

MĀORI TOURISM GEOGRAPHIES

Values, morals and diverse economies

*Sandi Ringham**

Naomi Simmonds†

Lynda Johnston‡

Abstract

Māori working in tourism negotiate moral terrains of their own world and those of visiting tourists, all of which are layered with colonial and capitalist values of Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond. We draw on research with Māori tourism providers in the North Island's central, coastal and northern regions to address the question: How and in what ways do Māori working in tourism (re)construct their places and identities through practising Māori values in Aotearoa New Zealand's tourism spaces? It is argued, using empirical material from interviews and participant sensing—a more-than-seeing form of participant observation—that diverse Māori values and practices shape tourism terrains and vice versa. The participants, who work with or for Māori tourism providers, practise and integrate Māori values into their lived geographies, and in doing so challenge dominant understandings of tourism, many of which are based on colonial and capitalist values. In this way, the participants reclaim and perform self-determination within Aotearoa New Zealand's tourism spaces. This article focuses on two key themes. First, we look back at how past experiences of colonisation shape contemporary tourism. Second, we discuss the diverse and powerful ways Māori values reshape tourism geographies with a view to the potentialities of Māori tourism's diverse economies.

* Ngāti Kuri, PhD Candidate, Geography Programme, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
Email: sandir@slingshot.co.nz

† Raukawa, Lecturer, Geography Programme, University of Waikato, Hamilton, Waikato, New Zealand.

‡ Professor, Geography Programme, University of Waikato, Hamilton, Waikato, New Zealand.

Keywords

Māori tourism, moral terrains, self-determination, home, whakapapa, diverse economies

Introduction

Spaces and places in Aotearoa New Zealand are inscribed by and through tourism. Landscapes and lifestyles are (re)produced and sold on domestic and global tourism platforms as “100% Pure”, “untouched” and “out of the way” (Frohlick & Johnston, 2011). Tourism representations of the country rest largely on this “100% Pure” concept which informs tourists’ expectations, constructing notions of Aotearoa New Zealand’s places and people. Indigenous identities in Aotearoa New Zealand are inextricably tied to these landscapes, and thus the identities of Māori, iwi and hapū are also shaped by such representations and expectations. Māori have always participated in various ways in tourism (see Makereti, 1938/1986) and this is increasing in the current post-settlement context (Ellison, 2012). It is argued, therefore, that the use and inclusion of Māori values (as determined by Māori) in tourism actively reconfigures the moral terrains of tourism geographies in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This article draws on research with Māori tourism providers within the central, coastal and northern regions of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand to address the question: How and in what ways do Māori tourism providers (re)construct their places and identities through practising Māori values in Aotearoa New Zealand’s tourism spaces? Research participants are Māori who work within the tourism industry. Past and present experiences of Māori tourism providers are explored to better understand how the moral terrains of tourism are reframed and, we argue, made more economically diverse, through Māori values.

Māori working in tourism encounter numerous intersecting realities in their everyday spaces not only through interactions with international

and domestic tourists but also through state branding and representations of Māori tourism. They negotiate and traverse the moral terrains of their own worlds, alongside state-sponsored branding and the ideas that tourists bring to each experience. These tourism terrains are layered with the dominant political, economic, social and cultural values of Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond, many of which are colonial and capitalist. Negotiating these layers are the values of Māori tourism providers, that is, Māori working with and for tourism providers, iwi, hapū and whānau.

This article argues that Māori in tourism continue to provide a diverse range of tourism experiences and that their values and contemporary identities shape tourism terrains. We should point out that it is not the intention of this article to define Māori tourism based on fixed or narrow descriptions of Māori values. Rather, the intention is to create space for the diversity and depth of values and experiences as understood by the research participants. In doing so, we hope to further decolonise tourism geographies by highlighting a multiplicity of narratives and the existence of diverse economies (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Gibson-Graham’s (2006) concept of “diverse economies” is used to explore different ways of negotiating capitalism and more equitable and respectful ways of performing economic transactions and enterprise.

The discrimination and inequalities imposed through colonialism are, in nuanced ways, continued in today’s world (Smith, 2013). Smith (2013) asserts that ongoing colonial discourses are in need of further transformation and deconstruction, and we argue that tourism geographies are no exception to this. Tourism geography is a critical study of human experiences and phenomena within space and

place. Within the wider kaupapa Māori framework of this study we seek to highlight how Māori are reframing the tourism spaces, discursive and material, in Aotearoa New Zealand. Decolonisation is multiple and must occur on multiple fronts—at once talking back to, resisting and challenging the continued articulations of colonial power within tourism spaces, while also reclaiming spaces for Māori tourism, values and economies. We agree with Shaw, Herman and Dobbs (2006) and extend their argument to tourism geographies:

