the wairua". Ben Te Karu of Bone Carving Inspirations reported

that it is by "being who he is that the spirituality (which is inspired by his nephew) is expressed to the customers". Maori being themselves included the "spiritual connection carvers have to the pounamu" as identified by Te Ara Pounamu or the "spiritual relationship of Maori with stars and the natural environment" as promoted by Mangamaunu.

Most of the businesses reported that the tourists are immersed in these spiritual values through how the product is delivered by the Maori staff. For example, Ben Te Karu of Bone Carving Inspirations stated that he interacted with his customers with a "strong sense of cultural pride"; Whale Watch reported how "Maori staff expressed a passion derived from an understanding of kaitiakitanga", Nga Hau e Wha National Marae tour guides "spoke from the heart and the waiata were sung with passion because of the wairua in ourselves".

3.2.2 Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is an organisational principle, a way of structuring social relations within the whanau (Smith, 1999). It provides a support structure which has inbuilt responsibilities and obligations (Ibid.). In contemporary Maori society, whanaungatanga is not only expressed in whanau situations but also in any Maori organisation. In terms of Maori-centred tourism, the notion of whanaungatanga is expressed by the general strategies of 'contributing to Maori development', 'being part of a Maori network' and 'creating a whanau environment in the business'. Following are further specific strategies of each of these general strategies as identified by the Canterbury Maori tourism businesses.

Contribution to Maori development

Successful Development Models

Wairewa reported that providing a model for future Maori tourism development was important. The respondent pointed out that Wairewa project would be "made available to other papatipu runanga and other iwi as a possible model for iwi/hapu development". They are hoping that they "will provide an effective blueprint for other Maori tourism businesses in the area". The model incorporated a "level of consistency or quality control" of the businesses. As explained by Wairewa: "some whanau may be good at horse trekking but currently do not have the necessary business skills so we need to build capacity the of our own to manage our own. We are exploring a mentoring model that can dovetail into the business model mentoring which will be phased out when operators are feeling confident in their own capacity. The trick will be to have minimum standards without inhibiting entrepreneurial flair".

Opportunity to Acquire Skills

Training of staff within the business was fostered by some businesses. As Mangamaunu pointed out in their proposed project, whanaungatanga is expressed by "training young people to carve pounamu, to learn local stories, values, bush lore, kapahaka and business skills in the running and establishing the business.... understanding the relevant legislation, compliances, resource management, engineering compliance".

Investment in Future Generations

Investment in future generations was the focus of some business as a means to contribute to Maori development. Whale Watch identified how they indirectly enhanced and added value to Maori communities of the area which developed economic sustainability for future generations. Environmental and cultural sustainability for future generations was also directly

promoted by Wairewa where a major aim of the development of the tourism businesses was the restoration of the lake of the rohe.

Financial Contribution to Marae Development

Making financial contributions to the local marae community was fostered by a couple of the businesses. Whale Watch reported how they made "financial contributions to marae improvements" and Nga Hau E Wha National Marae noted how they "plan to finance a proposed marae-based school of arts".

Fostering a Whanau Work Environment

Equal Access to Opportunities

Providing whanau members with equal access to opportunities to learn the range of skills such as business skills, interpretation skills was reported by Maori Tours and Mangamaunu.

Recognition of Wide Range of Skills

Mangamaunu explicitly reported how they proposed to pool and develop the diverse range of skills of the whanau. "Each member's skill will be valued for their contribution to the business (e.g., knowledge of traditional food and how to prepare it, story-telling, carving)."

Effective Communication

Effective communication that facilitated equal respect of each staff member in the day-to-day operation of the business was identified as a priority by Maori Tours and Whale Watch. According to Maori Tours "effective communication is important otherwise the business will not run efficiently./responsively as a team". For Whale Watch "communication that fosters equal respect between staff is particularly important in a corporate structure as it maintains a whanau work environment despite the hierarchical system of 'boss' to 'worker'".

Whanau Ownership of Decision Making

Whanau ownership of decision-making was reported as important by Whale Watch and Maori Tours. This did not mean decision making that was exclusively based on consensus but rather inclusive and cooperative decision making that facilitated a sense of whanau ownership of the decision making process. This occurred at different levels for different decisions. Maori Tours pointed out that "whanau jointly created the vision for the development; valued each members' views in the day to day management at whanau meetings; and made each member accountable and responsible to the whole whanau". However, some decisions regarding finances were ultimately made by the owners.

Whale Watch had some degree of whanau ownership of decision-making even within its corporate structure.

"While the face of the business is corporate, there is a degree of whanau decision making at all levels, decisions often involve people, people over time develop an internal culture. The Whale Watch culture has strong whanau connotations that have stayed with the business since its initial beginnings. The values of environmental sustainability, economic viability and cultural acceptability determine and guide most of the decision making today these values are cultural values that form part of our written policies and is shared by all of us".

Mutual Support

Mutual support was nurtured by some businesses. For example, Nga Hau E Wha National Marae reported that other whanau members care for children while the parents were working

in the business such as performing kapahaka. As identified by Nga Hau E Wha National Marae "whanaungatanga is about developing people, creating opportunities to work as a team..looking after young ones...".

