The moral terrains of Māori tourism

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This thesis is dedicated to:

My mother, my father, my sister

Whom without I would be lost

Thank you for loving me unconditionally

HE MIHI

Ruia Ruia

Opea Opea

Whiria whiria

Tahia tahia

Kia hemo ake te ka koa-koa

Kia herea mai ki te kauwau koroki

Kia tataki mai ki tana pūkoro whai koro

He kuaka mārangaranga

Kotahi te manu i tau atu ki te tāhuna

Tau atu tau atu tau atu.

Ko Kurahaupō te waka

Ko Po Hurihanga te tangata

Ko Maunga Piko te maunga

Ko Parengarenga te wahapū

Ko Te Hāpua te papakāinga

Ko Te Reo Mihi te whare tupuna

Ko Ngāti Kuri te iwi e mihi atu nei

Ko Sandi Ringham taku ingoa

Tihei wa mauri ora.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this project is to understand how Māori values are integrated into Māori tourism geographies. The research asks three questions. First, how do values shape the moral terrains of Māori tourism? Second, how is Māori tourism constructed through state sponsored branding and policies? Finally, how and in what ways do Māori tourism providers (re)construct their places and identities through practicing Māori values in Aotearoa?

The critical social geographies of tourism in this thesis are informed by Kaupapa Māori, mana wahine, feminist geography, moral terrains and diverse economies literatures. Methodologies are woven together using: semi-structured interviews; participant sensing; autoethnography; and, discourse analysis. A research whānau (extended family), including kuia and kaumātua (women and men elders), guide the ethical components of research design and practices. Participant sensing took place in northern, coastal and central areas of Aotearoa. As kaitāpoi (Māori domestic tourist) I took part in activities that included animal tourism, local cuisine, camping, high end accommodation, tramping, souvenir shopping, museums, a harbour cruise and visited information sites. Eleven semi-interviews were conducted with Māori tourism providers in northern and coastal spaces. I interacted with approximately 70 people during the course of this research.

The findings of are divided into three substantive chapters. The first is an examination of two Aotearoa's government tourism agencies' policies and state sponsored branding. Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) uses language such as 'best partner' to attempt to form relationships and policy with Māori. New Zealand Māori Tourism (NZMT) prescribe Māori leadership and adopt a 'people first' approach. I untangled concepts of leadership, partnerships and the way strategic priorities are prescribed within the two institutions' documents to reveal the way power relations are inscribed onto Aotearoa's tourism terrains. The second chapter analyses state sponsored branding. Here I highlight the inconsistencies in the way Māori identities are represented. TNZ maintains a colonial imagining of traditional performance while NZMT present Māori men as contemporary leaders of diverse tourism experiences. Both organisations, however, continue to represent women as the 'exotic other'. The three and last substantive chapter considers the lived realities of Māori tourism providers. Participants feel proud of the way their identities are represented on the global stage but concerned with the lack of representations of their contemporary lives and diverse tourism opportunities. Women are leading Māori tourism in a multitude of spaces and Māori tourism providers are practicing diverse economies. I argue that Māori identities, and Māori values, are defining elements of the Māori tourism experience.

In closing this thesis I argue that the representation and lived realities of Māori tourism needs to be controlled by the tangata whenua who exist and inhabit precious places within Aotearoa's landscapes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

Introducing multiple Māori tourism stories

> We stand at the edge of a critical future. The hope remains that we
>
> can move forward, consider the options, and choose with wisdom
>
> and perceptive judgement comparable to that of our forebears (Te
>
> Awekotuku 1981 296).

The overarching objective of this project is to develop an understanding of how
Māori values are integrated into and beyond the 'categorised' and capitalist spaces
of Māori tourism. Tourism is the second largest industry in Aotearoa and is
presented to the world as an utopic, 100% Pure destination that has its own unique
environment and culture (Frolick & Johnston 2011). This thesis is a qualitative
examination of the way in which Māori values transform Aotearoa's Māori
tourism geographies.

The research is framed around three questions: First, how do values shape the
moral terrains of Māori tourism? Following the work of Gordon Waitt, Robert
Figueroa and Lana McGee I use the metaphor of moral terrains to unpack the way
Aotearoa's Māori tourism spaces are layered with a multitude of complex values
and diverse economies. Māori tourism is a focal point in Aotearoa's tourism
branding and much of the imagery is grounded in traditional and historical
representations of Māori identities. Secondly, how is Māori tourism constructed
through state sponsored branding and policies? Contemporary Māori identities
and tourism experiences are often left out of Aotearoa's tourism images and
discourses. Māori tourism has been categorised and defined by a set of

essentialising colonial and patriarchal discourses (Barnett 2001, Te Awekotuku 1981) and capitalist criteria (Molesdale 2012). As a response this research project explores the diverse ways Māori tourism providers are upsetting a single story of Māori tourism by producing a multitude of tourist experiences that are embedded in both traditional and contemporary Māori values, practices and Te Ao Māori (Māori world view). My final question asks, how and in what ways, do Māori tourism providers (re)construct their places and identities through practicing Māori values in Aotearoa?

A combination of theories from across disciplines are used to shape and direct this research. Kaupapa Māori research is the foundation and strives for social justice by "engaging in a dialogue about setting new directions for the priorities, policies and practices of research" (Smith 2012 185) guiding not only framing and analysis but also researcher/participant interactions. This ensures the diverse protocols, values and practices of participants are honoured. This thesis explores and develops a better understanding of the relations between Māori tourism identities, power and place identities In Aotearoa, New Zealand.

The critical social geographies of tourism in this thesis are informed by Kaupapa Māori informed by mana wahine (Māori women's discourses), feminist geography, moral terrains and diverse economies literatures. This research posit the voices of Māori tourism providers ensuring their narratives remain in the foreground. I intend to upset Western and masculine tourism values that are applied to representations of Māori tourism by listening to the kōrero (to talk) of Māori tourism providers. Mana wahine and feminist geography theoretical

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frameworks are also employed because I found that women are leading Māori tourism in many spaces. The research highlights not only Māori women's experiences in tourism as well as analysing gendered power relations. This helps to disrupts imaginings of masculine leadership, power and control (Simmonds 2009 2014).

It is not my intention to definitively prescribe Māori values or practices found in Aotearoa's tourism geographies but rather to draw attention to the ways Māori tourism providers (re)construct their identities and place through practicing Māori values in Aotearoa's tourism geographies. This research may assist Māori tourism providers to reconsider and reconstruct what they define as Māori tourism. In a key piece of research on the topic of Māori tourism Shirley Barnett's (2001) article 'Manākitanga: Māori hospitality – a case study of Māori accommodation providers' examines the role of Māori accommodation providers as a group which is either providing 'cultural' experiences or creating linkages for tourists to access Māori tourism. She found that Māori accommodation providers are often left out of what is defined as Māori tourism (Barnett 2001). While this study raised the question of what can be defined as Māori tourism it remains focused on classifying Māori tourism based on traditional 'cultural' experiences.

'Culture' is a slippery concept that defies robust ontological definition (Barnett 2009). Culture can be understood as a set of shared social values, beliefs and practices constructed by language and customs (Gibson & Waitt 2009). This definition, however, can be challenged by questioning the way knowledge is produced, circulated and maintained (Gibson & Waitt 2009). When the ongoing

and emergent power relations are considered in the development of tourism what is produced as 'cultural' tourism becomes problematic. Culture becomes dissected and classified by powerful actors into a set of values and practices deemed (in)appropriate for the consumption of tourists.

This moved me to consider the representation of Māori identities in Aotearoa's state sponsored branding of tourism. Tourism images of Māori are often focused on historical and traditional representations that construct and maintain masculine and colonial discourses of the 'exotic other' (Beets 1997, Hudson 2010). I am interested to know how Māori tourism providers feel about state sponsored branding of Māori tourism. Are these helpful representations? While I acknowledge the importance of Māori traditional performances that offer valuable insights into tikanga (Māori customs and protocols) I wanted to highlight the diverse ways Māori deliver a multitude of tourism experiences. Neither is it my objective to critique the 'cultural' experiences of Māori tourism but rather add another dimension to what can be imagined as Māori tourism. I want to give voice to contemporary Māori delivering contemporary tourism experiences. To do this I visited Māori tourism providers that offered accommodation, retail, healing, adventure, nature and animal tourism. Some tourism providers blended these experiences in to one package. In doing so the research is centred on tourism experiences based on Māori participation, identities and intimate interactions rather than what is 'classified' and reinforced as Māori tourism by state sanctioned representations.

Pūtake: the reasoning that shapes the research and my positionality

Tourism in Aotearoa has a history that dates back to the arrival of colonial settlers in the mid nineteenth century (Barnett 2001, Beets 1997, Hudson 2010, Te Awekotuku 1981). In Aotearoa's early stages of tourism Māori owned and operated many of the establishments that provided accommodation and guided tours (Barnett 2001, Te Awekotuku 1981). By the mid-1900s Māori participation in tourism declined due to the impacts of colonisation. Tribal lands were stolen, te reo (Māori language) was forbidden and Māori identities, values and practices devalued (Smith 2012). As a result most Māori were excluded from control of Māori tourism (some was retained in Rotorua) and relegated to marketing images in promotional material until the late 1980s when the Māori Tourism Task Force was established (Barnett 2001). In 2004 New Zealand Māori Tourism (NZMT) was established and is now responsible for promoting, facilitating and leading the Māori tourism sector.

The impacts of tourism are capable of causing numerous social, cultural, economic and political inequalities for Indigenous communities in tourist destinations (Barnett 2001, Dann 2002). Indigenous tourism, however, when controlled and articulated by Indigenous peoples has the potential to strengthen social, economic and political positioning (McIntosh Zygadlo & Matunga 2004, Te Awekotuku 1981). There are few studies that place Māori values at the centre of tourism inquiry (McIntosh et al 2004, Wright 2010). I argue that researchers who employ Māori values as a set of definitive principles, generalised and fixed, are at risk of neglecting to acknowledge the diverse values and practices that vary from iwi (tribe) to iwi, hapū (sub-tribe) to hapū and rohe (tribal land) to rohe. One

categorisation constitutes as Māori tourism was classified in 1995 by the Aotearoa Māori Tourism Federation into four categories: cultural performance, arts and crafts, display of taonga (treasure) and cultural interpretation (Barnett 2001).

Classifying and defining Māori tourism based on generalised and often Western colonial and masculine representations of Māori identities, culture and, hence values, risks misrepresentation of Māori as a homogenised group. Ngā matatini Māori (Māori diversity) has been defined as a Māori principle that recommends embracing diversity in Māori tourism products (McIntosh et al 2004). It seems however, the act of defining Māori tourism based on a set of generalised Māori values contradicts the very essence of ngā matatini Māori. Acceptance of diversity is an important value in Te Ao Māori and I support the argument for embracing diversity in Māori tourism products. The principle of ngā matatini Māori can also be applied to the way a multiplicity of Māori values, practices, customs, identities and experiences are constructed and performed in Aotearoa's tourism geographies.

My personal experience as tangata whenua (people of the land) growing up in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a disconnection from my Māori heritage. My mother, who carries our whakapapa (ancestry), was taken from her rohe (tribal lands) by her Pākehā (non-Māori) father when her mother died at a very young age. As a result, she was denied the right to practice te reo and her whānau (extended family) ties were severed. Sadly, her knowledge, and mine, of our whakapapa is limited. We know which iwi (tribe) we belong to, where our rohe and urupā

(burial ground) are located, we have the names of a few whānau and my mother ensured we gained some knowledge of our heritage through learning te reo and kapa haka (Māori performance) at high school. The journey back to our whakapapa has been long, arduous, emotional and ongoing. This has heightened my personal and professional value in the importance of social connectivity to one's ancestral roots, the need for Indigenous voices to be heard in academia and in the development of Indigenous tourism.

I live in a coastal town which is an increasingly popular tourist destination with many tangata whenua who are, at times, pushed out of their rohe because of rising living costs and increasing local government taxes. I also engage in Indigenous tourism whenever I travel and am acutely aware of the social and economic inequalities that can occur in Indigenous communities at tourist destinations such as: traditional land loss; environmental exploitation: diaspora; and economic leakage through foreign investment. Social, cultural, political and economic values shape the way tourism is developed which in turn shapes the everyday spaces of Māori living in tourist destinations. These places become moral terrains that are layered and entangled with the values of tourism institutions, the tourists who visit (Figueroa & Waitt 2008) and the values of tangata whenua. Indigenous peoples have been subjected to Western research approaches since early colonisation and this has resulted in Indigenous social systems being devalued, proscribed and exploited (Smith 2012). There is a need for research on Indigenous values and experiences in tourism to be performed by Indigenous scholars in order for intellectual properties to remain in the hands of, in this case, Māori.

Western scientific approaches to Indigenous tourism research may be capable of continuing these impacts but also capable of eroding Indigenous value systems by prescribing what are considered (in)appropriate and desirable tourism experiences. In chapter two I draw attention to hegemonic and colonialist research that reduces representations of Māori identities in tourism to "a tourist product" and a "tourism attraction" (Olsen 2008 162).

Research is not only a Western construct. Indigenous peoples across the world are also conducting research (Smith 2012). The construction and sharing of Indigenous of knowledges is now recognised in many ways. "The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples" is acknowledges human rights to protect and control the dissemination of their intellectual properties (Cram 2001, Mead 2003). The declaration recognises that Indigenous people are the sole guardians of their knowledge and must be the ones to benefit from the sharing of their knowledge. It also prescribes the right for Indigenous to (re)create new and traditional knowledge (Mead 1994). Research into Indigenous value systems is also receiving attention in academia (Hall 2012) and in tourism geographies in particular. Indigenous values in tourism, and particularly Māori values, however, have received little attention particularly from within geographic scholarship.

An integral component of this research is to critique Western development models and Māori representation in tourism. This is important for Indigenous groups in order to highlight how tourism development can be a source of empowerment and disempowerment. Indigenous people, their lands and communities have been and

still are some of the most researched people in the world (Cram 2001, Smith 2012). Historically, Western research valued an ethnocentric critique of Indigenous as the 'exotic other' (Cram 2001, Johnston 2005, Smith 2012). This ethos continues today in new and complex ways and has resulted in Indigenous people, Māori included, being measured against Western norms (Cram 2001), categorised into binaries (Johnston 2005) or left to try and fit somewhere in-between. It is intended that, through this research, Māori values can be applied to a study of Indigenous tourism in order to build on the capacity and agency to define and identify a uniquely Māori imagining of tourism, thereby providing an important contribution to both existing academic knowledge but also Māori tourism providers and iwi, hapū and whānau considering developing a tourism experience.

Chapter outline

In the introduction of this thesis I have outlined the context which shapes the reasoning behind the research topic. Western representations of Māori tourism are classified and prescribed by a set of Western, colonial, masculine and capitalist values that are in need of critique from a Māori perspective. This research highlights the diversity of Māori tourism experiences available in Aotearoa in a way that disrupts the 'single story' of Māori tourism. There are multitude of values that shape the moral terrains of tourism and the representations of Māori identities and in the following chapters Aotearoa's tourism discourses are untangled and rewoven with the narratives and experiences of Māori tourism providers.

The second chapter is a review of theories and literature that inform and guide the research process. In this chapter I use the metaphor of weaving a theoretical kete to combine theories as a group of interconnected strands that enable a deep and holistic thematic examination of Māori tourism geographies. Alongside Kaupapa Māori and mana wahine frameworks I open up a conceptual space to explore the moral terrains of tourism. This allows tourism for a consideration of the layering of values on tourism landscapes. A post capitalist framework enables the research to discuss the diverse economies, practices and values of Māori tourism providers.

Chapter three discusses the qualitative methodologies that inform the information gathering process. I discuss the research design and how the research practices are guided by a research whānau. I then introduce the research participants, research spaces and experiences visited before going on to discuss the methods of enquiry. The research engaged in semi-structured interviews, participant sensing and discourse analysis and I reflect on my position as a researcher and my journey as kaitāpoi (Māori domestic tourist) in order to offer an embodied approach to geographical approach to researching Māori tourism.

Chapter four is a critical analyses of the planning and strategy documents of TNZ and NZMT to untangle the discourses that shape Aotearoa's tourism terrains. This chapter discusses the institutional values that shape power relationships mentioned in this introduction. The construction of "The New Zealand Story" (TNZ 2013) is investigated to better understand the level of Māori participation. The voices of participants are woven into this chapter to ensure their voices and opinion are heard in this discussion

In Chapter five I unpack the values that are applied to state sponsored branding. Images from both TNZ and NZMT are analysed and compared to reveal how representation of Māori identities in tourism are constructed by colonial, masculine and Western discourses fuelled by binary thinking and tourist imaginings of the 'exotic other'. These constructions and representations are, in some ways, resisted by NZMT who present Māori delivering a variety of experiences images but continue to position tāne (men) as leaders. While participants felt proud of the representation of Māori identities and that it was important component of Māori tourism they also felt there was room for improvement and that contemporary Māori identities should be included in state sponsored branding.

Chapter six offers a further glimpse into the lives and experiences of Māori tourism providers. Participant narratives reveal the way Māori values construct their practices in tourism. In this chapter I explore how participants imagine and construct their identities. Values are discussed as a set of practices that enable participants to share and express Te Ao Māori in their work places. Participants are (re)constructing their individual and collective identities through preforming a multitude of practices which, at times, contests the discourses of state sponsored branding and planning policies of tourism institutions.