If we are to truly decolonize geography, the discipline needs a broadened understanding of indigenous perspectives and epistemologies. Engaging with indigenous geographies thus allows us to remove the epistemological blinders which perpetuate residual, static and uniform forms of “truth” to reveal instead a cornucopia of worldviews that open up new vistas to understanding the world and humanity’s place within it. (p. 273)

In this research, we employ kaupapa Māori to open up tourism geographies in order to understand how colonialism has shaped, and continues to shape, the experiences of Māori tourism providers. Moreover, this article seeks to unravel the strands of diversity in the lived geographies of Māori working in tourism in order to call attention to the ways they reframe the moral terrains of tourism through practising Māori values. Following the work of Waitt, Figueroa and McGee (2007), we use the metaphor of moral terrains to unpack the way Aotearoa New Zealand’s Māori tourism spaces are layered with a multitude of complex values and diverse economies. Tourism developmental discourse and practices can be capable of continuing inequalities that are powered by global economic and political forces. In order to disrupt the single story of capitalism in tourism development, Gibson-Graham’s (2006) post-capitalist perspective is applied to the way Māori are practising and developing tourism.

Our intention is not to offer an alternative model for tourism development but to examine the multiple values and transactions that shape the Māori tourism experience.

In what follows, we first outline the kaupapa Māori theoretical framework, explaining concepts such as the moral terrains of tourism and diverse economies as useful tools to weave into this framework. The theoretical positioning of this research allows for an analysis which is capable of unsettling the hegemony of place-based colonialism and capitalism. By intentionally identifying diverse tourism interactions and transactions through this framework, the perspectives of the participants and the issues they deem important remain to the fore. The article then moves on to “look back”. Drawing from participants’ narratives we highlight the deeply felt understandings of identity and place and the impacts of colonialism. Where power is asserted, however, there are strategies for resistance and reassertion of Māori values, identities and tikanga. It is to these strategies that we turn in the section “Looking forward: Māori values and tourism geographies”, highlighting the intersectionality of values, place and whakapapa which in turn work to shape and reshape the tourism terrains of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Kaupapa Māori and the moral terrains of tourism

The moral terrains of Aotearoa New Zealand’s tourism are spaces where Māori tourism providers, Te Ao Māori, and state and tourist values intersect, collide and at times result in conflicting understandings and misrepresentation of Māori values, identities and places. A number of Māori tourism providers contest and work to decolonise such representations through performing and practising unique iwi, hapū and whānau values and identities. Critical tourism scholars are beginning to research beyond marketing and economic scholarship (Mosedale,

2012) but few have applied a kaupapa Māori framework to analyse Māori experiences in tourism.

There have been studies on Māori in tourism that have focused on historical and traditional representations of Māori as the “exotic other” (Beets, 1997; Hudson, 2010). Visual images used in destination branding and tourism policies articulate knowledge and power by producing specific visions of difference in gender, race and class hierarchies. These are all important precursors to this research.

This research seeks to add to and extend existing literature by considering further the colonial and capitalist discourses that continue to rearrange Māori social systems (Johnston & Pihama, 1995) and tourism. Capitalism and indeed tourism has been noted as a colonial construct informed by and performed during economic transactions in “free” market exchange (Mosedale, 2012). Currently, strategic planning and policy making in tourism development in Aotearoa New Zealand is fundamentally informed by colonial and capitalist values (see Ringham, 2015).

This research takes a kaupapa Māori approach to understanding the spaces of tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand. We also employ moral terrains and diverse economies as useful tools within this framework to offer an insight into Māori relationships with and experiences of the physical, discursive and spiritual spaces of tourism. As a spatial metaphor, “moral terrains” connects well with kaupapa Māori by challenging us to think of tourism spaces as terrains, that is, as a web of diverse and, at times, conflicting values. Tourism terrains can be conceptualised as active, social, political, economic and spiritual spaces contoured with challenges and degrees of agency (Brown, 2008; Waitt et al., 2007). Māori understand the physical landscape via multiple spiritual, physical, social and tribal meanings. For example, Papatūānuku is understood as a physical, spiritual and ancestral body that embodies unique traditional and contemporary values (Simmonds, 2014).

Morals and associated attitudes are a contentious component of societal life which can either muddy or clear the path of justice, equality, civil, environmental and Indigenous rights. In this research moral terrains are understood as a tangle of values that are layered over and within the land, institutions, and economic, cultural and social spaces (Figueroa & Waitt, 2008; Waitt et al., 2007). Applying this metaphor within a kaupapa Māori framework creates a space to explore the experiences of Māori tourism providers. Moral terrains are open to reinterpretation and disruptions (Figueroa & Waitt, 2008). According to Setten and Brown (2009), they

draw attention to the way morality underpins the fundamental relationship people have with land; how they see it, how they engage with it, and how they allow others to engage with it, that is, how the concept of “landscape” is used to both prohibit and enable certain behaviour. (p. 192)

A kaupapa Māori analysis of moral terrains expands theoretical boundaries by moving beyond the colonial conception of the landscape as passive and non-active to a more nuanced understanding of the cultural specificities of terrains—their twists and turns, edges and curves, shapes and movements—and how these are experienced, shaped, negotiated and contoured. It becomes a space where what is seen is also experienced, felt and embodied, where particular attention is paid to issues of social justice and ethics (Figueroa & Waitt, 2008; Grimwood, 2011), making it a useful concept to examine within Māori tourism geographies.