Networking with Maori

Supportive 'Maori Business Network'

Creating supportive relationships through networking with other Maori businesses was advocated by Te Ara Pounamu. Te Ara Pounamu is a member of the Canterbury Maori Business Network. Furthermore, the business only sells to Maori wholesalers as part of being in a "cooperative relationship with other Maori businesses in NZ".

Collaborative Tourism Development Between Runanga

Wairewa acknowledged the importance and promoted networking with other runanga in the rohe "to create the opportunity to develop a cluster of Maori tourism products that they can market collaboratively". This would also enable an "element of quality control based on a collective and collaborative vision".

Recognition of Roles Representing Traditional Values and Authority

Central to the development for some businesses were strong networks with the marae and recognition of the role of kaumatua. This was especially relevant for ventures with a Maori cultural product. For example, Maori Tours sought "advice and approval" from kaumatua at the idea stage and on the Ngai Tahu interpretation on the guided tour. Maori Tours reported that "this provides a procedure of accountability to and approval of the kaumatua of the business development. There is a clear understanding that approval of the business development ultimately lies with the kaumatua".

Access to Sound Business Advice and Funding

Networking with Maori organisations such as the Canterbury Maori business network, Te Puni Kokiri and Maori Business Facilitation Service was identified as valuable by most of the businesses. It provided access to business and strategic planning skills, a business mentor and funding. For example, this kept Maori Tours "focused on finance management" and provided funding for Te Ara Pounamu.

3.2.3 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, p.101-102). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge and allow for the complex diversity within Maori society. This is expressed in Maori-centred tourism as: 'belonging to traditional and/or non-traditional Maori organisations' to 'representing the diversity of Maori culture in tourism'; 'acknowledging that Maori tourism development is regionally specific' and 'undertaking different types of development strategy'. Specific strategies to achieve these at a Canterbury regional level are described below.

Belonging to Traditional and/or Non-Traditional Maori Organisations

Open to the Benefits of Both Traditional and Non-traditional Maori Organisations

All businesses identified the benefit in belonging to both traditional and non-traditional Maori organisations. Belonging to non-traditional Maori organisations was seen as valuable for

financial and business support. For example, Mangamaunu was "involved with Te Puni Kokiri for funding and business mentoring" and Te Ara Pounamu belonged to the Canterbury Maori Business Network for support and received funding from the Te Puni Kokiri Maori Business Facilitation Service. Both Wairewa and Mangamaunu expressed a strong interest in setting up a Maori Regional Tourism Organisation in Canterbury (as there currently isn't one) for business and marketing support. Support from traditional Maori organisations was the basis for the development of some of the businesses. For Wairewa, Mangamaunu and Nga Hau E Wha National Marae, the runanga or marae provided the governance and management structures for their developments.

Representing the Diversity of Maori Culture

Small Scale of the Experience

Providing a smaller scale of the experience to encourage a more interactive/personal experience was advocated by a couple of the businesses. An interactive experience with Maori culture creates a more accurate understanding of the diversity of Maori culture. This was highlighted by Maori Tours:

"We chose a ten seater bus and two trips rather than a 20 seater, to maintain the personal/intimate experience. This allows for the tourist to ask questions about Maori in everyday lifetherefore tourists learn about the impacts of colonisation, the Ngai Tahu settlement etc. This also allows for the exchange of values between tourist and host (two way interaction) this has enabled the tourist to feel/experience/understand what it is like for Maori to the extent that English people have apologised for the colonisation of Maori".

Wairewa also reported how the proposed project "included a number of small franchised owner/operated eco-cultural tourism businesses for the area rather than a theme park approach to maintain an interactive learning experience for tourists".

Experience Driven Product

Eco-cultural tourism provided by a majority of the businesses fostered interactive/experience based products rather than staged products. This conveyed a more accurate representation of the diversity of Maori culture. For example, Whale Watch provided a "lived experience... which is not focussed on a stereotype cultural product but eco-tourism with a Maori added value". Other examples included how Wairewa proposed to "provide real working opportunities for people to interact with the collection, or observing the collection, of mahinga kai in a traditional way" and Maori Tours offered interactive guided native bush walks with Maori interpretation.

Although the existing cultural product provided by Nga Hau E Wha National Marae was mostly staged, there was a recent strong attempt to "encompass the whole show with interaction to make the audience participate in the performance, (e.g., to do the haka)". In addition, the new management reported that they are:

"developing a more 'lived', interactive product that includes a marae stay with the show so the tourist can get a deeper insight of the culture with greater interaction such as experience in how to carve, weave and learn te reo Maori in a real marae.... this provides an opportunity to share oneself, unlike a staged show...the difference between making money and gaining an experience of what culture is all about".

Acknowledging that Maori Tourism Development is Tribally and Regionally Specific

Expressing Hapu/Iwi Identity Through the Product

Expressing individual hapu/iwi identity through their specific products was fostered by a majority of the businesses. As Mangamaunu strongly advocated, "the development is about expressing our Mangamaunutanga identity in the product and Mangamaunu is the only place that it can be personified. This involves communicating our tribal values, heritage, past, and future for people to interact with...not just at a look level but at an intellectual/emotional level....a specific example of Mangamaunutanga in the product is the Te Ara a Whetu or star walk, a night-time guided walk explaining the star constellation according to Mangamaunutanga. It is this expression of our identity that gives us that differential. Mangamaunu identity is also reflected in the proposed product brand name 'Karetu' which is the name of a significant Mangamaunu property".