The final chapter is a synopsis of the central themes in this thesis. The chapter revisits the overarching objective, research questions and summarises the findings. I then go on to discuss the need for further research into the ways the moral terrains of Māori tourism are prescribed and resisted through a complex and

tangled web of values. I urge Māori geographers to continue to disrupt the essentialising discourses of hegemonic tourism in order to decolonise Aotearoa's tourism spaces. I close this thesis with a personal account of my journey back to my rohe for a tangihanga (funeral). This allows me to express not only why the research was an important personal journey but also why it is crucial for moral terrains Aotearoa's tourism spaces to receive a robust Māori geographical critique.

CHAPTER TWO

Māori Geographies of Tourism

> Our identities are shaped and constructed by historical, social,
> political and economic conditions and discourses; they are multiple
> and inexorably woven together (Hoskins 1997 30).

As research in academia moves away from being a solely Western construct Indigenous people across the world are in the midst of (re)claiming their voices and narratives. Māori lead research strives to validate diverse and often multiple 'cultural' contexts by negotiating and navigating the moral, cultural, traditional and contemporary spaces of both Western and Indigenous institutions. Finding a lens from which to analyse geographies of tourism as it is experienced by tangata whenua (people of the land) has always been a matter of concern for me. I struggle with the idea that a theory developed from a privileged (colonialist) position can explain the way tangata whenua experience life in a world full of complexities and often multiple inequalities. World views can overflow, in and out of local and national tourist geographies. As a Māori academic I feel the urgency to (re)validate Māori ways of creating geographical knowledge (Stokes 1987) in order for tourism research to have practical application for Indigenous developments in tourism. As discussed in Chapter One, this thesis explores Māori tourism in a way that critiques and disrupts Western styles of development and representations of Māori identities in tourism with an aim to give voice to Māori tourism perspectives and Māori tourism providers.

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Multiple realities also call for multiple perspectives. A combination of theories are woven into this research to explain the Indigenous experience in tourism from diverse Māori perspectives. The critical turn in geography advocates for researcher reflectivity when planning and conducting research. In this chapter I discuss my chosen theoretical framework which is guided by Kaupapa Māori and embraces mana wahine, post structuralism, feminist geography and post capitalism. I review literature on Māori tourism and draw on the geographical ideas of moral terrains. I then go on to discuss 'diverse economies' in order unpack the multitude of values that construct Aotearoa's Māori tourism industry and the experiences of those within this industry.

In Simmonds' (2009) thesis "Mana Wahine Geographies: Spiritual, Spatial and Embodied Understandings of Papatūānuku" she discusses weaving a kete (basket/kit) of theoretical tools to explore intersecting realities. She says:

> By engaging with multiple epistemologies I seek to disrupt the notion of a monolithic theory. In doing so, I promote the fluidity of theoretical (and disciplinary) boundaries to enable the complexities of intersecting subjectivities to be fully realised (Simmonds 2009 14).

As a weaver this resonates with me and allows me to visualise my theoretical framework as a holistic and Māori approach to research. Simmonds goes on to discuss her theoretical approach as a complex 'conceptual space' that allows her to draw from a number of theories to "tease out the complexities and inconsistencies" of contemporary experiences of Māori (Simmonds 2009 14). By

constructing my own kete of theoretical tools I explore the role of Māori values in Aotearoa's tourism. My research becomes a conceptual space where I first discuss moral terrains in order to understand how values contour and shape Aotearoa's tourism geographies and the experiences of Māori tourism providers. I then go on to discuss Kaupapa Māori as aho tapu (sacred thread) or a foundation of principles that guide the research and my research practices. Following this, mana wahine is explored to enable a deeper understanding of the ways Māori women are shaping the moral terrains of tourism. This is followed by a review of post structuralism and feminist geography informs the way I understand and deconstruct discourses found in textual and visual materials as well as interview and participant sensing data. Before I conclude this chapter I investigate post capitalist theories with an aim to better understand the complexities of a capitalist regime and the diverse economies it silences.

Aotearoa's moral terrains of tourism

To begin this section I give a brief explanation of my use of the term 'moral' before I discuss the moral terrains of tourism. 'Moral' can be defined as a set of principles that enable people to make decisions about what is right or wrong. From a geographical analysis, moral landscapes:

> 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 landscape is used to both prohibit and enable certain behaviour
> (Setten & Brown 2009 192).

Constructed by discursive values morals are part of complex and diverse social structures. Morals are a contentious component of societal life that muddies the paths of justice, equality, civil and environmental rights. In this thesis I understand 'moral terrains' as a tangle of values that are layered over the land, institutions, economic, cultural and political spaces and identities (Figueroa & Waitt 2008, Waitt Figueroa & McGee 2007). Applying this framework allows me to highlight the values that shape the way Aotearoa's tourism industry is engineered by government organisations and contested by Māori tourism providers.

Gordon Waitt, Robert Figureroa and Lana McGee's (2007) article "Fissures in the rock: Rethinking pride and shame in the moral terrains of Uluru" examines how non-Indigenous Australians negotiate the moral terrains of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Waitt et al 2007). The authors investigate how non-Indigenous domestic tourists make sense of their national belonging after touring the Park from a post colonial context (Waitt et al 2007). Twenty eight interviews were conducted with respondents who were mostly from middle-class backgrounds and Anglo-Celtic ethnicity (Waitt et al 2007).

The authors elaborated on non-dualist thinking to challenge the way destinations are perceived as scenic 'natural landscapes' "portrayed as untamed, chaotic, wild, pristine or virgin, which are integral to colonial systems of appropriation and as a way of denying the prior presence of Indigenous people" (Waitt et al 2007 251). Their use of 'moral terrains' enabled the authors to consider how non-Indigenous tourists' values and emotional responses of pride and shame shape their ideas of nationhood. This allowed them to examine the "embodied arm of

reconciliation" 'post' colonisation of Australia (Waitt et al 2007 261). The study revealed that the "moral gateways" remain closed to non-Indigenous domestic tourists who are impartial or reluctant to be challenged by Indigenous knowledges (Waitt et al 2007 261). They conclude that only those who acknowledge shame in living in a nation that cannot admit its dishonourable colonial past can pass through the moral gateway and begin the process of reconciliation (Wait et al 2007).

A geographical analysis of a 'moral terrain' expands theoretical boundaries by moving beyond the colonial conception of the landscape as passive and non-active to a more explicit focus on social justice and ethics (Figueroa & Waitt 2008, Grimwood 2011, Setten & Brown 2009). For tourists, landscapes require little more than a glance or view of what can be seen on the land, whereas a terrain is traversed and requires navigation at every twist and turn. While landscapes may be viewed as physical, political, cultural and economic spaces they are rarely 'viewed' as one complete picture. Phenomena is often thought of as occurring 'on' a landscape and analysis is viewed separately. For instance, when one has finished examining tourism's 'cultural' landscapes the economic landscapes of tourism may be analysed from a different, and somewhat, disconnected, platform. Each landscape offers a different view and is understood through the values of the observer.

The concept of 'terrain', however, is more likely to be imagined as a place contoured and shaped by all that transpires within that space. It becomes a space where what is seen is also experienced, felt and embodied (Figueroa & Waitt

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2008). When I think of space as moral terrain I imagine morals to be like a river that requires navigation to reach the other side. In some places the river flows gently while in other places the river gains volume and power, the water violently resists what lies beneath. Parts of the river are muddied by overuse, other parts are manipulated and damned and access is cut off. I imagine myself crossing this river to hauhake (harvest) my whenu (strands) I wish to weave into my theoretical kete. I perceive the metaphors of moral terrains and a theoretical kete as being closely linked. When I harvest my harakeke (New Zealand flax) I am intimately interacting with the land and its waters.

An examination of the moral terrains of tourism focuses on the nuanced ways tourism identities and destinations are experienced, sensed, shaped and resisted through a multitude of values and practices (Figueroa & Waitt 2008, Grimwood 2011). Applied to this study the moral terrains of tourism are examined through the kōrero (talk) of Māori tourism operators to better understand the various ways they imagine their identities and the way Māori tourism is represented. This allows for "epistemological certainties to be resisted, maintained or enlarged through affective, sensuous and place-based encounters" (Grimwood 2011 58).

Within a Kaupapa Māori framework, moral terrains offers an analysis that is capable of displacing the power of colonialism and capitalism by intentionally identifying and recognising diverse tourism interactions and transactions. Indigenous values and practices in tourism collide, at times, with Western perspectives which results in conflicting understandings and misrepresentation of identities. The terrains of Aotearoa's tourism are spaces where Māori tourism

providers, Te Ao Māori and governing institutional values intersect on the moral terrains of tourism. These are spaces where Māori tourism providers contest, contend and, at times, complement the representations of Māori culture and their identities.

Moral terrains are open to reinterpretation and disruptions (Figueroa & Waitt 2008). Knowledge produced by Māori involved in tourism is capable of reshaping moral terrains through voicing and expanding the reach of a discourse that is constructed by Māori. While the impacts of colonialism are fraught with continuing discriminations and inequalities that are in need of deconstruction, it is time to circulate the ways in which Māori are reclaiming their identities and leadership (Smith 2013) within and beyond tourism in Aotearoa.

Aho tapu: Kaupapa Māori

Figure 1: My first weaving wānanga (workshop). Image by me January 2005

It is important for the research to have a foundation or aho tapu (sacred thread). The design or pattern woven into a kete starts with the aho tapu. This whenu or strand is the foundation of the weaving pattern. If the location of this strand is lost the kete will become uneven and completion will be difficult. For me weaving has been a way for me to contest colonisation and find my way back to my whakapapa. The discovery of weaving was a spiritual and emotional experience as I found a sense of belonging and connection to other Māori women and my tīpuna. The process of weaving allows me to quietly sit with other Māori women and listen to their stories. Their knowledge is woven into each kete I make, and mine into theirs. This set the framework for how I wanted to carry out my research and interact with my participants.

The aho tapu, for this work, is Kaupapa Māori. This is the foundation of my kete or conceptual framework. I am constantly learning and I often struggle with feelings of self-doubt when writing about this approach. What I have found within this framework is a way for me to sit quietly, listen and share the power in shaping parts of the research and research questions with participants. Taking the time to sit and listen while others speak is an important principle in Kaupapa Māori and Fiona Cram (2001) states that listening is about "the importance of looking and listening so that you develop understandings and find a place from which to speak" (Cram 2001 44).

The aho tapu of my kete guides my research practices and interactions with participants. Traditionally some Māori knowledge was not accessible for every member of the community but it is still considered an essential component of

community life that enhances the well-being of whānau, hapū and iwi. Māori knowledge is a highly specialised taonga (treasure). Specialised knowledge is gifted to and constructed by members of communities who show aptitude in any of the three kete of knowledge (Cram 2001, Mead 2003). A Kaupapa Māori framework purports, first and foremost, that research be grounded in Māori values and worldviews. One way that mātatauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) is conceptualised is through the three kete obtained by Tāne: te kete tuatea (basket of light); te kete tuauri (basket of darkness); and te kete aronui (basket of pursuit) (Cram 2001). Research can be placed in te kete aronui as it can be described as a pursuit of knowledge. While I learn to weave a kete of theoretical tools this thesis is also a pursuit of knowledge about multiple and complex Māori tourism geographies.

Tourism sites are constructed by multiple realities. There are a number of 'cultural' influences that intersect and shape the lives of tangata whenua within tourism spaces. The social values of tangata whenua, tourists and government are complex and often conflicting. While tourism studies are beginning to research beyond marketing and economic scholarship (Molesdale 2012) few have considered the topic using a Kaupapa Māori framework. Kaupapa Māori considers cultural and spiritual values and practices when researching with Māori and it allows for the researcher to recognise the multiple realities of the participants and researcher (August 2005, Brown 2008, Simmonds 2009, Stokes 1987).

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's (1981) thesis '*The sociocultural impact of tourism on the Te Arawa people of Rotorua, New Zealand*' examines how five generations of a tribal community were affected by tourism in their rohe. The study presents an oral account of the community's insights, reactions and experiences. Te Awekotuku gives an ethnohistoric and contemporary account of the narratives of the Te Arawa iwi.

Te Awekotuku first started thinking about the topic of Māori tourism 1974. She then perceived Māori tourism as a "singularly malevolent influence of tourism in Takiwa Waiariki, the thermal regions" and intended to write a contentious account (Te Awekotuku 1981 1). The voices of the Te Arawa people told a different story claiming the tourism had a positive effects for many members of the iwi (Te Awekotuku 1981). She concludes:

> The Te Arawa response to the overbearing pressures of acculturation, and a clamouring colonist insistence on inherent Māori inferiority, was a cultural efflorescence and strengthening that was paradoxically stimulated, and reinforced, by perhaps the most decadent Pākehā institution of the day –tourism (Te Awekotuku 1981 296).

Te Awekotuku's (1981) research sites were located in Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu. She employed a number of information collecting methods. Interviews were unstructured preferring to let the participants tell their stories. Some participants refused to be recorded or to notes to be taken during interviews while a few relished the opportunity. Te Awekotuku presents her

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autoethnographical finding through a series of letters and research diary entries offering a reflective and passionate element to the thesis.

The study examines the exploitation of her people and their lands by Māori and Pākehā before considering and detailing the socioeconomic and 'cultural' development of tourism her rohe (Te Awekotuku 1981). Te Awekotuku examined women's performing arts and crafts. She shows that the Te Arawa iwi believe tourism helps keep some of their 'culture', arts and traditions alive (Te Awekotuku 1981). Te Awekotuku's (1981) thesis was a ground breaking research that acknowledges the leadership of women throughout Aotearoa's history of tourism.

In the article 'Rethinking Māori tourism' (McIntosh et al 2004) Māori values are discussed as a defining component in classifying what qualifies as a Māori tourism enterprise. Alison McIntosh, Frania Zygadlo and Hirini Matunga (2004) brings forth not only the issue of what constitutes Māori tourism but also highlights the need to first identify what social and cultural elements might be applied to defining Māori tourism. Deficiencies in the conceptual clarification of Māori tourism are noted as lacking information and empirical data on the level of participation of Māori in tourism (McIntosh et al 2004). It is suggested that an approach that moves towards capturing the more qualitative and holistic 'cultural' dimensions of Māori tourism based on a Māori value criteria is needed (McIntosh et al 2004). I argue that defining Māori tourism is dependent on the perspective from which it is viewed and values may differ in each rohe (region), hapū (sub tribe), iwi (tribe) and whānau (extended family). Kaupapa Māori allows for the

diverse values and morals of each iwi and hapū visited to be woven into the conceptual framework as defined by them (Cram 2001, Simmonds 2009, Smith 2012). Kaupapa Māori frameworks prescribes that a researcher follows the protocol of the Indigenous community being visited (Bishop 1999). This component of Kaupapa Māori allows research to go beyond hegemonic approaches and, when applied to critical tourism studies, it can also provide a framework that allows for social diversity in space and place to be recognised and valued.

As discussed in the introduction chapter Shirley Barnett's (2001) article "Mānakitanga: Māori hospitality – a case study of Māori accommodation providers" argued that Māori accommodation providers were an important part of the Māori tourism industry that were being marginalised because they did not fit into classifications of Māori tourism. During the study the author had sent questionnaires to 53 Māori accommodation providers and received 20 replies from respondents. Fourteen of those provided a variety of Māori experiences (Barnett 2001). In "Table 1: Overview of 14 respondents who provide a Māori experience" one respondent replied: "The Māori experience is me" (Barnett 2001 88). While this reply is included in the list, it was not discussed. A reply such as this indicates an expression of their embodied identity in tourist experiences and as a defining component of Māori tourism. I felt this was an interesting reply and one that, in my mind, disrupts the way Māori tourism is hegemonically categorised and represented. It seems that this respondent felt the Māori experience was not only a set of definitive 'cultural' performances and practices but also an intimate interaction between people.

The importance of these intimate tourism interactions was made clearer to me in an article by Alison J. McIntosh (2003) 'Tourist' appreciation of Māori culture in New Zealand'. This study examined tourist motivations and experiences in Māori tourism. What the study found was that the majority of tourists surveyed enjoyed Māori tourism and felt that they had gained an appreciation of Māori culture (McIntosh 2003). Many had also felt they would have preferred more interactions with Māori in everyday spaces (McIntosh 2003). To me this exposes the need to represent contemporary identities of Māori involved in tourism. It seems that the tourists involved in this study were unaware that Māori people inhabit every day, modern and contemporary spaces within Aotearoa. They would have been interacting with Māori on a daily basis throughout their vacation, at the airport, border control, adventure tourism, skiing, accommodation, shops, bars and restaurants for example, but because of the historical and traditional representation of Māori tourism identities, tourists remained oblivious to the contemporary lives of Māori.

Another article that examines Māori tourism is Kjell Olsen's (2008) article "The Māori of tourist brochures representing Indigenous". The article argues that while Māori as a "tourist attraction" are being represented as both modern and traditional they are excluded from diverse tourism experiences (Olsen 2008 162). I was shocked to find that Māori people are still being imagined, described and researched as "a tourist product" (Olsen 2008 162). I draw attention to the author's use of language when discussing Māori involvement in tourism as "traditional attractions" (Olsen 2008 162). Olsen (2008) also suggests that the

representation of Māori in tourism brochures is "mainly self-representation" (Olsen 2008 162).