Another useful concept used in this research is the concept of diverse economies (Gibson-Graham, 2006). Perhaps most useful here is Bargh’s (2012) article which conceptualises diverse economies from a Māori perspective and in doing so projects and reshapes another possible world of economies. Bargh suggests using concepts of mana to understand how

Māori values enhance behaviours that respect both people and environments. It can also be applied, she argues, to the distribution of capital and non-capital wealth in ways that cultivate the mana of Māori. She also draws on whakapapa, utu, and kaitiakitanga and argues that these concepts enable other possibilities—diverse economies—to be imagined where capital gain is valued equally with the non-capital, spiritual and emotional aspects of life. All four values are woven together to produce ethical coordinates that enable an examination of how Māori values reshape mainstream capitalist spaces. It is in a similar vein that this research engages with diverse economies to highlight the ways in which Māori values reshape tourism spaces.

Research design and methods

In this research the moral terrains of tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand are examined through the kōrero of Māori who are working for Māori tourism providers to better understand the various ways in which Māori values and identities are practised and embodied. While a kaupapa Māori framework considers cultural and spiritual values and practices when researching with Māori, it also allows for the researcher to recognise and understand the multiple realities and power relations between the participants and researchers (Smith, 2012). This provides for the protocols and values of the community to be incorporated into the research design (Bishop, 1999) and that there is an openness in the research design to enable the diverse perspectives of participants to be defined by them, on their terms, and then woven into the conceptual framework (Cram, 2001). This component of kaupapa Māori allows research to go beyond hegemonic approaches, and when applied to critical tourism studies, it provides a framework that allows for social diversity in space and place to be recognised and valued.

The research design involved developing a research whānau to ensure methods embraced

the ethics, values and morals of each rohe visited. A research whānau is a space for members of rohe, hapū and researchers to come together to mutually construct and guide the research design, practices and questions (Bishop, 1999). The research whānau played a crucial role in guiding the ethical processes and the way the participants were approached. As a location for communication and sharing understandings and meanings, the research whānau allowed members to discuss not only desired research outcomes but also how information is gathered (Bishop, 1999; Cram, 2001). The purpose of a research whānau was to develop a support system where advice and guidance could be sought; it was also a space where tourism's significance to iwi and hapū could be discussed and thus it helped to highlight and support local knowledges about tourism opportunities and impacts.

In line with a kaupapa Māori approach, rather than merely observing from the outside, “participant sensing” was employed. Unlike participant observation where the so-called objective researcher scrutinises the actions of others, participant sensing recognises the corporeal and emotional interaction between the researcher, participants and place. There are no claims of neutrality in such research. Participant sensing encourages researcher reflexivity, allowing the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of not only the participants' experiences and feelings but also their own (Walsh, 2009). Participant sensing took place during touristic experiences that were Māori owned and operated and outside of the “well-known” Māori tourism circuit (e.g., Rotorua) in order to draw attention to the diverse ways in which Māori tourism providers are constructing multiple forms of tourism in a variety of regions.

Information was gathered in northern, central and coastal spaces of Aotearoa New Zealand's North Island. Places visited included lakes, forests, harbours, cities and beaches. Specific locations are unidentified and participants given

a pseudonym to ensure their identities, iwi, rohe and hapū remain confidential. Many of the spaces visited were small communities and it was important to ensure that participants could voice their experiences and opinions without concern that others may recognise who they were and where they were from. This created a safe place from which to speak freely. Participant sensing was applied to eight different tourist experiences on 12 separate occasions. Māori-led tourism activities included animal tourism (horse riding), cruise tourism, water sports, tramping, museums, kai tourism and accommodation. Accommodation varied from high-end hotels to coastal cabins, homestays and camp sites. While conversations were had with approximately 70 people as part of the wider research, this article draws explicitly on material from formal interviews with people who were involved in working in Māori tourism, and thus only a snapshot of the narratives is presented here. Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Waikato. Each interviewee was provided with an information sheet about the research project before consent was obtained.

A total of 11 participants were interviewed—nine women and two men—whose ages ranged from 20 to 75. Participants chose the location of the interviews, which resulted in two joint interviews taking place in participants' home spaces. In the first joint interview two wāhine were interviewed; one participant was a holistic healer and the other participant had owned and operated a food outlet in a popular beach destination. The second joint interview included three participants: a couple who provided harbour cruises and one kaitāpoi who had been on the cruise and then subsequently stayed with the couple's whānau. Three individual interviews were conducted in tourism workplaces; two participants worked for accommodation providers and the other participant worked in a tourist-destination retail store. One interview was conducted at the location of a homestay. This was both a workplace and a home space.