Wairewa also conveyed iwi identity by reporting that the product was a reflection of "developing Ngai Tahu... a Ngai Tahu business rather than a Maori business. This includes a slightly different creation story, ways of dealing with tuna and the environment and the fact that there are different things in our environment. It is also about reintroducing our presence into the environment in a positive way. This is a much a political exercise as it is cultural, economic and environmental".

Other examples were evident in how Te Ara Pounamu "strongly expressed their identity to Poutini Ngai Tahu as pounamu is unique to the area. The business markets the product as being made by Poutini Ngai Tahu carvers and that the pounamu is from Poutini".

For Whale Watch, Ngati Kuri's identity was articulated through the "importance of the kaitiaki role of our people, Ngati Kuri..."and how this was expressed in the passion of the Maori staff. In contrast, Maori Tours expressed their unique Ngati Kuri identity through the actual "unique history/sites/stories of Ngati Kuri on the tour interpretation". Similarly Nga Hau E Wha National Marae's proposed marae stay included "an understanding of Ngai Tahu and with optional trips to the different runanga".

Allowing for Differences of Maori Tourism Development Strategy

Successful Integration of Traditional Values and Western Commercial Development

All businesses successfully adopted an integrated approach of traditional and western commercial development. This included different types of ownership and management arrangements. This is expanded in more detail under 'tino rangatiratanga' in this chapter.

3.2.4 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). Carrying out the responsibilities of kaitiakitanga along with acknowledging the close affinity of Maori to the environment the product is indicative of Maori-centred tourism. How this is then applied more specifically is highlighted below.

Carrying Out Responsibilities of Kaitiakitanga

Vision of Development Based on Kaitiakitanga Values

Basing the vision of the development on kaitiakitanga was central to a few of the businesses. For Wairewa the values of kaitiakitanga was the main aim/reason for the proposed development. "The percentage of profit from the franchised tourism businesses will regenerate the funds for the restoration of the environment and the habitat of the lake to increase the quality of our mahinga kai". Kaitiakitanga was also integral to the vision of Whale Watch and Mangamaunu.

Embedded in Values that Guide the Businesses

Responsibilities of kaitiakitanga were embedded in the main values that guided or determined how the businesses were run. Whale Watch was "guided by three values of which one is environmental sustainability". Maori Tours was "guided by the value of tautoko ...supporting the environment". This was reflected in the management policies such as "ensuring there's no rubbish in the pa and bush". Mangamaunu also adopted environmental sustainability as a goal of their business and as part of carrying out their kaitiakitanga role. This was evident in the proposed environmentally sensitive design of the development that "keeps infrastructure and buildings to a minimum". Furthermore, Mangamaunu strongly adhered to their responsibilities of kaitiakitanga even though it meant that they had "difficulty in finding a suitable location because we didn't want to compromise our kaitiaki responsibilities to the land".

Responsive to Contemporary Environmental Issues

Acting responsively to contemporary environmental issues such as the greenhouse effect and the Kyoto Protocol and strategies to achieve 'green' tourism development was fostered by some of the businesses. This was evident in Mangamaunu's proposed tourism experience, where there would be an opportunity for "tourists to buy a tree and to plant it with their name next to it ". This not only "links tourists back to us in a personal way " it also "fits in with the Kyoto Protocol and the "need to regenerate areas with bush". They have established a tree nursery specifically for this.

Balancing the Protection and Use of the Natural Resources for Tourism

As a whole the businesses ensured that the use of the natural resources for tourism were balanced by the protection of the resources. As kaitiaki of pounamu, owners of Te Ara Pounamu, protected the resource by restricting pounamu trading, gathering and working to support whanau only and not for supplying other wholesalers. The business "doesn't want to use up the resource". A priority for Mangamaunu in selecting a suitable location for the new marae was that it would "not disturb the natural environment". The experiences that focused on eco-tourism and/or eco-cultural tourism such as Whale Watching, bush walks and mahinga kai cultural park activities used the natural resources in a way that protected the resource.

Acknowledging Close Affinity to the Environment in the Product

Sharing Matauranga Maori

Sharing Matauranga Maori about the natural environment with the tourists was integral to the experience that was provided by most of the businesses. This promoted the strong affinity Maori have to the environment. For Maori Tours, knowledge about the bush was shared by the tour guide such as "the food and medicinal value and the spiritual values associated with the bush e.g. karakia when cutting harakeke".

Underpins How the Product is Delivered

Recognition that the value of kaitiakitanga underpinned how the product was delivered was particularly acknowledged by Whale Watch.

“The actual product is connected to us in terms of our relationship to the environment, our kaitiaki role our people played for a number of years and the same role-played today. This is hard to sell/promote in terms of a product ...but this close affinity to the whales is shared with the tourists through the passion expressed by the staff which is derived from an understanding of kaitiakitanga...for example, we are not just here to watch whales, but we play a role in guardianship and looking after them. Tourists are immersed in these values. This experience educates and enhances how they see the world and shows them a slice of values from a kaitiaki perspective”.