I argue that the representation of Māori identities in tourism are also prescribed and maintained by state sponsored branding that is informed by colonial, Western and masculine discourses. There was little effort to define or spell te reo correctly and the poi (a light ball swung during a dance performance) was described as "a women's dance performed with feathers" (Olsen 2008 165). The article maintains colonial and patriarchal representations of Māori by labelling them as an 'attraction' and 'product' for tourism consumption rather than a group of people who are still struggling to gain control of the way Māori identities are represented on the global tourism stage. While this article supported the need for Māori tourism to diversify the range of tourism experiences the language used in relation to Māori is an important reminder of why it is important that Indigenous academics engage in tourism research.

Aho whāngai: mana wahine

In this theoretical kete the multiple realities and identities found in tourism geographies are constructed through relationships of power, governance and discourse. By examining gendered power relations in tourism I am able to re-weave a kete of tourism knowledge in a way that is supported by mana wahine (Māori women's discourses), feminist geographies and diverse economies. Tourism discourses are gendered and racialised by historical and contemporary political, cultural and economic forces. The Māori political movement is an

ongoing push to break down inequalities and essentialising discourses (Johnson & Pihama 1995).

While, on the one hand, power relations within tourism geographies prescribing not only where and what tourism is developed, produced and consumed (Tucker 2007, Williams 2009), power relations are also prescribing who is administrating policies and branding (Frolick & Johnston 2011). On the other hand, the whenu represents Māori women's experience in developing and leading tourism. Mana wahine established on the aho tapu or foundations of Kaupapa Māori allows for research to explore the unique experiences and perspectives of wāhine providing "a much needed theoretical framework that enables Māori women to (re)define and (re)present our lived realities on our own terms" (Simmonds 2014 5). In this research a mana wahine framework is imperative to disrupt masculine and colonial representations of wāhine (women) and to continue to strengthen the voices of Māori women who lead Māori tourism. A mana wahine framework makes space for multiple realities within the research context (Simmonds 2009). There is a need to continuously engage with the ever-changing cultural, social and political needs of Māori women (Hoskins 1997, Johnson & Pihama 1995, Smith 2012) and is an ongoing concern in today's political climate (Simmonds 2014, Smith 2013).

Patriarchal and masculine social structures of colonialism and capitalism have and still are rearranging Māori social systems (Johnson & Pihama 1995). Constructing contemporary, in terms of traditional Māori social structures, forms of social, economic, political ways of being and imagining Māori identities (Hoskins 1997).

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A mana wahine framework enables the researcher to explore who is mobilising dominant discourses in tourism (Hoskins 1997). While my topic is not solely based on the experiences of Māori women I found that the number of wāhine involved in tourism was relatively high in the spaces I visited. The research revealed that wāhine are dynamic actors in tourism spaces. Indeed, Māori women are participating in cultural and political leadership and play a fundamental role in maintaining, (re)constructing and transmitting Māori culture (Hoskins 1997). A mana wahine analysis positions Māori women as central to the research, therefore disrupting the notion of minority groups in the margins (Johnson & Pihama 1995). Mana wahine is the aho whāngai (the thread that nurtures) enabling a re-weaving of power relations in the kete that holds tourism discourses. A mana wahine framework applied as the aho whāngai will allow for social discourse about Māori identities, wāhine in particular, to be untangled and rewoven through identifying and deconstructing power relations in Aotearoa's tourism spaces.

Globalisation is continuing to reproduce and reform colonial practices and therefore also continues the uneven distribution of resources and power (Smith 2013). Māori women in academia are continuing to challenge Eurocentric thinking by producing research that disrupts the hegemonic, colonial and masculine values that have been imposed on wāhine (August 2005). Māori geographies and mana wahine traverse the diverse contours of Aotearoa's moral terrains. This offers a view of "Māori spaces that is intimately sensed and experienced from the heart of tangata whenua" (Stokes 1987 121). Evelyn Stokes (1985) underlined the need for robust research methodologies that positions Māori knowledges at the centre of Māori research. Māori women's voices have been

silenced resulting in the marginalisation of mana wahine and a constant struggle to "find ourselves within the texts of the dominant group" (Pihama 2001 234).

Hāpine: Making the strands of power pliable

To hāpine (to scrape and make pliable) strands of power, post structuralism and feminist geographic analysis is applied to tourism policies and lived realities. This theoretical framework enables the researcher to address and deconstruct the political language of leadership and partnerships found in Aotearoa's tourism discourses (Frolick & Johnston 2011). To make the whenu pliable I must first run each strand along the firm, fine edge of my hāpine knife. Each time I do this I aim to temper the nuanced way power is developed and maintained so it becomes less dominated by capitalist, colonialist and masculine discourses. Post structural feminism is concerned with the way power is established or maintained through the language of discourse in tourism (Frohlick & Johnston, 2011, Johnston, 2005).

Values are constructed in the language of research, development models and promotion of tourism. Post structuralism and feminist geography approaches to research are useful for unpacking the language of power that pushes minority groups to the periphery leadership. Power relations found in tourism production and consumption may be critiqued as capable of prescribing not only destinations but also tourist practices and behaviours (Frolick & Johnston 2011, Tucker 2007, Williams 2009). Scientific knowledge based on empirical findings is often analysed from a Western, and masculine platform and it is argued that knowledge about tourism cannot be objective and that totalising grand theories used to

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construct tourism knowledge is subjective, created by the effects and affects of power located in and through space (Heimtum & Morgan 2012).

A feminist reading of tourism geographies allows for Western, hierarchical and disembodied masculinist knowledge to be dismantled (Johnston 2001). Johnston (2001 181) states that "too often tourism research is presented is methodologically precise and statistically impeccable but otherwise disembodied". Feminist geographers provide a critical and excellent lens for disrupting hegemonic, masculine and disembodied Western discourses with an aim to empower minority and marginalised groups to reconstruct their histories, knowledge and self-determination (Simmonds 2009). Kaupapa Māori, mana wahine and feminist geographical frameworks strive to build researcher and participant relationships based on collaboration, reciprocity and advocacy in an attempt to break down longstanding inequalities constructed on the moral terrains of tourism in Aotearoa.

Weaving Māori values into diverse economic spaces

In this section I consider the discursive economic values that shape Aotearoa's tourism industry. Diverse Māori production and economic systems were disassembled during early colonialism in an aim for capitalist expansion of settler economies and (mis)appropriation of Māori lands (Stokes 1987). Economic spaces are complex and dynamic and embedded with a multitude of values, practices and power that shape the moral terrains of tourism. While I feel it is imperative to better understand the economic discourses that drive state policy writing and branding I also want to highlight the way Māori tourism providers are already exercising diverse economic practices. Examining diverse economic

practises within tourism spaces is thought provoking because tourism is considered a colonial invention that is driven by both social and financial capital gain (Molesdale 2012). How then can an economic practice such as tourism contain anything but a capitalist perspective? Tourism is consumed by those who have disposable income and serviced by those who seek to make a profit (d'Hauteserre, 2004). The discursive forces of capitalism are in need of critique and disruption (Gibson-Graham 2006, Le Heron 2009, Molesdale 2012, Smith 2013). While the confines of this research do not make space for unpacking the histories of Māori as tourists the notion of tourism may also be disrupted when we consider the touristic experiences of Māori 'pre-colonisation'.

Tourism developmental discourse and practices can be capable of continuing inequalities that are powered by economic and political global forces. In order to disrupt the single story of capitalism in tourism development I apply Gibson-Graham's (2006) post capitalist perspective to the way Māori are practicing and developing tourism. My 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 Gibson-Graham's (2006) 'Post Capitalist Politics' the authors discuss diverse economies as a way to explore different ways of negotiating consumerism, different ways of performing economic transactions and diverse forms of enterprise. The authors state that capitalism and economic theory serves privileged political forces and that to change the uneven distribution of wealth we must first understand it (Gibson-Graham 2006).

Capitalism is an approach to organising the commodification of goods and services and is motivated by placing value in monetary profit and wealth accumulation (Le Heron 2009). Alternatives to financial capitalism are often meet with scepticism because market economies are so deeply embedded in our everyday spaces as a 'reality' effecting hegemonic thinking that there is no alternative (Gibson-Graham 2006, Molesdale 2012). Much of the world's societies can imagine no other possibility to organising, describing and measuring economic value and practices (Gibson-Graham 2006). People are now starting to contest this discourse in many spaces. Tourism landscapes and cultures have become commodities to be traded within a global market which results in the mobilisation of wealth and political power (Molesdale 2012). In other words tourism spaces are, at the same time, prescribed or proscribed by those who hold both political and economic power. State strategies for increasing tourism development is grounded in economic classification of what and who is of value. Capitalism "occupies a privileged position in the language of social representation" (Gibson-Graham 2006 1).

Examining diverse economic practices in tourism enables the dominance and single story of capitalism to be questioned (Molesdale 2012). Through acknowledging and examining the diverse economic practices of Māori tourism providers I upset the historic, contemporary, colonial, masculine, essentialising and capitalist discourses by discussing practices that are void of solely monetary exchanges. Practices such as free home sharing, tangata whenua discounts and collective development strategies are examples of the nuanced ways in which Māori are (re)shaping the moral terrains of tourism. By weaving value into non-

monetary transactions in tourism I displace the dominance of a capitalist perspective and demonstrate diverse economies with Māori tourism.

Conclusion

For reasons discussed above a combination of theories and literature from across disciplines are explored to understand the way Māori tourism is constructed and experience. While some literature suggests definition of what can be considered as Māori tourism what remains is a, somewhat, essentialising and homogenising classification of Māori tourism. A review of tourism literature reveals that, in some cases, research continues to maintain colonial and patriarchal discourses.

While mana wahine and feminist geography frameworks inform the analysis involved in this research a Kaupapa Māori framework guides all elements – including how the research engages with post structuralism, moral terrains, post capitalism, the delivery of methods and the way I interact with participants. This will allow for Māori values and practices to remain in the forefront (Brown 2008, Simmonds 2009). By weaving the moral terrains of tourism and post capitalism into my theoretical framework I am better equipped to understand how values and principles shape the daily experiences of Māori tourism providers. These are my tools for unravelling the subtle and not so subtle entangled strands of power found in the language of Aotearoa's tourism geographies.

CHAPTER THREE

Mōhio hauhake: Constructing and connecting research design and methods

> For if we are to reclaim the truth of what is us, if we are to bequeath
>
> to our mokopuna a world in which they can stand tall as Māori, then
>
> we have to reclaim the right to define for ourselves who we are, and
>
> what our rights are. We have to challenge definitions that are not
>
> our own, especially those which confine us to a subordinate place
>
> (Jackson 1998 73)

A qualitative methodology alongside Kaupapa Māori is utilised in this research to ensure the social, cultural and spiritual values of the participants remain at the forefront of my research design (Bishop 1999, Jennings 2010). Moana Jackson (1998) defines qualitative research as a search for 'qualities' and that Māori research not only requires practical application but must have benefits for the communities the researcher visits. During the initial research design I decided I wanted to go beyond Aotearoa's internationally recognised Māori tourism centres (for example, Rotorua) in order to draw attention to the diverse and unique ways Māori are involved in tourism. While traditional performances are an important component of the Māori experience in tourism, I felt that exploring the diverse ways in which Māori tourism providers are constructing multiple forms of tourism in a variety of regions will not only encourage further geographical scholarship but also widen the scope and possibilities for Māori tourism providers. In this chapter methods of inquiry are woven together to form a framework that allows

for Māori tourism providers' experiences to be brought to the foreground by examining the research questions - How do values shape the moral terrains of Māori tourism? How is Māori tourism constructed through state sponsored branding and polices? How and in what ways do Māori tourism providers (re)construct their places and identities through practicing Māori values in Aotearoa?

Choosing an appropriate methodology is essential to preserving the sacredness of the information shared throughout the research process (Hall 2012). As discussed in Chapter Two a combination of theoretical frameworks shape the qualitative methodology of this thesis. A qualitative methodology - guided by Kaupapa Māori - ensures the values, principles and practices of participants are honoured and respected. In Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1994) chapter 'On tricky ground: Researching the native in the age of uncertainty' she describes Kaupapa Māori aims as a methodological approach that requires "consciously employing a set of arguments, principles, and frameworks that relate to the purpose, ethics, analysis and outcomes for the research" (Smith 1994 90). To me this means that the research framework must reflect the values and world views of the participants in order for outcomes to be effective and useful.

Information gathering involves complex and dynamic power relations between the researcher and participants (Simmonds 2009). As a Māori researcher I am responsible for more than simply 'recording' the stories of the people I connect with. Smith notes:

For Indigenous researchers, sharing is about demystifying

knowledge and information and speaking in plain terms to the

community (Smith 2012 162).

I must be accountable for the knowledge I produce, the way in which I represent

participants and for dissemination of the results. Participatory practices are

applied to allow participants to articulate their concerns and opinions on what they

think is central to their experience in Aotearoa's tourism spaces.

Tourism touches my everyday spaces in a multitude ways. I live in a small coastal

tourism town on the central west coast of Aotearoa's North Island. Because

tourism in my home spaces has both positive and negative impacts for tangata

whenua I feel it is imperative to develop an understanding of Māori tourism

experience in tourism.

Throughout the chapter guiding methodologies are woven together with the

following methods of enquiry: semi-structured interviews; participant sensing;

autoethnography; and, discourse analysis. I first introduce my research whānau

(extended family) as a group of kuia and kaumātua (women and men elders) who

guided my personal development and through some of the ethical components of

my research and design. The research whānau has become a social, educational

and spiritual space where we, as a whānau, shape and discuss my topic, methods

and research practices. I then go on to discuss the research spaces before

reflecting on the interview process, participant sensing and experiences. Three

regions were visited: northern: coastal: central and 11 interviews were conducted.

Consent was requested through face to face contact and emails. I interacted with approximately 70 people during the course of this research.

In the last section I discuss my approach to the analysis of Aotearoa's state sponsored tourism planning and branding. Indigenous theorisation is crucial for "negotiating Indigenous enmeshment" in larger social systems and governing institutions (Hoskins 2012 90). A comparative study of two policy documents - at times conflicting approaches to tourism development in Aotearoa - highlights the contradictory ways Māori in tourism are positioned as partners in tourism leadership roles, or not.

Learning and listening: The research whānau

My research design involved developing a research whānau to ensure the ethics, values and morals of the rohe I visit remained at the forefront of my research design. A research whānau is a space for members of rohe (tribal lands), hapū (sub tribe) and scholars to come together to mutually construct and guide the research design, practices and questions (Bishop 1999, Brown 2008, Simmonds 2009). The research whānau played a crucial role in guiding my ethical processes and the way I approached the research. As a location for communication, sharing understandings and meanings the research whānau allows members to discuss not only desired research outcomes but also how information is gathered and approaches to participants (Bishop 1999, Brown 2009, Cram 2001). The purpose of a research whānau was to develop not only a support system, where I can seek advice and guidance, but it also a space where tourism could be discussed hence potentially strengthening local knowledge about tourism in their rohe. This was a

place where the possible outcomes of the research could be discussed. Requesting iwi, rohe and hapū members to be a part of my research whānau allowed me to connect to my research community and with tangata whenua in my home spaces on a deeper level. Lines were blurred between conventional styles of academic support and supervision, researcher and participant relationships (Simmonds 2014).

I initially made contact with a local kaiarataki (leader) about my research and asked for advice about approaching the local hapū to discuss my research. We met over coffee and he seemed interested in research that included Māori leading tourism. He felt tourism was something in the rohe that would be of benefit to the Māori community and that representation of Māori in tourism needed critiquing. Members of his marae had discussed the possibilities of tourism development and he felt they may be interested to know how other Māori are developing tourism. I was eventually invited to attend a weekly kaumātua hui (elder meeting) to present my research. This opened the kōrero up to discuss feelings and opinions about tourism research in their area and I was then able to request consent to begin gathering information in their rohe.

Researching in my home community meant I was entering the marae space as a Māori academic and researcher, not the familiar face they see in the supermarket or school, at the pub, tangihanga (funeral) or at birthdays. I felt very nervous presenting to the kaumātua. I had met the ethical requirements of the university but I had yet to gain the approval of the people I shared my everyday spaces with. I was concerned they would think I was just another outsider coming in to

misappropriate their knowledge because I could also be considered an outsider as I had only lived in the area for nine years and my rohe is located in the Far North.

The group consisted of approximately 25 people and ranged from mostly wahine aged from 40 to 80 years old. Some of the hui were attended by many members while on other occasions attendance dropped to around fifteen. Tāne attendance fluctuated between 2 and 5 and their ages ranged from 40 to 76 years of age. I tried to attend as many hui as possible which has resulted in my attending 18 of the weekly hui over a period of 12 months. My attendance at kaumātua and kuia meetings is ongoing. This not only continues my personal development but ensures the relationships between myself, as a researcher, are maintained. Research relations with Indigenous that are ongoing are better equipped to ensure researcher accountability and in safeguarding against the (mis)appropriation and exploitation of knowledges and resources (Mead 2006). Not all research whānau members participated in the information gathering process but all contributed at different times. The whānau offered valuable guidance on designing my research questions, how to approach research participants and the dissemination of findings. Many members have offered interesting concepts of how tourism can be defined and how Māori are performing tourism. Participatory practices allowed for the concerns of the people I interacted with to be involved in the shaping of my research (Wulff 2010).