Two other kaitāpoi (young wāhine) who were touring northern spaces were also jointly interviewed. The fluidity of space (discussed further below) was felt in the interview locations as well as participants' narratives, which often demonstrated the merging of home, work, tribal lands and tourist site.

Interview participants were sought through local connections and research whānau or while taking part in a tourist experience. Interviews were semi-structured and followed the flow of conversation, evolving around participants' narratives and opinions (Longhurst, 2009). Data was analysed by noting recurring themes. Immersion in and familiarity with participants' narratives ensured that the research "h[eld] fiercely to the lived and embodied experience of the participants" (Simmonds, 2009, p. 44).

Looking back: Understanding the past experiences embodied in the present

In the following sections participants' voices are brought to the fore to examine how Māori values are integrated and practised at the bedrock of tourism's moral terrains. First, we look back at participants' stories of colonialism to understand how participants' life experiences have shaped Aotearoa New Zealand tourism spaces. Looking back to experiences of colonialism allows the reader to better understand the present experiences of Māori in tourism by offering a glimpse into the lives of participants and their experiences in the society that shapes their moral terrains. Second, we examine participants' experiences in contemporary tourism spaces and consider individual and collective enactment of Māori values. While tourism can be considered a product of colonialism driven by capitalism (Te Awēkotuku, 1981), Māori working in tourism are adding another layer to tourism terrains through placing value in diverse economic practices. They are also challenging the status quo, reclaiming

and performing self-determination by asserting their values and their associated knowledges and tikanga within their own tourism ventures.

A number of participants reflected on their own personal experiences of colonialism and the impact this had had on both their identities and their work within tourism. Rūhī works from home as a Reiki master, healer and teacher. While she offers her services locally, she is often visited by both domestic and international tourists who are visiting the region for a number of reasons. Rūhī grew up in the 1940s and her early childhood experiences are a stark reminder of the brutality of colonialism:

I had my Māori language beaten out of me at home and at school. I was made to feel ashamed of being brown. (Joint interview: 24/07/2014)

After the death of her mother, Rūhī was taken from her rohe at a very young age. She was raised in a Pākehā household where she felt she was made to feel ashamed of being Māori. She is not alone in her experience; this has been experienced by many Māori (Smith, 2012; Te Awēkotuku, 1981). Feelings of shame produce individual and collective effects that shape feelings of inadequacy (Probyn, 2005, Waitt et al., 2007). While this shame shaped her view of what it meant to be Māori, it has also had an impact on the way she experiences her everyday spaces, including tourism spaces.

Experiences of colonisation have resulted in the devaluing of Māori social systems (Te Awēkotuku, 1981), which impacts on self-value. This is a reminder of why the impacts of colonisation need to be contested and deconstructed. When asked about the benefits for Māori in tourism, Anahera responded:

Anahera: It has opened so many options and so many opportunities out there available to us, you know we have so many talented whānau and they need to be encouraged to come forward because they've never been in

the limelight. They don't think they are worth that amount of money.

Interviewer: They undervalue themselves?

Anahera: That's right. They don't think that they have that value to put forward and yet there are just so many options and experiences that they could enjoy because, actually it's part of their lives. Because of the way we are and the way that we think we hide, you're not going to step forward, or being afraid, that it's not going to work out and knowing that you have to answer to that. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

Anahera acknowledged that Māori do have opportunities in Aotearoa New Zealand and that many Māori also have a vast array of talents, but she felt that they need to be encouraged to step into the limelight. Feelings of unworthiness, both socially and economically, are an outcome of colonial claims of superiority (Te Awēkotuku, 1981). Māori culture and social systems have been devalued by colonial forces (Smith, 2012), which may have left some Māori feeling like they have nothing of value to offer. These beliefs are constructed in the experiences of colonisation shaping their moral terrains. Climbing mountains of self-doubt and being swamped in feelings of fear leads some Māori to struggle to negotiate agency and find it difficult to navigate the colonial and capitalist social systems of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Rūhī spent a great deal of her life within Pākehā and colonial spaces. Rūhī was finding that although she had felt disconnected from Te Ao Māori in the past, she now had a stronger connection through attending the kaumātua group and through acknowledging Te Ao Māori in her tourism practice and the values that inform her practice. As a holistic healer visited by both domestic and international tourists, she now felt she could identify herself and her practice as being grounded in Māori values:

Since I have joined the kaumātua group I feel so at peace there (marae), like I've come home. And I'm finding that it, my Māori side, has been there all along I just didn't know it! I practise those same values in my home, my work, in my life really. Now I can place those values somewhere, with being Māori I guess. I really like that. (Joint interview: 24/07/2014)