3.2.5 Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga is about the respect given to manuhiri (visitors), sometimes described as "sharing and caring" (Sharp, 1990, p.53) and being hospitable. Zygadlo et al., (2003) identifies the sharing of knowledge and beliefs and being hospitable with tourists as features of manaakitanga in Maori-centred tourism. These are described in more detail in relation to Canterbury Maori tourism businesses.

Sharing of Knowledge and Beliefs

Focus on Educational Interaction

A focus on educational interaction with tourists was fostered by all the businesses. As Wairewa pointed out in their proposed eco-cultural tourism development, manaakitanga is nurtured by the "theme of education or the theme of interaction with a learning experience about the way our people managed the environment". Other examples included how Maori Tours "explain the importance of certain values when weaving harakeke" and how Te Ara Pounamu "shares stories and beliefs of the area where the pounamu came from with customers".

Being Hospitable to Tourists

People Being Who they Are

Being hospitable to tourists was identified by some businesses as 'Maori people being who they are'. According to Mangamaunu, "the key to manaakitanga...engulfs looking after people...this is an inborn expression of Maori values instored (*sic*) in them". This is echoed by Whale Watch, "this ability to host is more than catering for tourists and good customer service, it's about bridging a spiritual gap. About looking after people as we look after our children and giving an insight of who we are and that we are part of a team....a snapshot of our world".

3.2.6 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 (Zygadlo et al., 2001, p.23). As an expression of tino rangatiratanga, Maori-centred tourism encompasses Maori having 'control over the decision-making process', 'control over commercial development', 'control over representation of Maori culture in tourism' and about 'asserting a treaty partnership'. Each of these is described in more detail in the Canterbury case study.

Control Over the Decision-making

Combination of Bureaucratic Managerial and Whanau-based Decision-making

A combination of bureaucratic managerial and whanau-based decision making was practised by the whanau/marae/runanga or iwi based businesses. Whanau-based decision-making was essentially participatory where all or most of the whanau were involved in the process. Bureaucratic managerial decision-making exists where certain decisions were left to a few members or a committee for efficiency. For example, at Mangamaunu "most decisions are made through a special whanau hui or at Mangamaunu runanga meetings or they are devolved to the key person involved". Similarly, at Maori Tours "decision making is made at whanau meetings...brain storming sessions get decisions, basically consensus decision making of whanau (brothers, sisters, in-laws, nephews, nieces). However, ultimately difficult decisions are made by the owners for efficiency".

At Wairewa, the issue of how to make decisions where there are potentially 8,000 members was addressed by "reserving hui and gauging support for solutions for the strategic issues and allocating day to day decisions for management. This means that management decisions can be responded to quickly".

Control Over Commercial Development

Governance Structures that Integrate Efficient Management and Cultural Values

All runanga/marae or whanau based businesses adopted governance structures that effectively integrated efficient commercial management and traditional cultural values. For example, Whale Watch adopted a corporate model of governance "because of the advantages within the pakeha system and limited liability". The business was owned by two main shareholders, Ngai Tahu Corporation and Kaikoura Charitable Trust. A Trust controlled the shares. The Trust influenced decisions to a certain degree. However for "efficiency reasons management makes the day to day decisions". Thus, efficient management was achieved through the corporate model. Within this governance arrangement, Whale Watch "has taken it to another level by basing decisions primarily on key philosophies which the business has adopted...environmental sustainability (kaitiakitanga), economic viability and cultural acceptability.... three real broad values that shape the decision making of business today. Cultural acceptability embraces traditional values such as kaitiakitanga, whanaungatanga, wairuatanga". Therefore, according to Whale Watch the "value based decisions, which are adopted under a mask of a corporate structure enables us to transverse both worlds".

Similarly, Mangamaunu's proposed governance structure embraced both good management and the achievement of their cultural values such as "whanaungatanga, Mangamaunutanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga". The structure was based on five share holders who would own the business - (Nga Uri o Mangamaunu (descents of Mangamaunu), Mangamaunu Waitaha, Te Waikaretu Trust (education trust), Mangamaunu Reservation Land Trust (kaitiaki of all reservation land) and Karetu (the actual business). A Trust Board would consist of five members from each of these groups and two external members, e.g., lawyer. Under this would come the management structure to manage their financial objectives. They would either form a charitable company structure or company structure. The profit would go to the shareholders to finance their cultural value-based objectives. For example, "Nga Uri o Mangamaunu will carry out training programmes for the hapu members; Mangamaunu Reservation Land Trust will care for the land; Mangamaunu Waitaha will care for our urban people; Te Waikaretu Trust will fund educational scholarships etc, and Karetu will reinvest in the business".

Maori Tours applied a limited company structure for the efficient commercial management of the business. Two key members have ultimate "commercial control". However, within this structure the "whanau collectively make most of the decisions to do with the overall vision, and day to day operation". These decisions were based on "cultural values determined by the whanau which include whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, aroha".