My position as researcher was not confined to when I was interviewing or actively taking part in a tourism venture. I was participating as a member of whānau, not connected by whakapapa (ancestry) but through the sharing of everyday spaces

and as Māori. Values such as whakawhānaungatanga (to make and maintain relationships) speak of an interconnectedness within whānau that is determined by Te Ao Māori (Māori world view), place and whakapapa (Bishop 1999, Simmonds 2009). This, for me at least, places a value in my research that is not often afforded by Western approaches to information collection. As tangata whenua we are bound to our whānau by more than blood or DNA: we are bound by whakapapa, waka, tīpuna and place. We are interconnected through social and environmental spaces that are, at times, constructed by our lived experience in place. Through the guidance of kaumātua and kuia I ensured I was conducting research that is approved of, and shaped by the tangata whenua of my home spaces. Attending the kaumātua and kuia hui has become an ongoing practice which is now an important part of my life outside the academy. Through this experience I am not only learning more about my whakapapa and myself I have also found somewhere to learn about and share in Te Ao Māori. One of the aims of this weekly hui is to ensure the elders of the hapū are cared for and supported. News of hapū members' well-being is reported and visits to unwell members are scheduled into their week.

During the first hui I attended I delivered what felt like a very stifled and rushed kōrero. As I verbalised my pepeha (ancestry) for the first time on a marae, I felt the te reo hesitant on my tongue which only fuelled my nervousness. I presented my research aims and objectives to an audience that I felt were pivotal to the ethical success of my research. I asked kaumātua and kuia for approval to gather information because, to me, it is their ethics and approval that matters the most. The kōrero that followed was positive and diverse, permission was given to gather

information in their rohe. The group told stories and talked of how some tourism is capable of resulting in the misappropriation of wāhi tapu (scared lands) and cultural knowledges. They also spoke about how marae practices are sometimes relaxed to make allowances for non-Māori. We then turned to how tourism might be enhanced based on hapū values and ethics to maintain and enforce marae protocol. These concepts became ongoing discussions as I shared my research experience throughout the duration of my research.

I also had the opportunity to experience tourism with my research whānau. Kaumātua and kuia would regularly travel outside the rohe to exhibitions held by Māori artists and we shared our Christmas dinner aboard a harbour cruise. It was during these times that I was able get a glimpse of the unique way Māori travel within Aotearoa's tourism spaces. There was much discussion about how and when Māori are tourists travelling within Aotearoa. Most kuia felt that when they travelled to see whānau, attended tangi and marae functions they were practicing tourism. From this discussion the whānau gave me the term 'kaitāpoi' to describe the Māori domestic tourist. As we travelled out of, and within, our home spaces stories of ancestors were told alongside stories of injustices and lost lands.

When I returned from my field trip in the north I presented some of my findings at a hui. I told the story of my journey to the research whānau and asked an ethical question. As I had travelled from the north east coast to the north west coast Māori tourism providers told me stories about their rohe, about the rohe I had just left or the one I was going to. To me these stories and the sharing of them was a taonga (gift) which I felt honoured to receive. While they provide me with an

intimate understanding of the places I visited I felt I needed guidance before I chose to write about the stories I had been told on my journey. I asked my research whānau if re-telling those stories was appropriate. I felt uncomfortable with the idea of using the stories in my research and this was confirmed by members of the whānau. These multiple and diverse stories about the past and the present, tangata and whenua embedded intimate meanings on to the landscape of my journey. The land became coloured with characters who I imagined as leaders and rebels. Stories would start with "The river is like that because our ancestors….." or "That area is wāhi tapu and the people there…." As a geographer I felt these stories were meaningful examples of how Māori relate to their environment. I felt, however, the stories were gifted to me for my personal journey not for analysis in my research. As kaitāpoi, storytelling made my journey an intimate experience with the tangata and the whenua.

The voices of my research whānau have played an important role in weaving my kete of methods guiding my research questions, ethics and practices. Participatory practices can be seen as an opportunity for the researcher to experience change and growth (Loppie 2007, Wulff 2010). During hui I experienced feelings of belonging and connectedness. There was time set aside for learning and translation of mōteatea (traditional chants). At times my response to waiata was emotional and my eyes would fill with tears. These are emotional responses which, at times, I also experience in certain places, on land and in forests here in Aotearoa and abroad. These, somewhat, embarrassing displays of emotion are related to embodied ways of "knowing the land" (Waitt et al 2007 249). The spatial, social, imagined and spiritual arrangement of Māori tourism spaces are

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moral terrains that can affect an intense emotional response. While the confines of this thesis does not present space for an analysis of an emotional response to land I feel it is an interesting phenomena and I wonder if and how other people experience emotion in place.

By applying a participatory approach to the research design I was able to open up the research context to honour and respect the social and spiritual values of the people I interacted with (Loppie 2007, Wulff 2010). Challenges I faced were discussed in depth both in the academy and at kaumātua and kuia hui. Connecting with kaumātua and kuia to develop a research whānau has also encouraged hapū members to discuss, in an ongoing forum, tourism that shapes their everyday spaces and consider how Māori values can be embedded into any form of tourism. In many ways I, as a researcher and personally, have experienced empowerment through connecting, listening and learning during participating within my research whānau. It has also opened up the issues of Māori tourism to be discussed and (re)considered by my research whānau.

Kaitāpoi: Places visited and participant sensing

In the design of my research methods I initially considered participant observation methods but felt I wanted to interact with Māori tourism providers on a more intimate and connected level. Rather than merely observing from outside 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, Xiuming & Whitson 2014). It also ensures researcher reflectivity is practiced. Sensing implies scrutiny of one's feelings.

One of the impetus for my location in the discipline of tourism geographies is because of my love of travel. Travelling within Aotearoa is rewarding and I learn more about myself each time I do so. In this section I reflect on the tourism spaces I visited. My research was designed to examine diversity in Māori tourism. Māori tourism providers deliver many kinds of experiences but it seems that it is mostly Māori traditional performances that are acknowledged in state sponsored branding. In some ways this pushes and confines Māori tourism providers to the marginal spaces of traditional performance tourism. There are few academic studies of Māori tourism and most consider the staged performances of historical Māori culture and traditions. There is a dire need to voice the ways in which Māori are delivering tourism in a multitude of tourism developments. My research does not compare experiences nor place judgement on the way Māori heritage is performed. I did not visit nor take part in the popular traditional performances of Māori tourism experiences. I travelled to places that were of interest to me, ones that were Māori owned and operated and outside of the 'well known' Māori tourism circuit (as Table 1 shows).

Table 1: Research sites

Landscape	Tourism	Māori Led Activities
Northern Rivers Beaches Forests	Accommodation Animal Camping Kai (food) Tramping Museums	Hotel, cabins, artists, adventure, education, healers, animal tourism, hapū collaboration. Horses, bird watching and protection, DOC, non-human relations. Adventure, accommodation, Whenua (land) relations, local Māori youth interactions Kai moana (seafood), home products, honey, Rongoā (medicine), kaumātua and kuia interactions Guided, creation stories, ancestors, whenua relationships, local, whakapapa connection Historical, colonial, settler
Central Lakes Urban Forests	Accommodation Museums Tramping Water sports	Camping, homestays hapū collaboration, travelling with whānau, non-human relations, DOC Traveling with Kaumātua and kuia, artists, Māori stories of land and ancestors. Whenua, pet relations, whānau and whenua interactions. Whānau interaction, adventure
Coastal Harbours Beaches	Accommodation Cruise tourism Water sports	Homestays, Hotel, cabins, hapū collaboration, Traveling with Kaumātua and kuia, Māori stories of land and ancestors, whenua interaction Whānau and whenua interactions, adventure, kai moana, fishing.

The table above lists the regions I collected information. It also provides a view

into the diverse ways Māori provide and practice tourism. Participant sensing was

applied to eight different tourist experiences on twelve separate occasions. Two of these – harbour cruise tourism and museum exhibition - were spent traveling with the research whānau. Three with immediate whānau – camping, tramping, and water sports. An important part of our family life is to travel beyond our home spaces for tramping and camping. Often these journeys include water sports such as jet skiing, surfing, swimming and fishing. Travelling with whānau took place in central and coastal spaces while, in the North I attended six tourism experiences alone which involved animal tourism (horse riding), hotel accommodation, tramping and camping, kai and a museum.

Participant sensing took place in northern, coastal and central areas of Aotearoa. As kaitāpoi I took part in activities that included animal tourism, local cuisine, camping, high end accommodation, tramping, souvenir shopping, museums, a harbour cruise and visited information sites. I had conversations with approximately 70 people, 24 were Māori involved in delivering tourism and 29 kaitāpoi, six non-Māori tourism providers and 11 non-Māori tourists. These were informal conversations that evolved from introducing myself as a Māori geographer researching Māori values in tourism. My body, whakapapa and identity is woven into my tourist and research experiences. Whakapapa is a fundamental constituent of Kaupapa Māori and can provide a pathway to participant recruitment (Simmonds 2009). Two of the participants and I were connected by whakapapa - one was a direct relative while the other was an unknown connection until I shared my whakapapa during a tourist experience. While the others and I were not connected through ancestry the way I included my whakapapa in my introduction of myself and my research impacted on the way I

was received. This may have led Māori tourism providers to feel that, because of my Māori identity, we shared "points of sameness" (Simmonds 2009 42).

Participant sensing requires set of social skills that enables the researcher to 'fit in' and negotiate relationships and space (Walsh 2009). During the information gathering process the social, physical, emotional, spiritual and intimate interactions and responses I experienced were shaped by my position as a Māori researcher and as kaitāpoi. I felt it was crucial to move away from Western, positivist, colonialist and masculine research methods that prescribe observation of Māori led tourism experiences from a supposedly neutral and objective platform (Simmonds 2009).

Kaitāpoi: Autoethnography

Autoethnography is a method which enables the researcher to reflect on and record a shared experience in two different ways (Besio 2009). Autoethnography requires the researcher to reflect on their positionality and experience but it can also be a vehicle for researchers to strategically contest dominant discourse (Butz & Besio 2004). It is important to acknowledge the relationships between all participants and the spaces where interactions took place. Autoethnography combined with other methods that represents other actors may enable deeper understanding of a phenomena to be reached (Jennings 2010, Sarantakos 1998). It allows for the sensual and emotional experience of the researcher to be incorporated into the research (Besio 2009, Spry 2001, Walsh 2009). Cultural, spiritual, environmental and social values included in the delivery of a tourist experience were noted in a research diary order to reflect on the research

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process. Employing methods that involve the researcher becoming embedded in a tourist experience can allow for interactions and behaviours of resistance and/or collaboration to be identified by noting any changes in the performances of each actor (Tucker 2007). For some people practising tourism may be one of the most accessible paths to discovering their Indigenous roots. It may be that when some people travel they experience a connection with similar groups on a global scale who share social and environmental values. By analysing my own experience as kaitāpoi with feelings of being a 'disconnected' member of iwi I hope to gain a better understanding of how (and if) tourism can be experienced as 'a way home' for the tourist.

I am emotionally invested in this experience in the way that I search and long to connect with my whakapapa, iwi and hapū. This last component raised another question for future studies – what are the possibilities for Māori led tourism to be a vehicle for kaitāpoi to (re)discover and interact with their whakapapa and whenua? I went through the research process I found many complex and interesting ways in which Māori are interconnecting with each other and the land through Aotearoa's Māori tourism practices and spaces.

Researcher openness and self-disclosure facilitates mutuality during the information collecting processes ensuring the diverse cultural aspirations of participants are represented in the research process by remaining respectful, open and honest (Bishop 1999). Rather than observing the performances of Māori tourism providers I examined my tourist experience as kaitāpoi reflecting on my emotional responses as I connected and interacted with the human and non-

human. My presence as an overt researcher and kaitāpoi influenced the way the tourism experience unfolded. Consent from management and tour guides was sought prior to my participation. This research did not consider or measure the quality or satisfaction in tourists' experiences but intended to understand how Māori engage their values in a multiple of tourism experiences. While this is useful in developing an understanding about how Māori values are integrated into tourism, findings may also be helpful for management and development purposes. Bringing the Māori experience to the foreground of tourism research in Aotearoa further disrupts hegemonic tourism discourses making room for diverse representations of Māori tourism.

Research conversations

Interviews were conducted with Māori involved in a wide variety of tourism development throughout northern, central and coastal areas of Aotearoa. At times, field sites were identified as central/coastal, northern/coastal or northern/central. The locations where interviews took place are not named in my thesis to ensure participants, iwi, rohe and hapū identities remain anonymous and confidential. Participants were give a pseudonym to protect their identities. Some of the tourist areas I visited were made up of small close knit communities and I felt it was important for these communities to be protected by anonymity and confidentiality. This has been one of the challenges I faced in the writing about my findings. How do I discuss analysis on a geographical scale if the research analysis does not name the location? This became an ongoing discussion for the research whānau and a challenge that applies to the weaving of interviews into my methods of enquiry. Kaumātua and kuia felt it was crucial that participants and rohe remain

confidential so that they could speak freely without fear of being identified in the final report. The outcome was that the analysis of interviews would not be connected to a specific place.

I performed a total of 11 interviews with seven wāhine (women) and two tāne (men) all were tourism providers and their ages ranged from 30 to 75. In the spaces I visited it seemed that women working in tourism were active in leadership roles. Six of these interviews were conducted in the central/coastal region and one in the northern/coastal and one in the northern/central regions. Three participants were also part of my research whānau. Two wahine were kaitāpoi they were interviewed in the northern/coastal region and in their early twenties. Participants chose the location of the interviews which resulted in two interviews in participants home spaces, three were conducted in the tourism work places while one interview took place at the location of a homestay. This last interview meant that the location was both a home space and a work place.

Requesting interviews was made through local connections or while participating as kaitāpoi. All but one of these interviews were initiated through face to face contact first and then organised through email contact. What I found was that my requests for interviews was better received through face to face meetings (Cram 2001). It allowed respondents to get a feel for my intentions. Sometimes when I made email contact my request would be considered but not always followed up, two requests received no response at all. I found that when I approached participants with my physical presence and whakapapa showing an interest in what they do, participants seemed better equipped to make a decision about being

a part of my research. Decision making may have been based on a reading of my body and my whakapapa. While this may have been the case, stating my whakapapa also brings with it a responsibility on my part, as the researcher, to remain accountable (Simmonds 2014).

Interviews were semi-structured and followed the flow of conversation. This meant that while the interview was guided by a set of questions it was not restricted by only discussing what was listed as relevant to my research topic. It allowed participants to discuss what they valued in tourism, to focus on what was relevant for them and for the process of conversation to evolve around participant's narratives and opinions (Mead 2003). The interview questions (see appendices one and two) were only a guideline for kōrero. This allowed participants to determine and define what aspects of tourism they wished to focus on. Flexibility in the interview process was crucial to enable unique strands or themes to unfold during the interview process. This approach allows the information gathering process "to hold fiercely to the lived and embodied experience of the participants" (Simmonds 2009 44).

Interviews were conducted in mainly in English because I can only speak and understand a very small amount of te reo (Māori language). Some te reo, however, was included when discussing Māori values or Te Ao Māori because English terminology cannot always describe specific Māori cultural and spiritual meanings. Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and participants were informed of their right to decline from having their interview recorded and/or to stop the audio-recording at any time during the interview. Transcripts were also

made available to participants. Data was analysed by noting recurring themes. Findings are analysed from the combination of theories and methodologies discussed in chapter two that respects Māori knowledge and experience giving their kōrero legitimacy and validity (Cram 2001). It is intended that this research will continue Māori and Indigenous efforts to maintain and control autonomy of tourism development and research, intellectual property and maintain cultural well-being.

Unpacking Māori tourism discourse

Critical tourism studies can provide a platform from which to view cross-cultural patterns of (mis)communication (Te Awekotuku 1981). An integral component of this research is to examine and critique Aotearoa's tourism development strategies and Māori representation in state sponsored branding. A discourse analysis was applied to state policies and imagery that untangles hegemonic and masculine discourses that maintain political arrangements of power and oppression (Berg 2009). It is noted that the Māori population is still experiencing marginalisation and inequalities (Smith 2013) while other scholars say Māori have gained a degree of political recognition not often afforded other Indigenous peoples (Paora et al 2011, Olsen 2009). Inequalities, however, for the less privileged in Aotearoa are increasing and will have long term consequences (Smith 2013). Discourses rely on the power to define what truths are real and which can be ignored and Smith (2013 229) discusses the political climate in Aotearoa as a time of refusal and silencing:

We live in a time of refusals. A time in which public and political

discourse around inequality, poverty and race is shaped by a refusal

to see, to acknowledge, to act (Smith 2013 229).

Values play a role in the way the moral terrains of tourism are constructed by

prescribing what and who is included or excluded from policy planning. In the

following chapter I untangle the development discourses that are shaped and

prescribed by Aotearoa's tourism institutions. I apply a comparative study to

Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) and New Zealand Māori Tourism's (NZMT) most

recent strategic documents to tease out any inconsistencies in Māori positioning

and representation. By finding a "point of difference" (Hoskins 2012 85) within

these documents and images I hope to further political recognition for Māori

involved in tourism. Global challenges and initiatives, new technologies and

social change are constantly influencing and (re)informing the values in state

institutions (Smith 2013). A critique of tourism discourses in Aotearoa through a

Māori geographic lens highlights the privileging of masculine, colonial and

capitalist perspectives by deconstructing the language that shapes agency, the

(non)identification of partnerships and leadership within state/governmental

institutions.