Anahera was a member of an iwi that owns and operates an information centre and co-manages a Department of Conservation camping ground. She is a guide, caretaker and administrator. She reiterated the colonial violence many elders experienced:

Our marae or our people are, we are of that generation where, my mum, when she was going to school the Māori was whacked out of her so our people here in their old age are learning about te reo. They are learning about Māori because they lost it. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

Anahera's response expresses the grief of being denied something of value. Her use of "lost" is interpreted by Māori scholars as "stolen, erased, repressed, and (mis)represented" (Simmonds, 2014, p. 117). Her narrative also demonstrates the ways in which colonialism is felt and embodied intergenerationally. The participants of this study felt that through tourism some of their Māori knowledges, values and practices could be (re)claimed and reinstated, helping to dismantle some of the intergenerational impacts of colonialism and thus creating diverse, and more equitable, Māori tourism economies.

While Anahera has remained connected to her marae, she works alongside some hapū members on a daily basis through tourism, and she reflected on how, on a number of occasions, this had enabled her and others to move past, heal from and resist the intergenerational loss of culture through relearning and maintaining Māori practices and principles:

I still don't know much and we're a generation on now, I still can't kōrero te reo. I don't know our Māori but through some of the incentives that we've done through here (information centre) I've learnt a little bit about our culture and been able to go back to the marae and incorporate that into our marae, very proud to do that. So as I see it, it's going to be the younger generation that are going to teach us about Māori, te reo, about what we have lost in our generation and up. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

Anahera's narrative supports Rūhī's narrative but moves beyond that to discuss colonised experiences as intergenerational. The impacts of colonisation are ongoing, affecting many generations in her marae. Looking back has enabled Anahera to recognise the importance of maintaining te reo and Māori values in the present and in the future. What Anahera may not be aware of is that she is playing an important role through her leadership in tourism spaces. Not only is she benefiting personally from learning more about her culture and language; she is also taking that knowledge back to the marae and sharing it with other members. Here the concepts of whakapapa and mana can be applied to her understanding of her role and the role of the younger generation as they, as a collective, move forward. Through tourism development, utu can be restored and mana of the hapū enhanced—empowering the hapū to uphold the balance whilst also providing economic and social benefits to the hapū according to their values.

Looking forward: Māori values in tourism spaces

This research seeks to highlight the challenges and benefits participants have experienced while engaging Māori values in tourism. Participants chose to tell their stories of the past. The topic of colonisation was not included in the interview

questions but it seemed the participants felt that sharing their stories was important in order to gain an understanding of their challenges and accomplishments. It is crucial to (re)construct experiences of colonisation from a Māori perspective in order to disrupt colonial discourses that devalue Māori. Tourism developed and controlled by Māori can be a platform where Māori principles are practised and valued—a space where discourses of colonialism are deconstructed, acknowledged and diverse economies created.

For some of the participants, tourist spaces were a merging of home and work, and thus the enactment of Māori values was inseparable from their roles in tourism. Living in the spaces of work or working in the spaces of home blurs boundaries between the workplace and home. Work ethic and personal values become juxtaposed and often unable to be separated. For many in this research, home was not only where they lived but also where their ancestors had come from and where they rest. Relationships with the landscape are inscribed and embodied and this is exemplified by two participants who spoke in depth about their identities and the tourist terrains of their lived geographies. Moana managed a retail shop in a coastal tourist town. In response to a question asked about how she practised Māori values, she replied:

Well I suppose that's really interesting for me because for myself I've questioned what it is to be Māori particularly because Mum was Māori and Dad was Pākehā so it's sort of like looking at who I am as a Māori woman with a Pākehā background and sometimes it can be, "what can that mean?" and personally for me it's about identifying and this place as your tangata whenua, it's your tūrangawaewae and I feel very connected with, I guess my whakapapa and my place. I feel very proud of that and how I practice that is, as a Māori woman, is that I identify with the land and the water as part of who I am. But it's nothing ritualised it's not like I get up in the morning and have

a karakia. It's a real sense of myself in this landscape, a sense of my children being here and I feel very honoured to be part of a living legacy that our tīpuna have given us actually. (Interview: 22/08/2014)

Moana saw herself as Māori with a Pākehā background and while she questioned what that might mean, she did not describe herself as both Māori and Pākehā. Moana felt her identity as Māori is constructed through her whakapapa, land and water. Her identity is inscribed in and through the landscape. Being connected to the land and her tīpuna helped her to identify as a Māori woman. This inextricability of Moana from the land and its resources creates a distinctive moral terrain that she negotiates as a Māori woman working in tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is perhaps unsurprising given the relationships of Māori women to Papatūānuku and to whenua (see Simmonds, 2009).

Kāhu owns and operates a homestay. He left Aotearoa New Zealand in his early 20s to live in various countries around the globe. In our interview he referred to the architecture of the marae, as opposed to the land itself:

Kāhu: That was my university, instead of a conventional university I went on a trip around the world and it went on for twenty-six years . . . all the time I lived overseas I was still back here (Aotearoa New Zealand) and I was always drawing Māori designs and the house I built had the same flavour to it.