To achieve tourism development the governance structure of Wairewa Runanga was reorganised. Wairewa acknowledged "while unity of the runanga is a strength, the weakness is the blurring of governance and management roles". To avoid this there was a "need for very good systems and processes". As a result "portfolio teams now manage the business side of the runanga who deal with the five year strategic plan and annual business plan". Having these systems and processes in place enables the organisation to focus its resources (cultural, environmental, intellectual) in order to take advantage of opportunities". In terms of the eco-cultural tourism opportunity, the reorganisation of the governance structure enabled the runanga to achieve key culturally based objectives. These are: "carrying out kaitiaki responsibilities by the restoration of the lake; supporting whanau members by creating employment and generally protecting and building up a future for the runanga".

Control Over Representation of Maori Culture in Tourism

Accountability and Authenticity

Priority was given by all businesses to ensure that the product was authentic and legitimate. This effectively protected their cultural integrity and controlled the representation of Maori culture in tourism. Several strategies that ensured accountability and authenticity were adopted by the businesses. For Maori Tours this was achieved by: "the interpretation being accountable to kaumatua approval; the historical and medicinal interpretation being based on an authentic source of information (a manuscript written by their great grand mother ...so as it is based on whakapapa) this makes sure the historical interpretation is the right interpretation; and through values (e.g., tika doing the right thing, pono ...being honest... we could fake stuff but values maintain integrity)".

Selecting what knowledge to share with the tourists was also identified as a means to control the representation of their culture in tourism. For example, Bone Carving Inspirations stated how they are "selective in what I tell the tourists about the meanings of the designs etc" and how Wairewa was also "careful about what stories to share with the tourists about the area". To achieve this Wairewa conducted research "into the primary sources of data to make sure that the stories they tell about what happened in Horomaka are authentic". This was then followed by a process of seeking approval from the runanga to decide "what stories we want to say as a hapu or runanga...some things are wahi tapu, wahi taonga".

Another approach used by some businesses was the trademark or brand system to protect the authenticity of Maori cultural products. Bone Carving Inspirations was "thinking of applying for the toi iho Maori Made Mark" to protect and promote the authenticity of their product. Te Ara Pounamu had their "own self-developed trade mark that guarantees that it is authentic pounamu as there are lots of imported Asian and British Columbia jade". The business also had the toi iho Maori Made Mark for its pounamu products and was interested in the proposed Ngai Tahu trademark for pounamu. At a larger scale, Wairewa proposed to develop a brand for their takiwa. "We hope to get buy in from a neighbouring runanga to begin the process of developing branding for whole takiwa of Horomaka to both promote and control Maori culture in tourism".

Mangamaunu ensured authenticity of their product, which was seen mainly as the marae, "by not focusing on building a replica marae with elaborate carvings as this seen as being 'plastic'". Instead the focus is on the people, therefore they depend on the "wairua of people to override any plasticity ...this has an inner soul, clearly we want to make money but we will not compromise our culture to do it".

Asserting a Treaty Partnership

Educational Role

A common strategy of some businesses to assert a Treaty partnership was to incorporate an educational approach to pakeha in their community. This was evident with Maori Tours who "assert a partnership with the local pakeha through an educational role". The business offered free tours to pakeha in the Kaikoura community to "build bridges with pakehaso they can get an understanding where we are coming from". Similarly, Mangamaunu stated that their product would communicate "this is the value that we place on it as treaty partners...come and have a look, learn to understand us, go away with a new understanding". This understanding would in turn create support from the wider community. Wairewa identified the need to gain this support for their tourism development. "We need the community/stakeholders behind us". In response, they planned to "hold an eco-tourism wananga for the wider community to share with them their development and their associated cultural values. There's an underlying theme of education. The approach taken is one of partnership with the pakeha community in the area".

Mangamaunu recognised the "importance of educating government agencies about the project as a means to assert their partnership". This involved developing relationships with agencies to gain their support. They formed a close association with Tourism New Zealand, Tourism Industry Association, Community Employment Group, Work and Income New Zealand, Te Puni Kokiri, Skills NZ, and Department of Internal Affairs.

Tino Rangatiratanga Rights

Expressing tino rangatiratanga was seen as critical by the businesses in asserting a treaty partnership in the tourism industry. This was expressed in different ways. For Maori Tours, "operating from a tino rangatiratanga mindset means not deviating from values, protocols, rituals". Thus, not compromising Maori culture in their tourism development is paramount. According to Mangamaunu, "tino rangatiratanga is the number one because at the end of the day it's all about self determination". For Whale Watch, self-determination or tino rangatiratanga meant:

"exercising our traditional or cultural rights in all areas valued by us as a people. When we first started we were always walking up hill in order to fashion the world around us into something we could work with. This up hill battle landed us in disputes with government authorities from time to time. However, the relationships today with the same authorities has changed to a combination of understanding and working at a partnership. This has bridged the differences we have had in the past. The recent Ngai Tahu Settlement Act has given Maori a voice, in areas that are special to Maori, we are partners in terms of decision making and that really lets us become part of the consultation process that helps shape future decisions".

Another way of asserting tino rangatiratanga within the pakeha dominated tourism industry was to undertake capacity building as practised by Wairewa. Wairewa reported how they had "taken measures to improve their capacity by reorganising the governance and management roles in the runanga".