Notions of leadership and partners are shaped by discourse and 'mapped' through

concepts of value. My intention is to disrupt the way Western development

approaches exclude Māori from partnership and leadership roles by pushing

Māori leading tourism to a marginal space of 'cultural tourism'. Discourses and

representations play an important role in the way moral terrains of tourism are

mutually constituted (Waitt et al 2007) in Aotearoa's tourism products and performances.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed my research design and methods of enquiry. With the support and guidance of my research whānau I feel I have been able to approach this research across all its stages from an ethically sound platform both academically, culturally and personally. Autoethnography has been applied to the participant sensing component with an aim to practice reflectivity and to offer an embodied approach to geographical scholarship on Māori tourism.

Field sites were chosen and discussed in regards to diversity of Māori tourism experiences to highlight Māori participation beyond the 'cultural' experience. Semi structured interviews were employed to allow the participants to discuss what they felt was central to their experience in Aotearoa's tourism spaces while a discussion of critical discourse analysis informs the critique of state strategies, planning and branding discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Institutionalising the 'New Zealand Story'

This chapter is concerned with the ways institutional values shape Aotearoa's tourism spaces. Here I focus on the macro geographies of two key government organisations - Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) and New Zealand Māori Tourism (NZMT). These institutions are responsible for the production of state sponsored tourism branding and promotion of Aotearoa as a 'must see' destination. In this chapter government agencies are examined using an 'institutional' geography lens. To do this I apply my first research question, how do values shape the moral terrains of Māori tourism? As institutions they have a set of internal structures that are informed by the organisational values of the government which in turn prescribes procedures, practices and protocol (Valentine 2001). The discursive construction of values found in Aotearoa's tourism institutions policies and images. I suggest that tourism is constructed within institutional spaces which are complex moral terrains shaped by hegemonic capitalist and diverse economies (Waitt et al 2007, Mosedale 2012).

In the following sections I analyse strategic documents produced by TNZ and NZMT to understand how Māori values are integrated (or not) into institutional spaces. Both institutions sit under the umbrella of the Ministry of Tourism. Both produce government strategies for growing tourism and report on markets, profits and productivity. Policies, strategies and reports produced for the Ministry of Tourism are predominately commercially focused and capitalist values are deeply embedded in the tourism industry. With the work of NZMT and with the number

of Māori owned tourism ventures expanding in Aotearoa (NZMT 2012) the tourism spaces are increasingly becoming inscribed with Māori values. As discussed in Chapter Two, Gibson-Graham (2006) suggests alternative economic practices require deeper examination in order for hegemonic development discourse to be disrupted. In 2013 Aotearoa's Economic Development Minister Steve Joyce released the 'New Zealand Story' (TNZ 2013). This is a promotional platform for businesses to extend their marketing reach in order to create a 'single story' about life in Aotearoa (Joyce 2013). To untangle the macro geographies of institutional spaces within Aotearoa's tourism I, first, analyse the language of partnerships in TNZ's Three Year Marketing Strategy Fiscal Year (FY) 2014 – FY2016 before examining NZMT's Te Pae Tawhiti/New Horizons Strategic Plan 2010 – 2015. I was interested to know how notions of power, collaboration, partnerships and/or leadership were expressed, maintained or resisted within the two institutions. To demonstrate any inconsistencies, or any forms of resistance found in the two documents, I offer a critique of the power relations that shape the way Aotearoa's tourism institutions foster and negotiate partnerships and leadership.

In this chapter I consider three key themes:

1. Geographies of inclusion and exclusion in TNZ's conception of partnerships;

2. Leadership in NZMT's strategies;

3. Māori identity in the creation of the 'New Zealand Story'.

In the last section of this chapter, I apply a discourse analysis to two images found in TNZ and NZMTs annual reports. State sponsored branding and promotion of Aotearoa's tourism are discussed in the next chapter, yet here I feel it is necessary to examine the discourses that are prescribed in reporting images. The second research question is also applied to this chapter. How is Māori tourism constructed through state sponsored branding and polices? What I found was that concepts of power were assigned to identities in reporting images by TNZ and NZMT. These images produce conflicting positioning of Māori actors with TNZ positioning Māori in service roles while NZMT position Māori men in executive roles. Visualisation of positioning, both physical and imagined, creates discourses of power (Rose 2001) layering Aotearoa's state sponsored branding and tourism terrains with a multitude of Māori identities. The theoretical kete of this research is utilised to apply an analysis of textual material found in the planning documents of TNZ and NZMT to enable an understanding of values that shape current tourism governance (Johnston 2005). By deconstructing two contrasting images found in annual reports alongside The 'New Zealand Story' media releases I reveal spaces in which Māori participation is made (in)visible and the spaces they are (re)imagined.

Geographies of inclusion and exclusion in TNZ's conception of partnerships

> Marama: Transparency is crucial for Māori in tourism because without it
> distrust can grow, you know if tourism operators are not transparent
> with their intentions the members of a hapū will feel distrust (Interview:
> 24/11/2014).

While the quote above communicates the importance of puata (transparency) in Māori spaces it can also be applied to institutional spaces that govern tourism. Marama suggests that without puata distrust grows. Distrust in government, local and national, was expressed by three participants. It is crucial to unpack the policies and images that create development discourse in Aotearoa's tourism industry. I found the geographies of Aotearoa's tourism layered with institutional values that shape global, national, regional, economic, social and cultural identities.

In this section I examine TNZ's Three Year Marketing Strategy FY2014 – FY2016 because it contains aims to increase Māori participation in tourism (TNZ 2013). I am interested to know how participation is being implemented and outcomes for Māori tourism providers and for Māori tourism. Under the subtitle "Integrating Māori content across all Programmes" TNZ plans "to work actively with partners" (TNZ 2013 16) yet does not clearly define which partners are included under this sub-heading. External and internal actors "drive industry knowledge" and the "capability to serve merging markets" (TNZ 2013 7). Further exploration of the TNZ strategic document communicated value in commercial partnerships such as the aviation industry, the film industry, international and domestic tourism companies, Regional Tourism Organisations and NZ Inc. (TNZ 2013). Integrating Māori 'content' rather than identifying working partnerships with Māori may reduce the level of Māori participation. Māori content becomes subject matter rather than embedded partnerships.

Below is a list of TNZ's top five strategic priorities found in TNZ Three Year Marketing Strategy FY2014 FY2016 (2013 5). The focal point of these strategies are to develop a "portfolio of markets" which "drive tourist motivations in higher value (wealthy) tourist markets (TNZ 2013 5).

Tourism New Zealand's top five strategic priorities (TNZ 2013 5)

- ➢ Grow a portfolio of markets that drives current opportunities and creates future market positions
- ➢ Drive preference for visiting New Zealand
- ➢ Focus marketing activity on clearly defined higher value visitors
- ➢ Partner widely to activate conversion and extend marketing reach
- ➢ Optimise deliver capability

They also focus on productivity and aim to "optimise delivery capability" and "partner widely" to extend TNZ's marketing reach (TNZ 2013 5). These top five priorities express the institutions value in the market economy. Measurements of value are based on monetary gain, production and trade in the global and local market place (Gibson-Graham 2006, Mosdale 2012). Tourism development is informed by, and performed, during economic transactions in the 'free' market exchange (Mosedale 2012). The document is produced as a marketing strategy with many complex concepts of partnerships, relationships and power. Gibson-Graham (2006) and Mosedale (2012) argue that the 'economic' cannot be separated from the 'social' and that economic transitions are first negotiated through social interactions. Capitalist and Western culture has converted diverse economies or traditional trading practices through a system of texts and images that maintains the story of powerful and gendered individuals (Smith 2012) and

this document exemplifies this point. Further, there is a direct link between the expansion of trade and the expansion of information that constructs systems of knowledges locating power with the creator of that knowledge (Smith 2012). I have analysed the two socially driven strategies of production and delivery in TNZ's Three Year Marketing Strategy because the outcome and application of these objectives rely on the communication of values in tourism institutional spaces, workspaces and with people.

TNZ state they have "mapped New Zealand's travel trade landscape" which has "helped identify the best partners to work with" (TNZ 2013 15). They then go on to formulate "how to engage" with those partners (TNZ 2013 15). Their use of the word 'mapped' has important 'colonial' connotations. Mapping can be considered as a colonial strategy to exploit and control resources for capital gain (Atkinson 2009). Mapping inscribes sovereignty on to landscapes by, in this case, identifying and inscribing 'best partners', markets and power onto the moral terrains of tourism. Maps are capable of rendering minority groups invisible and I argue that TNZ's 'mapping' and communication of Aotearoa's tourism landscapes fails to position Māori as active partners in developing Aotearoa's tourism. Partnership interactions are developed though trade and market relations within government agencies and by providing "specifically tailored" training for individual partners (TNZ 2013 15). The inclusion of individual partners deserving of 'tailored training' privileges individualist Western perspectives. The conception of such partnerships is located between state and the individual and value is conceived and prescribed through that interconnection (Smith 2012) as

opposed to the value of kotahitanga (unity) expressed by NZMT and participants of this research.

On page 15, of the TNZ document, NZ Inc. is identified as a partner in marketing channels. NZ Inc. is a an extension of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) that develops "strategies for strengthening New Zealand's economic, political and security relationships with key international partners" (MFAT 2015 15). MFAT defines NZ Inc. as:

> A term used to refer to the whole of government acting together
>
> offshore. Sometimes also used to include the private sector and
>
> other non-government actors (MFAT 2010 131).

A 'whole of government approach' aims to coordinate government agencies and create synergies by drawing together various stakeholders (Martin 2011). While this may seem similar to the Māori value of kotahitanga, this type of collectively is driven by value in capital rather than people. NZ Inc.'s initial intent is to foster foreign trade and investment relationships and to strengthen Aotearoa's position on global economic and political terrains. Values are attached to NZ Inc.'s statement in the words: economic, political, and, security. A 'whole of government' approach can increase "ability of the most powerful actors to gain the cooperation of other bodies in order to advance their own organisational agendas" (Mosely 2009 1). Relationships of power and positioning found within a 'whole of government' approach can result in serving the most powerful departments and individuals to secure and appropriate resources, funding and partners (Mosely 2009). While MFAT lists Te Puni Kokiri and TNZ as agencies in NZ Inc. (MFAT

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2015), the Māori tourism agency - NZMT - is not. Te Puni Kokiri is the principle advisory organisation for Māori – government relationships are their key roles are to lead and monitor public policy and legislation that affects Māori well-being (Te Puni Kokiri 2014). By identifying government agencies as under the umbrella of NZ Inc., TNZ's Three Year Marketing strategy document avoids listing those who are included, and by implication, who is excluded.

TNZ's concept of partnerships is applied to tourism development with an aim to "leverage synergies" while working collaboratively with NZ Inc. and the film industry to "leverage the promotional platform" (TNZ 2013 15). In light of the government's 2010 amendment to the film industry's employment rights relations with so-called 'best partners' this seems, somewhat, alarming and reiterates power dimensions and differentials. To meet the demands of the Warner Bros production of 'The Hobbit' movies the New Zealand Government pushed the amendment to the film industries employment rights through legislation after two days of negotiations (Cheng & Harper 2010). The Council of Trade Unions found this course of action to be an erosion of human rights that stripped employees' of sick and holiday leave (Cheng & Harper 2010). NZ Inc. aims to harness cultural links and build links with 'corporate individuals' (MFAT 2015) around the globe, however, the social aspects of life in Aotearoa and Māori values are conspicuously left out of the NZ Inc.'s values.

In Figure 2 I have generated a venn diagram to illustrate how Aotearoa's 'whole of government' approach produces a layering effect on tourism terrains. I have placed the New Zealand Government and the 'New Zealand Story' as the base

layer in the diagram to signify a 'whole of government' approach to constructing

a promotional platform for all industries. Government institutions involved in

tourism are placed on top of each other in order to represent how power is layered

through relationships of collaboration in NZ Inc.

New Zealand Government

'Whole of government' approach

The New Zealand Story

Te Puni Kokiri

Māori organisations

New Zealand Māori Tourism

People first

Collective

Leadership

Diversity

NZ Inc.

Foreign

Trade

Markets

Partnerships

Aviation, Film

Education,

Tourism New Zealand:

Capital, Individualist,
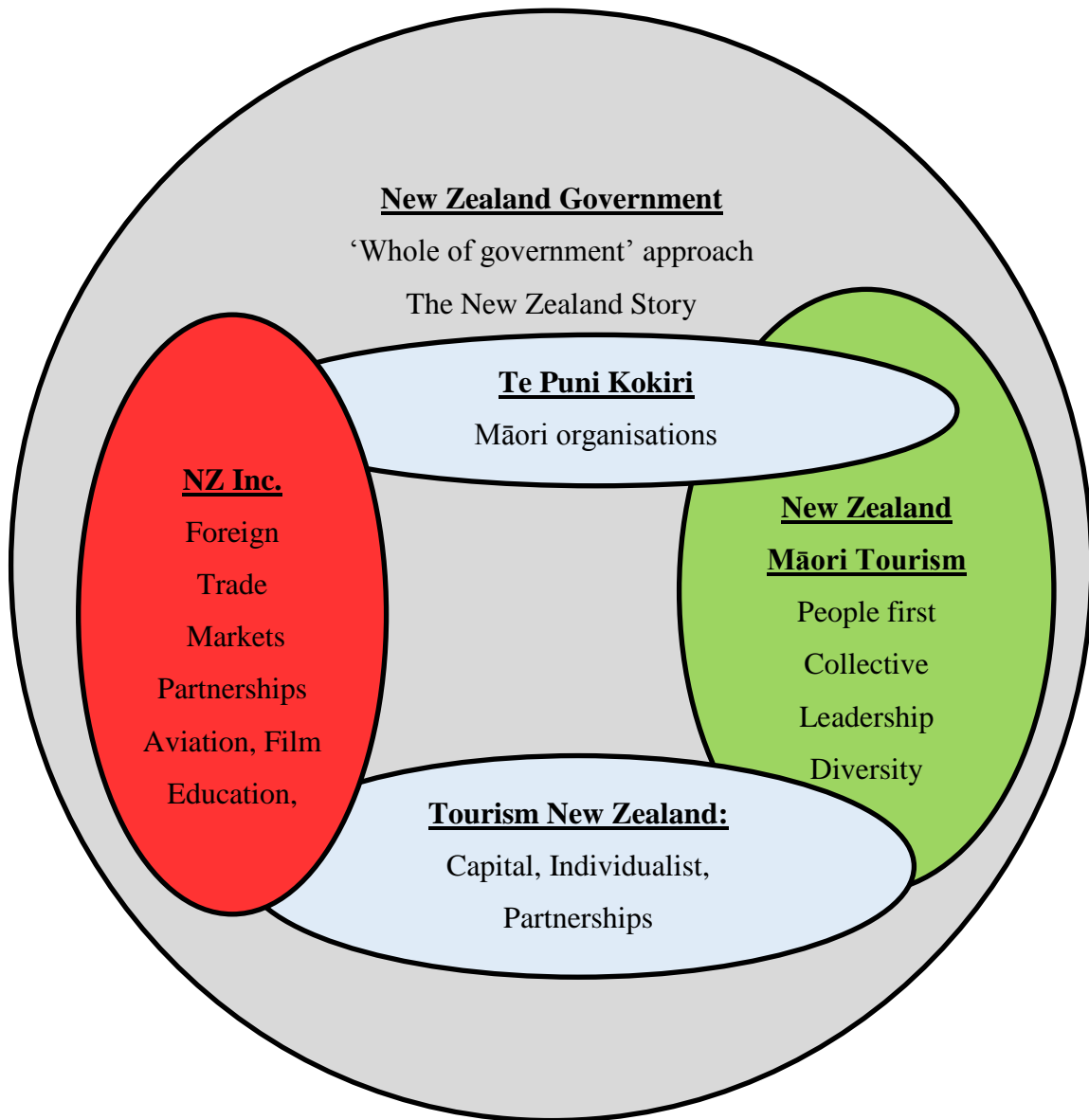
Partnerships

Figure 2: Layering partnerships on Aotearoa's tourism terrains

In the diagram NZ Inc. is situated above all the others to represent the 'whole of government' approach to trade and tourism. TNZ and Te Puni Kokiri are presented in the next layer to demonstrate that they are government agencies who are recognised as associates in NZ Inc. strategies. Below TNZ and Te Puni Kokiri sits NZMT which is separated from NZ Inc. to illustrate the void between NZ Inc. and NZMT. Although NZMT is linked to the New Zealand Government and tourism it is not directly linked nor acknowledged as part of the 'whole of government' approach to promoting foreign trade or tourism, through NZ Inc. Māori tourism providers are paradoxically positioned in the writing of Aotearoa's tourism strategies. A 'whole of government' approach where government agencies share the same political space may be imagined as institutional unity or perhaps even as kotahitanga.

The principles of kotahitanga speaks of collective action and from a Kaupapa Māori perspective kotahitanga encourages Māori to unite in support of self-determination or tino rangatiratanga (Paroa Tuiono Flavell Hawksley & Howson 2011). During the interviews participants were given a list of values produced in McIntosh et al's (2004) 'Re-thinking Māori Tourism' article as a way to encourage them to think about the values they practice during tourism. Kotahitanga was discussed as an important value that they understood as 'solidarity' but when I asked whether they thought kotahitanga should be extended to the government and international stakeholders the idea was met with some resistance and distrust.

> Sandi: How do you feel about that extending kotahitanga to the government and international stakeholders?

Kāhu: Not really! Definitely not relationships within the government and international stakeholders. Yeah, nah, that's not me! (Interview: 18/08/14)

For many Māori past injustices shape moral terrains. Kāhu's stance on collaboration with government and international stakeholders is clear yet he offers little more on the subject. Whetū and Tūrama were strong also in their opinions:

Sandi: So how do you feel about the inclusion of the government and stakeholders in your ideas of kotahitanga?