Interviewer: So the shape of the marae has importance to you?

Kāhu: Oh definitely, yeah and they couldn't understand it over there because they'd never seen anything like it. I was living next to the local Indians, next to the reservation so my lifestyle has been a whole lot of connecting. (Interview: 18/08/2014)

Throughout Kāhu's past experiences and the operating of his homestay he has maintained

his connection to his whakapapa. The physical shaping of his home represented and sustained his identity as Māori while he connected with the people and land he inhabited. This enabled him to etch his identity onto the landscape while navigating the moral terrains of a foreign land. The concept of moral terrains places emphasis on not only physical landscapes but also the spiritual, individual and collective bodies of Māori tourism providers. During tourism encounters, both the landscape and bodies may be considered spaces where dominant discourses can be disrupted and unsettled (Waitt et al., 2007). Marae architecture has been incorporated into the construction of Kāhu's homestay and he was constantly upgrading and modifying it, thus expressing and reframing his identity while also decolonising tourism terrains.

It could be argued that the different ways Moana and Kāhu identify with the land is gendered through imaginings of the land. Moana sensed herself and her children embodied in the landscape of her tīpuna and Papatūānuku while Kāhu inscribed his identity onto the landscape through the construction of his homestay. While the gendering of landscapes may play a part in the way they imagine their identities, attention is also drawn to Kāhu's geographical circumstances. Kāhu had spent many years abroad and his homestay is not located within his rohe. The way Kāhu visualised his identity and the construction of his home/s and workplace may also be associated with feelings of displacement. In some ways he was ensuring his Māori identity remains connected to the land his homestay is built on in meaningful ways. Placing value in whakapapa and Māori practices (Bargh, 2012) allows Moana and Kāhu to construct and maintain their identities and their relationships with the land. Their whanaunga to the land is woven into tourist interactions through place and their identities as Māori. Their whakapapa plays a crucial role in informing the diverse economic transactions that take place in the unique Māori tourism terrains that they traverse.

Marama and Anahera were two participants

who have been able to return to their rohe to work in tourism because of the diverse economies created by their hapū. Both had worked in large cities and when they returned to their rohe they brought their skills with them. Marama returned to her rohe to work in the kitchen of a hotel but now holds guiding, management and international representative roles. The hotel was Māori owned and operated and their institutional values were based on Māori principles. The hotel worked closely with surrounding hapū to provide tourist groups with marae stays, conference venues and education, and referred to employees as whānau members rather than staff. Marama returned to her rohe because she wanted to be closer to her whānau and also wanted a quieter lifestyle:

I was happy to work in the kitchen, I'd had enough of management responsibilities but when they (management) needed someone to fill in at the office I stepped up and I've been here ever since. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

Marama's experience and skill in management resulted in her taking a leadership role, and her hapū knowledge meant she became one of the lead tour guides. During her time there she has introduced a female perspective to the tourist experiences offered:

Now we also offer a female perspective. When I started doing the tours I felt I couldn't perform the same script as the male guides. I felt it would be wrong. I had to be true to my beliefs and honour my role as a Māori woman and follow the correct protocol. There are spiritual practices that men and women do differently and for me to guide people I felt I needed to deliver the experience as a Māori woman and the script needed to reflect that. So I talked to my whānau and the business whānau to ask if I could present the experience from a female perspective and it has now grown into an important part of what we offer. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

Marama's ability and willingness to step into many roles is shaping the way Māori tourism is performed in the area. Not only is she capable, flexible and content in a multitude of roles; she is reframing management and guiding roles according to her value in *mana wahine*. Her identity is embedded in the tourism terrain as a female leader. Historically, colonisation has promoted the roles of Māori men as leaders over and above women's roles; however, this narrative can be contested (Hoskins, 1997), and there are now many *wāhine* reclaiming these positions of leadership and influence (August, 2005; Simmonds, 2014). Through tourism led by Māori, Marama had the agency to write her own script reframing and decolonising the moral tourism terrains in her area.

Anahera also held multiple roles, ranging from the daily running of accommodation and the information centre to the ongoing development and management of the organisation. Anahera's experience in tourism has been about learning within the workplace:

It's about sharing really, I was pretty naive when I came home about a lot of things, but culture is a big part of our management and our learning and cultural development is being upgraded and it's not only about ourselves. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

Anahera is part of a collective tourism organisation, and through that experience she is learning both *tikanga* and management skills in tourism. Her *kōrero* emphasises a collective thought process that looks beyond individualist thinking and management styles. Both Anahera and Marama also reveal the way *wāhine* are (re)constructing leadership in Māori tourism. Through these narratives, it is possible to see the subtle and nuanced ways that Anahera's and Marama's tourism terrains are being decolonised through the enactment of specific values, *mātauranga* and *tikanga*; through the sharing of knowledge; through encouraging collective learning and benefits; and

through balancing the value of gendered roles and scripts.