3.2.7 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, p.102). 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, 2000, p.9). Maori-centred tourism articulates kotahitanga through establishing co-operative relationships and strategic alliances with other Maori. Strategies to accomplish this by the Canterbury businesses are listed below.

Establishing Co-operative/Strategic Relationships With Other Maori In Tourism

Involve Other Hapu/Runanga in the Wider Vision at the Planning Stage

A couple of the businesses had a vision of extending the business to the wider Maori community in the area. Involving other hapu/runanga of the area in the wider vision at the planning stage was a strategy embraced by these businesses. Maori Tours viewed this involvement as "fostering co-operative relationships with other hapu". Wairewa reported how they have "begun to korero in order to foster organised alliances at the beginning of the development with other runanga in the Horomaka so they can work together and start thinking collaboratively about the Horomaka ...because they do not want to be in competition with each other ...".

Think Strategically

Thinking strategically about potential opportunities that fostered a collaborative approach with other Maori in tourism was identified by some businesses. For example, both Te Ara Pounamu and Wairewa recognised the strategic value in forming a co-operative relationship with the Tamaki Brothers in Christchurch. Wairewa planned to "talk to the Tamaki Bros. to see how they can encourage some visitors to enter the Horomaka experience". Te Ara Pounamu envisaged setting up a "pounamu attraction within the Tamaki Brothers tourism development".

Network with Other Maori Tourism Operators

Networking with other Maori tourism operators to form co-operative relationships was advocated by some businesses. Mangamaunu noted how at a Tourism Industry Association meeting, "the Maori operators networked and talked about Maori tourism from a Maori tourism perspective". This resulted in "forming strong connections and plans to set up a South Island Maori Regional Tourism Group".

3.2.8 Tuhono

Cross-sectoral alignment of social, cultural, economic and environmental goals of the business is the basis of the principle of tuhono (Durie, 2002). For Maori-centred tourism this entails integrating the different values. The cultural values that are selected as strategies of Maori-centred tourism development are not a just a simple list of values. There exists a dynamic relationship between the values. They are integrated, interconnected and interrelated with each other. These values can be seen as representing an integration of social/cultural/environmental and economic sectors, for example, whanaungatanga incorporates financial security (economic), creating employment (social) and supporting whanau members (cultural). Approaches to integrating the different values by the businesses are outlined below.

Integrating the Different Values

Wide Consideration of all Values

All of the businesses adopted an approach that treated each value as having equal weight in decision-making. As a result, the businesses strongly asserted that they do not focus on the financial aspect. For example, according to Mangamaunu in the development of the project, "there is not a focus on the economic part but a wider consideration of the values whanuangatanga, Mangamaunutanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga". In other words, in "making money there is no need to compromise our values". Te Ara Pounamu also stated that the cultural values are more important than making more money". For example, it is more important for the business to sell an authentic pounamu product than making more money by using imported jade. This theme was reiterated by Maori Tours who "treat all values as equal where profit is not the driving force.... if solely motivated by money then lose mauri ". Wairewa echoed this by asserting that "we want the business to be value driven rather than profit driven. Obviously we value the creation of wealth and profit but financial viability is not the single most important factor".

All Embracing Approach Based on Future Generations

In addition to treating all the values as equal, some businesses also used an all embracing approach based on providing for future generations. Whale Watch adopted a broad approach to integrating the different values of "what are we able to do for our children and the community overall" with a focus on providing a "launch pad for future generations". Similarly, Wairewa had an overriding focus on "guarding and building the putea from the settlement for our children's children".

3.2.9 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). Strategies of business performance need to be developed to measure social, cultural, and broader economic goals "to give a more comprehensive picture of the outcome" (Ibid.). Western commercial businesses tend to measure business performance primarily in financial terms. In contrast, as outlined in Chapter One, Maori-centred tourism reflects a unique sustainable approach to business that is characterised by cultural values. The associated general strategies of these cultural values effectively provide for multiple measures of the performance of Maori-centred tourism businesses. These general strategies can be seen as 'measuring the social, economic, cultural and environmental aspects of the tourism business'. Identifying specific strategies of Maori-centred tourism businesses in Canterbury is therefore also providing for more specific strategies measuring business performance. The importance of using the values and strategies as measures of business performance is reported by the businesses below.

Using the Values and Strategies as Measures of the Performance of the Business

Quantifying the Values and Strategies

Using multiple values and strategies of Maori-centred tourism as measures of the performance of the business was seen as important by all the businesses. For example, Whale Watch stated that "their measurement of success of the business is based on values.... i.e., upholding the values of who we are...e.g., kaitiakitanga, and whanaungatanga.... what are we able to do for our children and community, what are we able to leave behind for our people. If we fail in these areas then we won't be a success". Mangamaunu pointed out "the values provide clear, specific measures of the performance of the business. This ensures that the culture is not

compromised in the decision making about the business". Furthermore, Mangamaunu intended to quantify the values and strategies to provide concrete measures to monitor the performance of the business. An example included quantifying the value 'whanaungatanga' and its strategies such as 'making a positive contribution to Maori development' and 'providing whanau with skills and employment' by measuring the 'number of whanau gaining skills and employment'.