Whetū: Mmm that's an interesting one, I dunno about that.

Tūrama: They're the buggers ripping us off man!

Whetū: Yeah. (Joint interview: 22/08/14)

When I put the same question to Anahera she replied:

Anahera: That's a hard one. Um, so we are fighting a lot of issues right now involving that and wanting guarantees and those guarantees to be honoured and followed through, you know, not broken promises.

Sandi: Because things can change? I mean right now the government might give you guarantees but what about the next government?

Anahera: Yeah they might change it, and they do, and that's those whole broken promises. And even though we have those small branches underneath the government that we work around, they (the government) still have expectations of their departments. Because of

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those expectations, they overcome the expectations we believe

should be put in place for our people, our iwi. Sometimes they don't

work, sometimes they clash, and actually they clash quite a bit.

Especially when they talk about the people because people definitely

always argue and disagree with a lot of the things that come out of

these two here.

Sandi: The government and international stakeholders?

Anahera: Yes. (Interview: 25/11/2012)

Anahera's korero is permeated with words that offer an insight into why there are

feelings of distrust centred around working relationships between the Māori and

Aotearoa's government. "Broken promises" from the government shape her

experience and she feels there is a need to continue the "fight" to ensure

government assurances are honoured. Her statement about the smaller branches

under the government and expectations highlights the way values are layered, and

at times conflicting, on the moral terrains of tourism in Aotearoa. She sees New

Zealand Government expectations as overriding her people's needs and well-

being. This is expressed and experienced as a 'clashing' of values and a fight for

guarantees.

These discussions expressed feelings of distrust that are voiced and placed in the

present. Tūrama did not use past contexts when she calls the government and

stakeholders "buggers". This clearly expresses her feelings while the term

"ripping us off" communicates distrust and loss. For participants, the moral

terrains of tourism are contoured with levels of trust and distrust (Te Awekotuku

1981). These feelings have been shaped by experiences in tourism governance, appropriation of land and the exploitation and marginalisation of the Māori people and culture (Te Awekotuku 1981). Entering into discussions about Māori sentiments on governmental relationships exposes "inherent dislocations" allowing for government approaches to Māori relationships to be challenged (Paora et al 2011 248).

Leadership in New Zealand Māori Tourism strategies

Mana Tangata hutia te rito o te harakeke. Kei hea te kōmako e kō? Māu e ui mai,
he aha te mea pai? Māku e kī atu, He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.
Pull out the centre of the flax, where then will the bellbird rest? What is the most
important thing in the world? I will say it is people, it is people, it is people.
We have adopted a people first approach in all we do (NZMT 2013b 35).

The proverb above is one of the core values NZMT Te Pae Tawhiti/New Horizons Strategic Plan 2010 – 2015 (p 35). In this section I analyse the language used in NZMT policy documents. I then juxtapose this language with the TNZ policy document in order to examine partnerships and priorities from both organisations. Representation by Indigenous people is a strategy that counters dominant discourses about Indigenous social systems, lifestyles and world views (Smith 2012). The core values expressed in the NZMT document are analysed to examine how NZMT prescribe Māori values in their approach to tourism. As an institution NZMT places another layer on the moral terrains of tourism by expressing value in a people first approach. In doing so NZMT is practicing diverse economies (Mosedale 2012).

In 2004 NZMT became a government organisation under the umbrella of Te Puni Kokiri. NZMT is linked to thirteen Māori Regional Tourism Organisations (Te Puni Kokiri 2014) and lists 115 Māori tourism providers (NZMT 2011). In the NZMT Te Pae Tawhiti/ New Horizons Strategic Plan 2010 - 2025 (2013) strategies are described as Kaupapa (policies) with "compelling intent" (NZMT 2013b 32). While the NZMT document supports TNZ strategies it applies an alternative approach that communicates value in people alongside capital gain. NZMT are aiming to:

> Position Māori tourism in terms of our kawa (protocol) means that the mana whenua have the first and last say on the marae (our collective marae being our country) (NZMT 2013b 33).

In this statement NZMT position mana whenua (owners of the land) as having the first and last say and are, in some ways, decolonising Aotearoa's tourism spaces and disrupting ownership assumed by the Crown. It is a claim of power, position and place. Here ownership of place or land is described as a collective and Aotearoa is imagined as collective marae. This displaces an individualist world view. NZMT are transparent about their intent to position Māori at the forefront of tourism. The following lists NZMT's (NZMT 2013b 37) top priorities:

The 2025 Vision: Māori Leading Aotearoa New Zealand Visitor Experiences. A Māori tourism sector typified by:

➢ A vibrant $2bn Māori Tourism economy

➢ High value compelling visitor experiences

➢ Strong commercial and cultural leadership

- ➢ High levels of collaboration
- ➢ Strong Māori Experience brand presence on and off shore

NZMT applies these priorities to the Māori tourism sector and the institutions values are communicated through these statements. High value visitors and a successful capital economy are strategies that are valued by both TNZ and NZMT. High value tourists are sought because of the capital they bring to Aotearoa's tourism industry. NZMT focuses on "compelling visitor experiences" (NZMT 2013b 37) while TNZ focuses on "clearly defining" high value tourists and markets (TNZ 2013 5). In this respect, these two strategies seem to be in alignment. TNZ is identifying the market while NZMT is focusing on delivering a high value experience.

He uri whakaeke nō ngā kāwai rangatira.

Descendants from the realm of prestigious chiefs and leaders who have gone before us. We aspire to develop exemplary governance, and sector leadership (NZMT 2013b 35).

Rangatiratanga or self-determination, is clearly implied in the aims of NZMT's document when they call for "strong commercial leadership" (NZMT 2013b 37). Value is placed in both commercial and cultural leadership. While NZMT is supporting TNZ to "optimize delivery capability" (TNZ 2013b 5) and attract high value tourists they are also contesting leadership of Aotearoa's tourism economy by using a similar vocabulary to resist and contest current leadership. While TNZ are strategizing to strengthen partnerships NZMT use the word 'strong' to (re)create a Māori discourse of leadership and governance. While an

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understanding of tino rangatiratanga may be different for each individual,

Marama's concept of tino rangatiratanga offers an excellent metaphor she says:

> Marama: Self-determination is really important in today's world. It's like a
>
> bridge for Māori. Tino rangatiratanga starts and completes the circle.
>
> (Interview: 24/11/2014).

This was also communicated confirmed by Anahera:

> Anahera: Tino rangatiratanga is where it starts and ends really. (Interview:
>
> 25/11/2014)

NZMT further use concepts of leadership to contest power when they discuss "cultural leadership" (NZMT 2013b 37). NZMT position themselves as experts and leaders on the terrains of Aotearoa's tourism landscapes. The need to work towards gaining greater leadership is evident in TNZ's creation of the 'New Zealand Story'. The TNZ document identifies New Zealand Trade and Enterprise and New Zealand Education as leaders in the creation of the 'New Zealand Story' (TNZ 2013 17). NZMT, the Federation of Māori Authorities and the Poutama Trust were also involved in the creation of the 'New Zealand Story' (Joyce 2013) but were not explicitly acknowledged as leaders. This highlights how Māori voices are silenced in Aotearoa's governance of tourism in nuanced ways. While TNZ, supposedly, integrate Māori content across all programmes they do not identify NZTM as leaders or partners in the creation of the 'New Zealand Story'. NZMT is contesting this practice by identifying Māori as leaders in both commercial, cultural, political, economic and tourism spaces.

Partnerships, in the NZMT strategy document, are described as "value generated" within "all of the tourism sector" (NZMT 2013b 33). While they still fail to clearly identify partnerships the language in their statement is inclusive of the entire tourism sector. From a Kaupapa Māori perspective this inclusive approach to the tourism sector may be closer to kotahitanga than the state's 'whole of government' approach. Partnerships are discussed under the heading "Whaihua: Increasing value" and NZMT strategizes to "leverage off" assets and increase global, national and regional networks (NZMT 2013b 40). NZMT acknowledges institutional value in capital economies when they speak of assets. "Leverage" is a term also used in the TNZ document to describe strategies for "synergies" a way to increase effectiveness in relationships (TNZ 2013 15). Māori leading tourism are negotiating relationships while taking part in trading practices. While the two organisations strategise to increase trade, build networks and improve relationships NZMT places values that inform relationships within governing spaces of tourism as well as with tīpuna, whenua and whānau. The world view is prescribed socially, spiritually and economically (Gibson-Graham 2006, Mosedale 2012). Social transactions that take place in diverse economies place value in the non-material, non-human, non-capital and the non-individualist (Mosedale 2012). Participants shared this view:

> Marama: Financial benefits are important of course but it's also about increasing the agency of Māori to sustain spiritual and environmental relationships (Interview: 24/11/2014).

She goes on to describe her experience working in a Māori institution as:

Marama: working in tourism like I do allows me to include my spirituality in my

working life as well. Being able to work for an organisation that shares my

spiritual world view is really important to me and it's extended to the other

people who work here and other marae and hapū (Interview: 24/11/2014).

Both Marama and NZMT are constructing alternative discourses and practices to

TNZ by communicating their value in Indigenous leadership, people, ancestors,

environment, spirituality and the collective. In doing so they continue to (re)create

diverse Māori economies where value is placed in the human and spiritual going

beyond capital economies that value profit and productivity.

Whanaungatanga Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini.

My strength is not that of an individual but that of the multitudes.

We work collaboratively for the collective interests of the Māori tourism

sector (NZMT 2013b 35).

Meaningful collaboration is valued and collectivism is prescribed in the proverb

used by NZMT above. Aotearoa is visualised and imagined as a "collective

marae" (NZMT 2013b 33). Collectivity goes beyond a "massing together of like

subjects" (Gibson-Graham 2006 165) and fosters social interdependency, self-

formation, new kinds of economic subjects and a space where diverse economies

can be practiced. This can also be related to the way Marama describes tino

rangatiratanga:

Marama: We come full circle, agency or self-determination. Through this we are

enabled to construct an organisation based on our own unique values to

develop a tourism product that is beneficial to all involved and Māori can

be in control of the way their tourism product is developed. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

NZMT and the participants of this study recognise the need for Māori self-determination in the development of tourism in Aotearoa. NZMT prescribes that strength is found in the collective and, in a nuanced way, resists individualism that is at the core of TNZ's document. NZMT core values juxtapose collaboration and collective interests with strategies that increase economic growth, employment opportunities and value generated partnerships (NZMT 2013b). Yet, while TNZ also plans to collaborate with partners, value is placed in commercial relationships, trade partnerships and individualism rather than collective interests. Throughout the NZMT document there are references to collective efforts to support and position Māori as leaders in the governance in the tourism sector. I argue that their strategic positioning in tourism is a form of resistance, a claiming of space and tino rangatiratanga that disrupts Western tourism development styles. While the overall aims of TNZ and NZMT are aligned the institutional values are, at times, conflicting. TNZ focuses on marketing, and fostering partnerships with commercial traders, government and individuals while NZMT focuses on a people first approach and collective collaboration and reframing Māori as leaders in Aotearoa's tourism sector.

Māori identity in the creation of the 'New Zealand Story'

In November 2013 the New Zealand Government released a new initiative - 'The New Zealand Story'- which provides a framework for exporters to communicate their business to the rest of the world. The initiative aims to broaden the

perception of Aotearoa internationally and has three key themes – Open Spaces, Open Minds and Open Hearts (Joyce 2013). The 'New Zealand Story' does not replace TNZ's '100% Pure' branding but provides a promotional platform for a wide range of sectors and is aimed at helping companies to gain a competitive edge through building an international market profile (Joyce 2013). A 'New Zealand Story' tool kit of resources was developed to provided public and private sectors with – key messages, imagery, a video and guidelines for promotional use (Joyce 2013).

TNZ discusses 'The New Zealand Story' in their three year marketing strategy as containing key themes to be implemented to improve communication with Māori in its discussion on "Cross-market themes" (TNZ 2013 16). It states:

> Māori culture is arguably New Zealand's most unique point of difference to international visitors. Whilst good progress has been recorded, Tourism New Zealand will actively work with partners over the next three years to ensure greater integration of Māori culture throughout our activity to add differentiation to New Zealand's story. This aligns with "He kai kei aku ringa', the Crown-Māori Economic Growth Partnership and its 2012-17 Action Plan, in particular Recommendation 25: Make the most of the Māori value proposition in export markets (TNZ 2013 16).

The statement above claims to be aligned to The Crown-Māori Economic Growth Partnership yet NZMT are not directly identified as participating in the creation of the New Zealand Story. Institutional values are placed in the culture of Māori as a point of difference in export markets, something to be commodified therefore

appropriated in tourism or as Smith (2012 89) describes it "trading the other". In creation of 'The New Zealand Story' TNZ (2013) identifies New Zealand Trade and Enterprise and Education New Zealand as leaders of the project. On further exploration I found that NZMT, the Federation of Māori Authorities and Poutama Trust were engaged in the project (NZMT 2013b). I question why TNZ does not identify NZMT as leaders in the creation of 'The New Zealand Story'. After all Māori culture has been identified by TNZ as second only to Aotearoa's landscapes when thinking of Aotearoa's tourism experiences. and TNZ plans to integrate Māori content across all programmes (TNZ 2013). It seems that while TNZ communicates Māori integration, they are slow to identify NZMT as partners. The focus remains on Māori tourism as a 'cultural product' that enhances Aotearoa's tourism image but neglects to identify and value NZMT as key partners.

The video ([The New Zealand Story](#)) produced for 'The New Zealand Story' contains landscapes, cityscapes and people. It presents Aotearoa to the world as a unique country full of innovative people with open hearts and minds. Māori boys and men feature near the beginning of the video practicing their haka skills under the watchful eye of a kaumātua, and in fishing and farming scenes, while spaces of innovation and technology remain relegated to white men and women. Further on a Māori woman is seen talking to a white couple on a geothermal landscape followed by a shot of men pulling a hangi from the ground while a young Asian woman takes photos. While 'The New Zealand Story' expresses a variety of lives in Aotearoa Māori identities are contained in and with nature and excluded from innovation and science. This produces a single story about Māori lives that

informs the rest of the world, shaping the imaginings of tourists and global companies. People are increasingly engaging with media coverage today and the production of a single story repeated over and over again produces stereotypes that fix identities inpeoples' minds (Adichie 2009). In Adichie's (2009) TEDGlobal presentation she talks of the dangers of a single story and states:

> It is impossible to talk about the single story without talking about power…. Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person (Adichie 2009).

To get a better understanding of the discourses that have shaped the creation of 'The New Zealand Story' I have deconstructed an image (Figure 3) found in TNZ's Annual Report 2013/14 (TNZ 2014 11). While TNZ's strategic document offered no images other than trade, market and economic measurements the annual report did. Most images are of tourist consuming Aotearoa's remote and pristine landscapes. The image is of what looks like to be a formal function. In the foreground of the image is a chef cooking food in a geothermal pool and behind that is a group of mainly white corporate men dressed in suits. Corporate women are also included and number of men and women in the image is even and all the men, except the chef, are involved in conversations with women confirming heterosexual normativity. Standing at the edge of the geothermal pool is a white man speaking to an Asian woman.
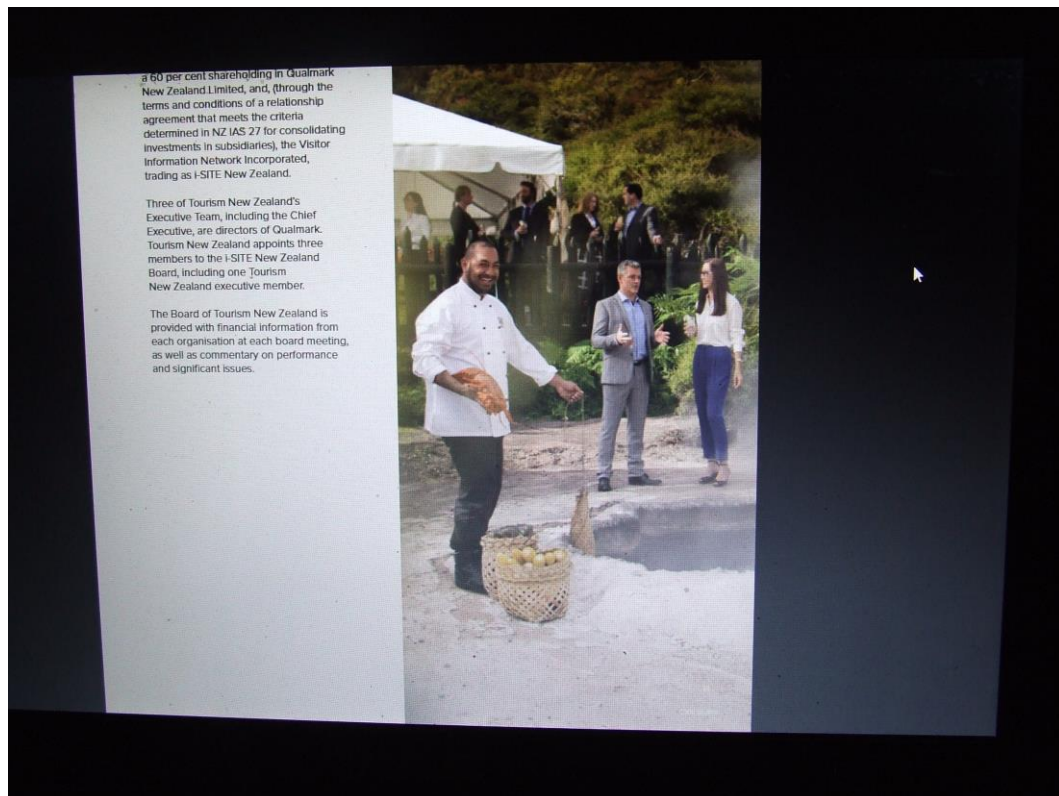
Figure 3: TNZ Annual Report image. Image by me 18/05/2015

The pohewa (flax food basket) placed next to, and in the hands of, the chef inscribe his identity as Māori. While white corporate men mingle and network with corporate women, the Māori man is positioned in servitude. To me this image is a signifier of the institutional value TNZ places with Māori identities and it is in alignment with the imagery found in 'The New Zealand Story' video. While in the past Māori identities have been imagined as historical, traditional or invisible in tourism images (Beets 1997, Hudson 2010, Te Awekotuku 1981) now of contemporary images of Māori living a modern life but are positioned as serving. This confirms the single story produced for Aotearoa's promotional platform. Here, again, Māori are not presented as valued partners but 'in place' as the servitude of exotic other.