Practising spirituality in the moral terrains of tourism was significant to all of the participants working in tourism. They felt working in an organisation which incorporated *Te Ao Māori* into tourism spaces enhanced their lives because their personal and spiritual beliefs were nurtured. Marama, for example, commented:

I think the most important thing for me is being able to bring my spiritualism into my working life. This is really important and makes my job more than just a way to earn a living. It's the foundation of our organisation. And it's great to be part of an organisation that supports my spiritual beliefs. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

As discussed previously, Marama worked for a large Māori-owned and Māori-operated hotel and she felt that rather than being pushed to the side as may be the case in a mainstream operation, because of the values and diversification of this tourism venture, her personal belief systems were not only supported and integrated into her working life but also shared by others in the organisation. Therefore, rather than being something to be sold as a "tourist product", Marama considered that *manākitanga* and *wairua* extended to employees and that their identities and the tourism spaces were mutually constituted through such values, as well as the values of *mana*, *utu* and *kaitiakitanga* (Bargh, 2012).

In Marama's case, *wairua* in the workplace has enhanced her experience working in tourism. She considers her career to be more than a way to earn a living and places value in transcendent experience as well as sustaining everyday life through capital gain. This theme was continued throughout participant narratives and is evident in the words of Whetū, the captain of a harbour cruise boat, when he discussed what it meant to include his beliefs in his working life:

To me it's more than just a way to earning a living. It's putting bread and butter on the table but at the same time I want to put some of my tikanga in, I still want those values there. (Joint interview: 22/08/2014)

For these participants wairua and the tourism they delivered was closely linked to and shaped by the transcendent and terrestrial space in which the experience took place. Participants' statements highlight how Māori identities in tourism spaces are both transcendent and terrestrial at the same time. Through the practice of a multiplicity of values, Māori tourism providers constructed diverse economies that not only enhanced their experience but were also important for cementing a good future for their children.

Conclusion

We have focused on a web of Māori values and the ways in which they are layered in and through place. These moral tourist terrains are inscribed onto bodies and vice versa. Participants' narratives illustrate how moral terrains are contoured by experiences of colonialism and reframed through Māori-led tourism. Looking back to experiences of colonialism encourages a better understanding of why control of Māori tourism is important for Māori. While looking back allows for alternative stories to be told, it is also necessary for Māori to "(re)educate themselves in the histories of their people's relations with the New Zealand state, land loss, politics, cultural assimilation and past injustices" (Paora, Tuiono, Flavell, Hawksley, & Howson, 2011, p. 253). The importance of looking back and telling of past discriminations opens up new conversations for future livelihoods.

The Māori tourism spaces discussed here are unique and influenced by Māori values from the past and the present. Māori are reframing their roles as leaders in tourism, and as they do, they are (re)shaping the moral terrains of

tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand and enacting diverse economies that look to the collective futures of iwi and hapū. Māori values and Te Ao Māori impact positively on the way participants experience tourism spaces and their self-determination to disseminate and diversify Māori tourism. This research shows that work, home, land and whakapapa are inseparable for people working in these "out of the way" tourism regions.

For the participants in this study, the inclusion of Māori values and practices has a positive effect on the way they experience tourism and their capacity to create diverse tourism economies based on Te Ao Māori. The inclusion of a range of Māori values helps disrupt both colonialism and capitalism in these tourism spaces.

It has not been our intention to define Māori tourism and the values that shape these moral terrains, but rather we have focused on ways to decolonise Aotearoa New Zealand's tourism spaces through highlighting narratives—past and present—and diverse economies of Māori tourism providers and tourists. We are very aware that the impacts of colonialism continue to be felt on a daily basis, hence our need to recognise inequalities and discrimination. Yet, wherever there is power, there is resistance, and Māori are reframing their identities, tourism terrains and leadership within, and beyond, the tourism geographies in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Glossary

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand; lit., "land of the long white cloud"
hapū	subtribe
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kaitāpoi	Māori domestic tourists
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
karakia	ritual chant
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa Māori	Māori-centric approach

kōrero	talk
mana	authority
manākitanga	hospitality
mana wahine	Māori women's perspectives
marae	open area in front of meeting house, also refers to general complex of buildings and land
mātauranga	knowledge
Pākehā	non-Māori
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
rohe	tribal lands
tangata whenua	people of the land
Te Ao Māori	Māori worldview
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	Māori customs and protocol
tīpuna	ancestors
tūrangawaewae	a place of belonging
utu	balance
wāhine	women
wairua	spirituality
whakapapa	ancestral connections
whānau	family
whanaunga	relationship
whenua	land