3.2.10 Purotu

Purotu is the principle of transparency in processes of accountabilities and responsibilities (Durie, 2002, p.7). Maori businesses have both Maori and non-Maori responsibilities and accountabilities. Maori-centred tourism is characterised by addressing this duality and ensuring transparency of the processes. Measures to achieve this by the Canterbury businesses are described below.

Addressing Maori and Non-Maori Accountabilities and Responsibilities

Recognition of Traditional Procedures and Principles

Accountability to the Maori community by the businesses was achieved by recognising traditional authority procedures and principles. For example, Maori Tours "approached whanau with the idea (of the development) for their approval of the idea. Once up and running all the kaumatua in the area were invited on the first tour to assess it ". Whale Watch also recognised traditional arrangements of accountability. They stated "we are accountable to the local runanga so we don't make decisions that are going to denigrate our cultural values". Abiding by responsibilities and accountabilities according to traditional customary rights in relation to pounamu was practised by Te Ara Pounamu.

Maori accountability decisions within the business were also made according to traditional accountability principles. According to Whale Watch "Maori accountability is based on being bound to traditional principles of tika which is just and pono ...honest, integrity...these form the mana of the company. The mana of the business is very high...it's important that we maintain that level of mana that we have earned".

Clear Lines of Responsibility and Accountability

Establishing clear lines of accountability and responsibility for non-Maori accountabilities was a common strategy of some businesses. This created transparent processes. For Wairewa, these "accountability processes are particularly important where external funding is involved". Maori Tours established clear roles of responsibility for business, accountancy, and Department of Conservation concessions. In light of the tourism development, Wairewa "reorganised the structure of the runanga into portfolio teams to operate the business of the runanga to have clear roles and responsibilities for policies, financial management, information management, to know who is accountable to who.... transparent processes in place".

Business Skills

Acquiring the skills necessary for non-Maori legal and business accountabilities was identified as important. For example, Maori Tours trained staff in "an accountancy course for non-accountants".

3.3 Other Values Identified

The list of values of Maori-centred tourism and their strategies is not exhaustive, nor are they set in concrete. There needs to be an on-going process of re-evaluation and review by Maori, a process coined *whakapai ake*. This process is an integral part of the methodology of this report. The Maori tourism businesses interviewed in the Canterbury case study were asked in the interviews what they thought of the list of values and whether there were any other Maori cultural values that they considered important in their business. All the businesses strongly approved of the values with some adding further values. It is important to emphasise that the respondents were consciously evaluating the relevance of the values throughout the interview rather than just responding to guided questions at the end of the interview. As while the specific questions about the relevance of the values was asked at the end of the interview the interviewer explained at the beginning that the values were not set in concrete and were subject to further review by the respondents. Some comments from the interviews are outlined below.

According to Mangamaunu the "values are good...they fit comfortably because of nature of project ...everything we do fitted like a glove to the questions". Significantly, respondents pointed out that this meant that the values accurately reflected doing Maori tourism and "...if not then it's not Maori tourism". Te Ara Pounamu also approved of the values with the addition of "arohatanga...if I didn't love it I wouldn't be doing it".

Maori Tours strongly confirmed the relevance of the list of values and commented that they were "well thought out and that they found it easy to answer the questions as they fitted in with how they run the business". In addition, the respondents suggested other values as being important. These are those that the whanau has collectively selected as their own values to guide/determine the direction of the business. These are: *tika* (justice, doing what's right), *pono* (honest, truth), *aroha* (love), *whanaungatanga*, *whangaitanga* (care, protection, responsibility), *mana*, *tautoko* (supporting the environment), *manaaki*, and *awhinatanga*.

The process of *whakapai ake* in this report assessed the additional values suggested by the businesses from the interviews as potentially being included in the present list of values. However, the 'additional' values were not seen as being significantly different from the existing values of Maori-centred tourism. They were found to be encompassed within the meanings of the present values.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has described and validated the potential strategies of Maori-centred tourism in Canterbury. The information was based on interviews with Maori tourism businesses in Canterbury. They provide specific strategies of Maori-centred tourism. It also provides a model of Maori self-determined tourism development at a regional level. The strategies described in this chapter are effectively a description of the social/cultural capital of Maori-centred tourism development in Canterbury. The re-evaluation process of the list of values of Maori-centred tourism by the businesses strongly affirmed the relevance and appropriateness of the values. The 'other' values identified by the businesses as important for their business were found as not being significantly different from the existing values of Maori-centred tourism.

Chapter 4

Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a conclusion to the report. The aims and objectives of the case study are discussed and recommendations are then suggested.

4.2 Overall Summary

Kaupapa Maori development is the underlying focus of the study. Kaupapa Maori development is essentially Maori self-determined development. This approach involves revitalising Maori traditional institutions and culture as the basis for development (Loomis, 2000). This is recognising that "the richness of their retained values, customs and institutions ...are more rather than less relevant as they explore avenue toward more holistic, self-determined development" (Loomis, 1999, p.17).