While Māori are visible in both images found in 'The New Zealand Story' video and TNZ's Annual Report their role as leaders in tourism is invisible. Māori are positioned in contemporary roles as fishers, tourist guides, chefs and farmers or in traditional performances and etched on to natural landscapes. NZMT, however, present a different imagining of Māori. A positioning that challenges a homogenised conception of Indigenity. NZMT continue to challenge homogenised representations in the way that they present Māori tourism. This is discussed further in the next chapter.
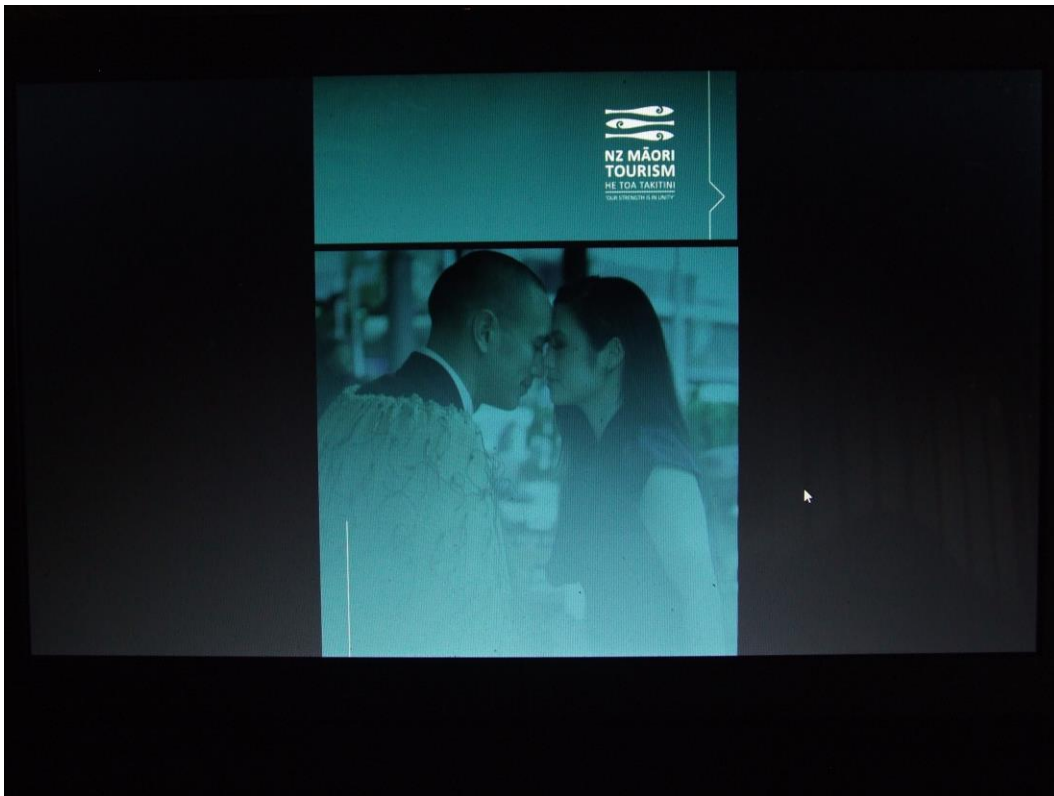
Figure 4: Source NZMT Annual Report 2013. Image by me 18/05/2015

Figure 4 is an image from NZMT's Annual Report 2013 and it is placed on the second page of the document. Here corporate man and woman are engaged in a hongi, a Māori greeting which in some ways suggests collaboration with non-

Western actors and women. Unlike a hand shake which can be ascribed to positioning and power depending who has the firmest grip, the hongi can described as a sharing of the breath of life confirming a meeting of peace and people. The hongi is an ancient ritual that refers to the creation story of Tāne Mahuta, who shaped a figure of a woman from the earth. Tāne Mahuta then breathed life into the nose of Hine ahu one, the first woman (Derby 2013).

Face to face encounters such as the one portrayed in the image above represents a ritual reading of not only political intentions but also a person's personality and spirit (Smith 2012). To me it is also a practice that symbolises the value in sharing an intimate experience in life. The man in this image is wearing a korowai (Māori cloak with tassels) over a corporate suit. Korowai are often worn on formal occasions to honour ancestors and to express whakapapa. In this image the cultural identity of the man is signified by the korowai but his identity is also signified as corporate because of the suit. Here hegemony is contested because the tāne is positioned as a leader who is sharing and networking with other non-white and non-male counterparts. While image is void of white corporate men NZMT maintains the positioning of men as leaders leaving Māori women invisible in the perception of Māori leadership.

The people in this image and the hongi displaces concepts of power. Instead of the all-powerful Eurocentric handshake that 'clinches the deal' we have a Māori man and an Asian woman sharing the breath of life. While the ethnicity of the woman is unclear, she could be Asian or Māori, I have read her as non-Māori but also non-Western. This is a further disruption of the imaginings of masculine

leadership in Aotearoa. By only including non-Western men and women in this image NZMT is contesting Eurocentric positioning and exclusion by rendering white participation invisible and positioning Māori men and non-Māori, and non-Western, women on corporate landscapes.

Conclusion

Economic perspectives are developed through a set of discursive practices that construct meaningful ideologies of value or worth. While working and/or touring in Aotearoa's tourism spaces Māori negotiate multiple realities and, at times, multiple institutions. Applying a post capitalist framework to a study of values in tourism, coupled with a Kaupapa Māori approach, allows for hegemonic discourses about the economy to be contested by going "beyond a capitalocentric understanding of the tourism economy" (Mosedale 2012 196). Capital economies firmly prescribes individual rewards whereas, traditionally, Māori valued an economic system that prescribed collective productivity and a sharing of the workload (Te Awekotuku 1981). Economic discourse is produced in the institutions of governments through modes of representation and measurement of value and the frameworks of diverse economies (Gibson-Graham 2006).

Institutional values formulated by NZMT are, in some ways, creating diverse economies through placing value in a "people first" (NZMT 2013b 35) approach alongside capital value. Tourism can be a means to conserving cultural forms and practices but only if the (mis)communication of relationships is scrutinised and delineated (Te Awekotuku 1981). The analysis of TNZ strategic documents revealed that the integration of Māori content is applied to subject matter that

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informs the production of promotional images. Māori are not acknowledged as valued partners by TNZ but presented as service providers in nature. NZMT is contesting hegemonic development discourse by positioning Māori as leaders. Acknowledging and valuing diverse economies may be capable of "destabilising hegemonic capitalist dominance" and alternative economic practice "unleashes new creative forces and subjects of economic experimentation" (Gibson-Graham 2006 60). By unpacking the concepts of partnership, leadership and strategic priority prescribed in these documents I argue that while the two organisations strategies are somewhat aligned, NZMT contests hegemonic Western capital approaches by prescribing value in diverse economies.

In the last section of this chapter I analysed the creation of 'The New Zealand Story' to develop a better understanding of the discourses and values that shape tourism's state sponsored branding discussed in the next chapter. Themes found in TNZ reporting images are followed throughout the creation of 'The New Zealand Story' and NZMT is rendered invisible in the naming of leaders and creators of that story. While NZMT positions Māori as leaders these roles are often confined to men which can render Māori women excluded from roles of leadership. I found that while Māori are presented living contemporary lives TNZ representations tend to focus on telling a single story reminiscent of colonial imaginings. The quote below is offered to motivate the reader to considering the dangers of a single story.

> The single story crates stereotypes, and the problem with
> stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete.

They make one story become the only story. I've always felt it is

impossible to engage properly with a place or person without

engaging with all of the stories of the place and that person. The

consequence of this single story is this: It robs people of dignity. It

makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It

emphasises how we are different rather that how we are similar

(Adichie 2009 n.p).

In the following chapter I unpack Aotearoa's state sponsored branding of Māori

tourism by both TNZ and NZMT. Tourism branding images articulate knowledge

and power that shape the moral terrains of tourism. An analysis of state sponsored

branding is intended to enable a better understanding of the values and power

relationships that inform and (re)construct the visual representation of Māori

identities.

CHAPTER FIVE

Breaking the mould: diverse identities and representations

> We're expected to become this little Māori doll dancing to the tune
> of marketing (Interview 31/08/2014).

Tourism texts and images etch identities and values on to landscapes (Johnston & Frohlick 2011). From a Kaupapa Māori perspective whenua (land) is closely integral to Māori values, identities and beliefs (Hall 2012). The moral terrains of tourism are saturated with complex and dynamic relationships and understandings (Grimwood 2011, Waitt et al 2007). As discussed in Chapter Two whakapapa (ancestry) is connected to place through belief systems that value Papatūānuku or (Earth mother) as an important part of Māori identities (Simmonds 2009). In this chapter I analyse state sponsored branding in Aotearoa to gain an understanding of how Māori values are integrated and inscribed into Māori tourism spaces, places and bodies.

Māori identities are imagined and made 'real' for tourists in state sponsored branding of destinations and my research examines how tourism images are (re)constructed. In this chapter I ask, how is Māori tourism constructed through state sponsored branding? Representations of Māori tourism are nuanced with the values of the producers. Staged photographs of Māori date back to the 1850s during the colonisation of Aotearoa and as argued by Hudson (2010) did not reflect the contemporaneous lives of Māori. Examining the values that shape state sponsored branding ensures the research is better equipped to answer the third question – how and in what ways do Māori tourism providers (re)construct their

places and identities through practicing Māori values. Images of Māori art, people, culture and performance are applied to state branding by the Ministry of Tourism as a point of interest to promote Aotearoa as a tourist destination with a unique culture and landscape (Frolick & Johnston 2011). Through an examination of images I aim to highlight how identities are both (re)constructed and contested by Māori in tourism.

Tourism images circulate the world via a global market, they are produced, commodified and consumed by tourists seeking meaningful experiences. Māori tourism operators provide a range of experiences to international and domestic tourists throughout Aotearoa. Fifteen out of the 115 Māori tourism providers listed with New Zealand Māori tourism (NZMT) provide what is considered to be Māori 'cultural' experiences (Māori art, performance, cultural interpretation), another four combined the 'cultural' experience with other products. 96 Māori tourism providers offered either one or more of the following: adventure, accommodation, transport, nature, animal, spiritual and healing tourism (Indigenous New Zealand 2011). This calculation reveals that for Māori tourism providers 'cultural' based tourism is only a small part of the Māori experience. While this is reflected in NZMT's images TNZ seems to remain fixated on staging the colonial representation of Māori as the 'exotic other' as historical and traditional peoples. State imagined cultural markers are inscribed on to Māori identities and positioned on social, physical, economic and political landscapes.

Visual images used in state sponsored branding articulate knowledge and power by producing specific visions of difference in gender, race, class and hierarchies

(Rose 2001). In this chapter I unpack the images of Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) and New Zealand Māori Tourism (NZMT) websites to further investigate the concept of positioning of Māori in tourism. State sponsored destination branding prescribes what and who is valued (Frolick & Johnston 2011). Value is prescribed through institutional technologies such as images, film, social media, markets, trade and globalisation (Rose 2001). In the following sections I analyse tourism images to critique how cultural markers are ascribed on to Māori bodies by institutional branding of Aotearoa as a 'must see' destination. In the analysis the concept of cultural markers is applied to enable a discussion of what is seen in the images. Concepts of 'culture' are multiple and complex (Ateljevic Morgan & Pritchard 2008). My intention is not to identify or categorise 'cultural' markers but to understand where they are visible or invisible and how these markers are employed and staged. Participants were personally conflicted on the topic of Māori representation in tourism. They expressed feelings of pride while, at the same time, feeling indignant about being represented as "stuck in the past" (Moana interview 31/08/2014).

Reading tourism texts allows for an articulation of the relationship between place and power (Frolick & Johnston 2011). Power is put 'in place' through the positioning of identities in the branding of Aotearoa's tourism landscape. Relationships of power, fuelled by colonialism and capitalism, shape branding and representation (Rose 2001). Local identities are imagined and materialise through socially constructed images (Frolick & Johnston 2011). Visual technologies used in state branding produce discursive representations that construct what is considered to be real or truth. After finding the number of Māori tourism

providers who offer 'cultural tourism' is relativity low compared to the variety of Māori tourism experiences listed with NZMT. I suggest a shift in the way Māori tourism is imagined. The images found on the web sites of both TNZ and NZMT are compared and analysed together with participants' opinions to highlight how the branding of Aotearoa's tourism can offer alternative imaginings of positioning, power and leadership in the "selling of the New Zealand Story" (TNZ 2013 17).

Who are the guardians of Aotearoa?
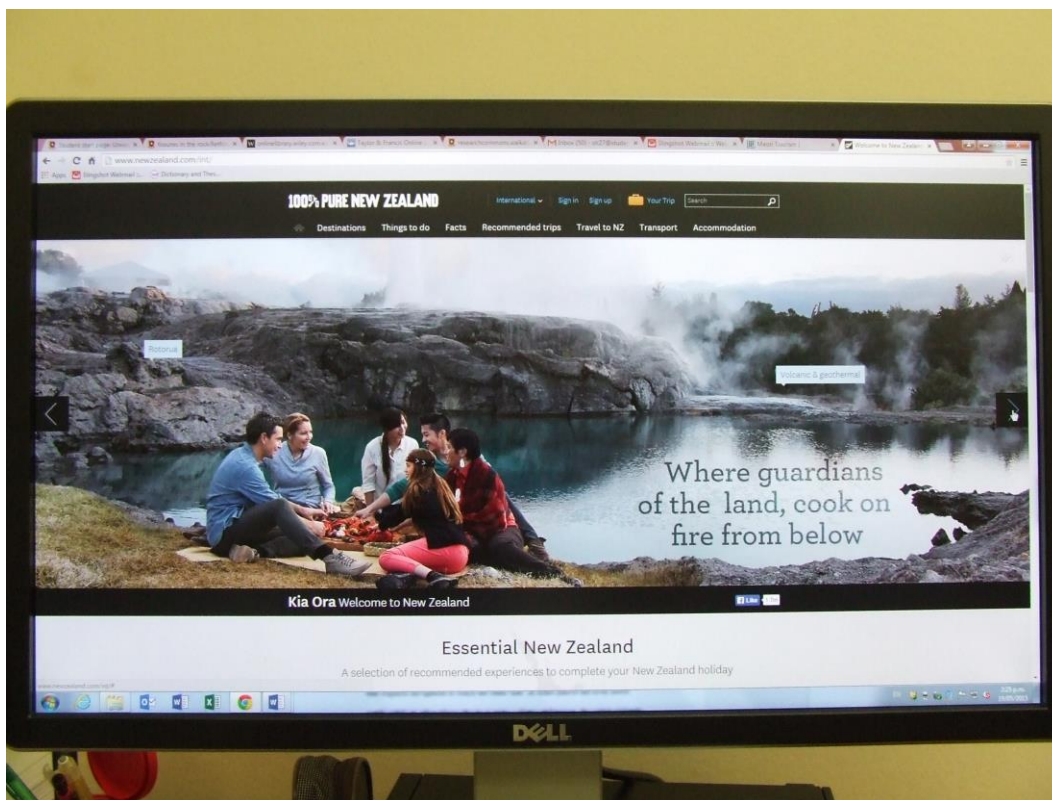
Figure 5: Who are the guardians? Image by me 18/05/2015

The image above is the third out of eight images found on the official home page of TNZ. It features a panoramic view of the geothermal landscapes of Rotorua, tourists and tangata whenua. A panorama presents a sweeping view of the

landscape gives the reader the impression of vast, natural and unpopulated environment (Rose 2001). Here are two couples; one couple is white and the other couple is Asian. There is also a woman and child sitting with the tourists at the edge of a geothermal pool sharing crayfish and mussels out of pohewa (food basket). The scene is set, both in its context here in Aotearoa but also in the ethnic and heterosexual identification and representation of the tourists (Johnston 2013). State sponsored branding provides a representational space were nature and identities are gendered, sexed and racialised through a white hegemonic and heteronormative script (Frolick & Johnston 2011). Couples and their ethnicity are recognised through the positioning and facial features. The inclusion of an Asian couple communicates TNZ's strategic effort to entice Asian tourists to the area through branding. The white couple are engaging with the woman and child while the Asian man is reaching for food and the Asian woman is smiling directly at her companion which suggests their heterosexual identities. The woman and child are in everyday clothing and are positioned lower than the tourists. The child's headband, and the bone carvings in the woman's ears and around her neck are of Māori design and the wearing of them communicates their identities as Māori. The woman and child are embedded into the landscape as living in the present but the 'cultural' markers - the headband and bone carved jewellery - are still inscribed onto the bodies of the woman and child to signify they are local. Images of Indigenous women and children are a reoccurring theme applied to tourism images and are often designed to present Māori women as the 'exotic other' "filling the role of native women assigned to her by a colonial hegemony" (Beets 1997 19).