References

- August, W. (2005). Māori women: Bodies, spaces, sacredness and mana. *New Zealand Geographer*, 61(2), 117–123. <http://doi.org/df39mt>
- Bargh, M. (2012). Rethinking and re-shaping indigenous economies: Māori geothermal energy enterprises. *Journal of Enterprising Communities*, 6(3), 271–283. <http://doi.org/bm9d>
- Beets, J. S. (1997). Images of Maori women in New Zealand postcards after 1990. *Women's Studies Journal*, 13(2), 7–24.
- Bishop, R. (1999). Kaupapa Māori research: An Indigenous approach to creating knowledge. In N. Robertson (Ed.), *Māori psychology: Research and practice: Proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Maori and Psychology Research Unit, Department of Psychology, University of Waikato, Thursday 26th August 1999* (pp. 1–6). Hamilton, New Zealand: University of Waikato.
- Brown, K. (2008). *Upsetting geographies: Sacred spaces of Matata* (Master's thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10289/2290>
- Cram, F. (2001). In M. Tolich (Ed.), *Research ethics in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 34–52). Auckland, New Zealand: Longman.
- Ellison, E. (2012). Ngā haumi a iwi—Māori investment: Post-settlement corporate structures. In *Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-haumi-a-iwi-maori-investment/page-4>
- Figueroa, R. M., & Waitt, G. (2008). Cracks in the mirror: (Un)covering the moral terrains of environmental justice at Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 11(3), 327–349.
- Frohlick, S., & Johnston, L. (2011). Naturalizing bodies and places: Tourism media campaigns and heterosexualities in Costa Rica and New Zealand. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(3), 1090–1109. <http://doi.org/fmt87p>
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *The end of capitalism (as we knew it)*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2008). Diverse economies: Performative practices for “other worlds”. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(5), 613–632. <http://doi.org/cwxkm8>
- Grimwood, B. S. R. (2011). “Thinking outside the gunnels”: Considering natures and the moral terrains of recreational canoe travel. *Leisure/Loisir*, 35(1), 49–69. <http://doi.org/b6t3tk>

- Hoskins, C. T. K. (1997). In the interests of Māori women? Discourses of reclamation. *Women's Studies Journal*, 13(2), 25–45.
- Hudson, S. P. S. (2010). *Other identities: Portrayals from the past and what remains in the present* (Unpublished master's thesis). Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Johnston, P., & Pihama, L. (1995). What counts as difference and what differences count: Gender, race and the politics of difference. In K. Irwin & I. Ramsden (Eds.), *Toi wāhine: The worlds of Māori women* (pp. 75–86). Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin.
- Longhurst, R. (2009). Interviews: In-depth, semi-structured. In R. Kitchin & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of human geography* (pp. 580–584). Oxford, England: Elsevier. <http://doi.org/czwmc6>
- Makereti. (1986). *The old-time Maori*. Auckland, New Zealand: New Women's Press. (Original work published 1938)
- Mosedale, J. (2012). Diverse economies and alternative economic practices in tourism. In I. Ateljevic, N. Morgan, & A. Pritchard (Eds.), *The critical turn in tourism studies* (pp. 194–207). London, England: Routledge.
- Paora, R., Tuiono, T., Flavell, T. U., Hawksley, C., & Howson, R. (2011). Tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. *AlterNative*, 7(3), 246–257.
- Probyn, E. (2005). *Blush: Faces of shame*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ringham, S. (2015). *The moral terrains of Māori tourism* (Master's thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10289/9900>
- Setten, G., & Brown, K. M. (2009). Moral landscapes. In R. Kitchin & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of human geography* (pp. 191–195). Oxford, England: Elsevier. <http://doi.org/c2xczn>
- Shaw, W. S., Herman, R. D. K., & Dobbs, R. (2006). Encountering indigeneity: Re-imagining and decolonizing geography. *Geografiska Annaler B*, 88(3), 267–276. <http://doi.org/d2sj3r>
- Simmonds, N. B. (2009). *Mana wahine geographies: Spiritual, spatial and embodied understandings of Papatūānuku* (Master's thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10289/2798>
- Simmonds, N. B. (2014). *Tū te turuturu nō Hine-te-iwaiwa: Mana wahine geographies of birth in Aotearoa New Zealand* (PhD thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10289/8821>
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Smith, L. T. (2013). The future is now. In M. Rashbrooke (Ed.), *Inequality: A New Zealand crisis* (pp. 227–242). Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books. <http://doi.org/bm9f>
- Te Awekotuku, N. (1981). *The sociocultural impact of tourism on the Te Arawa people of Rotorua, New Zealand* (PhD thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10289/7389>
- Waite, G., Figueroa, R. M., & McGee, L. (2007). Fissures in the rock: Rethinking pride and shame in the moral terrains of Uluru. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 32(2), 248–263. <http://doi.org/c7q3fd>
- Walsh, K. (2009). Participant observation. In R. Kitchin & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of human geography* (pp. 77–81). Oxford, England: Elsevier. <http://doi.org/cwwhc8>