Kaupapa Maori development is also a unique Maori approach to sustainable development that is based on Maori social/cultural capital. Thus, Kaupapa Maori development protects and develops their social/cultural capital by basing development on traditional values and norms. It effectively strengthens Maori social/cultural capital for Maori self-determined development. Capacity building is identified as the strategy to build Maori social/cultural capital.

Maori-centred tourism has been described as Kaupapa Maori development in tourism in that it is based on a set of collective values identified by Zygodlo, et al., (2003).

The overall aim of this study was to analyse Maori tourism development in the Canterbury region according to values of Maori-centred tourism. The objectives to achieve this aim were to validate the relevance of the values of Maori-centred tourism to Maori tourism business practices in Canterbury and to identify the strategies for achieving Maori-centred tourism business ethic in Canterbury.

A Kaupapa Maori research approach was used to achieve the objectives. This approach was seen appropriate given the need for a culturally relevant perspective. This included employing Maori values derived from a Maori epistemology as measures to analyse Maori tourism development. The list of Maori-centred tourism values include: whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, kaitiakitanga, nga Matatini Maori, kotahitanga, tino rangatiratanga, manaakitanga, tuhono, puawaitanga and purotu.

The Kaupapa Maori research approach also involved 'a research whanau of interest' to collect and analyse the data. In-depth interviews with Maori tourism businesses in Canterbury were conducted and provided the basis for the information. The researched became part of the 'research whanau of interest' by being part of the on-going re-evaluation of the list of values of Maori-centred tourism and owning the data through the reporting back procedure. The size of the businesses was found to correspond to the nature of the ownership. For example, small businesses were individual or whanau based, medium were runanga or marae based and large were hapu/iwi based. There were two emerging businesses and no failed businesses, the rest

were successfully established. All the businesses were tangata whenua, except Bone Carving Inspirations and Nga Hau E Wha National Marae which is a maata waka marae.

Chapter 4 provided a profile of the Maori tourism businesses interviewed in Canterbury. The chapter then identified strategies of Maori-centred tourism businesses in Canterbury. This was based on an analysis of the interviews with Maori-centred tourism businesses in the Canterbury region. The businesses expressed a range of specific strategies. These strategies are effectively a description of the social/cultural capital of Maori-centred tourism development in Canterbury. As such, they may also be seen as providing multiple Strategies of the performance or success of the business.

The re-evaluation process of the list of values of Maori-centred tourism by the businesses strongly affirmed the relevance and appropriateness of the values. The 'other' values identified by the businesses as important for their business were not seen as being significantly different from the existing values of Maori-centred tourism.

4.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are aimed at Maori tourism businesses and organisations involved in Maori tourism. We recommend that effective policy and practice of Maori tourism development must adopt the following aspects of Maori-centred tourism. Maori-centred tourism entails:

- Maori determining the development themselves (i.e., Maori retain control over the development)
- Including attention to cultural elements in the business
- Adopting the values and strategies to provide an unique sustainable tourism development for Maori
- Making the distinction between general Maori participation in tourism and value-based Maori tourism development
- Promoting a potential model for other indigenous tourism development
- Preserving the integrity of the culture
- Developing Maori tourism development that is culturally specific
- Re-evaluating the relevance of the values and strategies

In addition to these recommendations we strongly suggest that the government organisations conduct further research into:

- Maori tourism development that incorporates the cultural ethic

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Personal Communications

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Appendix 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

General Overview

1. What is your tribal affiliation?
2. What type of tourism business do you operate? I.e. describe the type of business
3. How many personnel are involved (full-time, part-time)?
4. How long has the business been in operation?
5. Do you sell a Maori product?
6. Is your business iwi/hapu based or individual/ whanau based?

Specific Questions

1. Wairuatanga

How does your business express spiritual values in the product?

2. Whanaungatanga

How does your business make a contribution to Maori development?

How does your business foster a whanau-work environment?

How is your business part of a Maori network?

3. Nga matatini Maori

Do you belong to traditional and/or non-traditional Maori (tourism) organisations? If yes, why?

How do you represent the diversity of Maori culture in the Maori tourism product?

How does your business express tribal and/or regional identity?

Describe the development strategy i.e. what type of structure has the business?

4. Kaitiakitanga

How does your business carry out responsibilities of kaitiakitanga?

How does your business acknowledging your close affinity to the environment?

5. Manaakitanga

How does your business foster the sharing of Maori cultural knowledge and beliefs in the product?

How does your business express being hospitable with tourists?

6. Tino rangatiratanga

How did you/your whanau/hapu/iwi control the decision making process of the tourism development?

How do you/your whanau/hapu/iwi have control over the commercial /economic part of the business?

How does your business control the representation of Maori culture in tourism?

How does your business assert Treaty of Waitangi rights?

7. Kotahitanga

How does your business establish cooperative relationships and strategic alliances with other Maori in tourism?

8. Tuhono

How does your business integrate the different values of the business?

9. Purotu

How does your business address both Maori and non-Maori accountabilities and responsibilities?

10. Puawaitanga

Does your business use values of the business (and their strategies) as also measures of the performance of the business? If so, how?

11. Other values

What do you think of the list of Maori cultural values in relation to your business?

Are there any other Maori cultural values that you consider important for your business?

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