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In bottom right hand corner the words "Where the guardians of the land, cook on fire from below" (TNZ 2014) blend in with the geothermal steam and rocky landscape. The wording in this image does little to suggest who the guardians are. In some way the concept of guardianship could be assigned to the Māori woman and child but this is subtle and understandable only if one has kaitiakitanga (guardianship) knowledge. When I look at this image I wonder why the naming of the guardian is left to the reader's imagination. Māori culture is a key marketing component in TNZ planning strategy. Māori content is to be integrated in all programmes and concepts of guardianship or kaitiakitanga is an important component of Māori value systems but yet again Māori are named in this image that is left to the audience to determine. Identifying Māori as kaitiakitanga would confirm mana whenua (land authority), territorial rights and responsibilities and, in turn, appropriation of royalties.

Some participants contested being portrayed as the 'exotic other' stuck in history while, at the same time, felt proud of being associated with the images used in Māori tourism. In the next section I deconstruct an image found on TNZ's webpage for Māori tourism to disrupt colonial imaginings of the subordinate.

From savage to warrior?
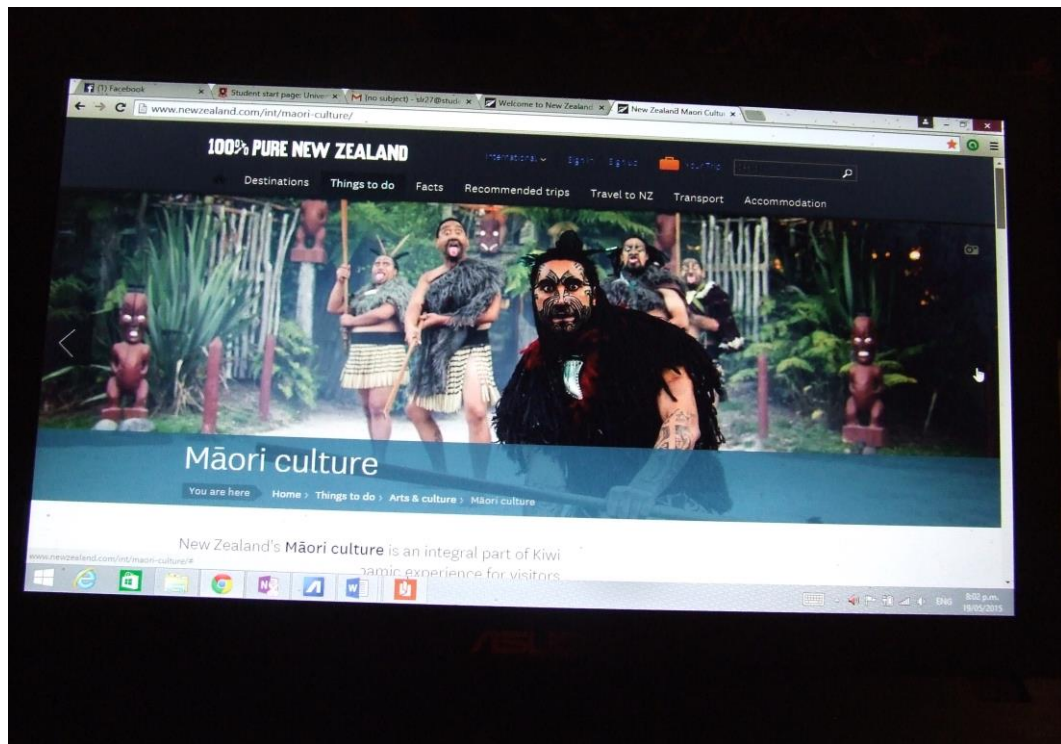
Figure 6: Māori 'culture'. Image by me 18/05/2015

The image above is a commonly seen in tourism representation it portrays a Māori

masculine identity that is strong and warrior like, it speaks to my imaginings of

my ancestors and, like the participants, I also feel pride in my whakapapa through

this image. The actors in this image are performing a wero (traditional challenge),

challenging the visitor in a welcoming ritual. Originally, the wero was practised to

determine whether the manuhiri (visitor) came in war or peace and was intended

as a way to gain a spiritual awareness of people's actions and responses (Derby

2013). This practise is part of a pōwhiri (welcome ceremony) and in it a lone tāne

(man) will approach the manuhiri using the movements of a warrior making an

offering to the manuhiri (Derby 2013). The wero has become an important aspect

of Aotearoa's national identity. It is performed for royalty, world leaders and

celebrities to be widely published in the media to mark important events. The wero is usually performed by a tāne and if the manuhiri is a high ranking woman the weapon must be taken up by a male member of her party (Derby 2013).

In the image a tāne is offering a weapon to the invisible manuhiri his eyes are deliberately widened in pūkana (expression of spirit) and the body language of the actors can be read as 'ready for war'. The tourist is invisible and the only sign of modern life is the light bulb found in the background above the staged carvings that frame this image. The faces of the men are staged and posed with tongues protruding with the tāne presenting the weapon in full tā moko. The lines of the moko are thick and black and do not match the lines of the real moko on his arms. His eyes are enhanced with heavy eyeliner to accentuate his pūkana and the whale bone pendant suggests he is rangatira (leader). While his identity is presented as historical, in traditional clothing and his actions imagined as warlike, I also read tino rangatiratanga in the image. To me the wero could also signify the self-determination of Māori on a national scale because the practise is continued today in Aotearoa's political spaces. The suggestion of 'one may not enter before Māori approval is gained', positions Māori as gate keepers. While this is not yet a reality for all the performance of wero highlights a Māori presence in political spaces. Māori protocol and practices have not only survived colonisation but become part of our national heritage. Images such as this can be interpreted as an ethnocentric and masculine essentialising of people, places and histories but, at the same time, also empowers Māori to reclaim and reimaging their identities (Amoamo 2011).

Five of my participants felt proud about being affiliated to this kind of image. They felt these images portrayed an element of strength in their culture while constructing a unique presence on the global stage. While they felt it was important that these images are presented on the global tourism platform they also felt that representation of Māori in tourism also needed a shift toward a more "honest representation" (Marama 24/11/2014) of who Māori are today, one that reflected in Māori living modern lives. Whetū and Tūrama supported this when I asked:

> Sandi: How do you feel about the way Māori are represented in tourism?
>
> Tūrama: Oh I think it's just a historical one.
>
> Whetū: Yeah that's right. Let's just say we're more than just a grass skirt and a poi! (Joint interview: 22/08/2014).

Whetū's tone registered his feeling of indignation which led me to consider that he may feel excluded from Māori tourism because he does not fit into the traditional image of the 'exotic other'. While the practice of wero in political spaces signifies some level of self-determination for Māori, tourism images such as the one above relegate Māori tourism providers to 'cultural' tourism geographies. TNZ does not represent the diversity of Māori tourism practises. While the values, principles and protocols of Māori culture are essential to Māori well-being there is not always clear space that is free from the colonial discourses that shape Māori identities (Hoskins 1997).

On the 31st March 2015 Aotearoa's Māori television reported "Ngāti Waewae rangitahi first female in generations to perform wero" (Te Kanawa 2015). In 2015 17 year old wahine, Te Amo Tamainu, made history when she performed a wero to a visiting ministerial party. In doing so she unsettles the hegemonic, Western and masculine perception of leadership and the roles of wāhine and tāne. Te Amo Tamainu was quoted as saying: "We knew that there was going to be people that won't like it and people that will like it, but I wasn't worried about the people who don't like it because it's our iwi, it's our hapū" (cited from Te Kanawa 2015). This statement highlight the importance of diversity between hapū and iwi and (re)constructs women as leaders. Te Amo Tamainu's tīpuna (ancestor), Pakakura, was well known for leading war parties (Te Kanawa 2015). Pre colonial times women were considered as sacred, powerful, important and as leaders (August 2005, Simmonds 2014). The traditional roles of wāhine have been assimilated by masculine and Eurocentric discourses that are in need further disruption (Hoskins 1997, Simmonds 2014).

In the following sections images from NZMT are unpacked to examine how NZMT is presenting Māori tourism as more than 'cultural' experiences where Māori are leaders and adventurers with expertise. While NZMT is disrupting colonial and Western representation of Indigenous tourism, images are still gendered and embedded with masculine imaginings of power.

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From warrior to adventurer
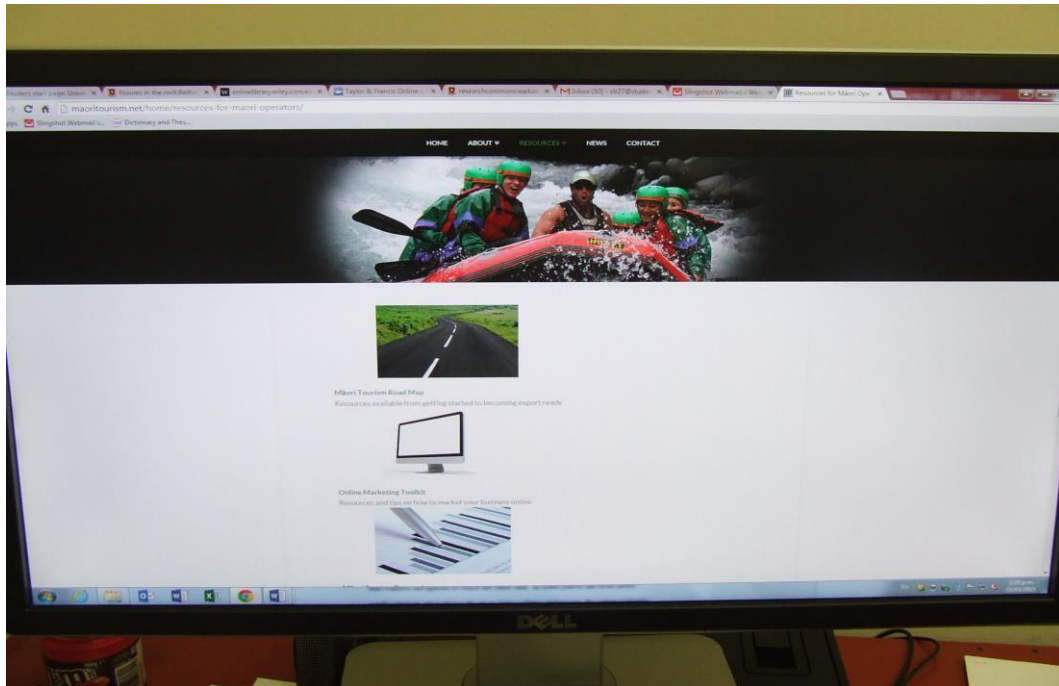
Figure 7: Diverse Māori Tourism. Image by me 18/05/2015

Māori identities are shaped by contemporary and historical discourses from within Māori society and from the outside (Hoskins 1997). The inclusion of images of Māori performing 'more than cultural' tourism stretches the reach of Māori positioning and I argue that tourism images produced by Māori organisations such as NZMT are contesting dominant discourse and governance. Amoamo's (2011 1269) study of tourism representation and hybridity in Aotearoa found "Māori are increasingly informing control of their tourism representation". NZMT presents Māori in multiple roles performing other forms of tourism the 'cultural' in images take a back seat in branding.

The image in Figure 7 can be found on the resource page of the NZMT web site. This page provides Māori tourism providers with access to membership,

marketing tools and research. The guide in the image has a powerful position of leading and providing adventure tourism. As a kaitāpoi I engage in adventure tourism and I am aware it is an exhilarating experience where you trust a guide to keep you safe. For me the guide in Figure 7 is in a powerful position and I read him as the leader. The central positioning and being in control of the boat inscribes a masculine Māori identity in tourism as leaders. The guide is in a position of power and responsibility. He is in control of the boat and, to a degree, in control of the tourists. The tourists must follow his lead or risk life and limb. The river in the image is presented as wild with its turbulent waters and large menacing rocks. This is no place to second guess your guide. In some ways, this and the next image are complicit with man 'dominating nature' discourses but may also be resisted. When the image is analysed from a Māori perspective the guide can be viewed as kaitiakitanga (guardian): not in control of the river but involved in a intimate relationship with the environment and the river, as a descendant of Papatūānuku with responsibility and connectivity. Here the concept of power is disrupted.

The positioning of the Māori guide in this image disrupts the discourse of 'the exotic other serving' the tourist in two ways. Above I discuss the guide in a position of leadership and kaitiaki but what is missing from this image is also interesting. How do we know if this is a Māori guide? There are no 'cultural' markers to indicate his whakapapa or ethnicity. There is no sign of 'the exotic other'. The tourists' ethnicity is also obscured. There is a man and a woman in the front of the boat. The man is white while the woman is not. The more I look at the image the more I imagine her as Māori. Her ethnic identity is unclear she could be

kaitāpoi traveling within Aotearoa for adventure and excitement but then she may also be an international tourist. The lack of symbols inscribed onto the guide and tourists bodies further displaces colonial imaginings of white men controlling nature and the exotic other.

From adventure to expert
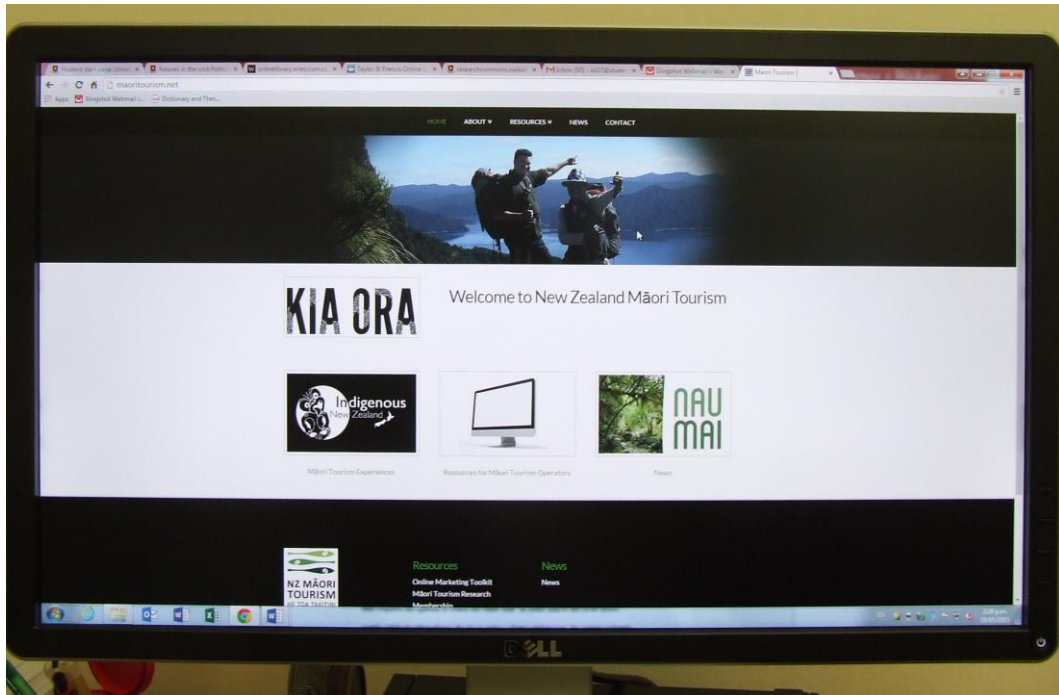
Figure 8: Welcome to New Zealand Māori Tourism. Image by me 18/05/2015

Figure 8 is another image found on the NZMT homepage. All NZMT images are presented as though the viewer is looking through a camera lens. This draws the views eye to what is of importance (Rose 2001), and in this case the camera lens is focused on expertise. This image depicts a trekking guide and a tourist. The tourist is non-white and the guide may be identified as Māori but only through affiliation with NZMT. While NZMT are disrupting the hegemony of tourism images by placing Māori as leaders guiding non-Western tourists it may be the

white face has just been replaced with a brown one. In some ways NZMT are at risk of continuing a hegemonic masculine tourism discourse.

As kaitāpoi and as a researcher I find this image is appealing as a researcher I find the image further resists dominant tourism discourses. The land, water and guide with local knowledge expertise are things that I look for when I travel. The absence of 'cultural markers' is also notable in this image. This is another example of a leading guide. He is positioned higher than the tourist and is pointing out over a body of water giving the thumbs up signal. One can imagine the guide is reassuring the reader of the image that 'it's alright, I know the way, I am an expert in local knowledge'. Water is featured again in this image and the terrain is covered in dense bush. City or town life is nowhere to be seen. This image utilises the kind of pristine imaginings often found in tourism branding with blue skies and water gives the impression of perfect conditions and the pair are standing alone in a wild place. And while the image supports the concept of a beautiful 'unpopulated' Aotearoa, remote areas such as this are dangerous and formidable places, even more so if weather conditions deteriorate.

The concept of trust can also be applied to this image much like the river rafting image above. Only the guide knows the way and the positioning of actors in this image informs us that the guide is valued as an expert. Local environmental knowledge is at the centre of this image and the Māori guide is presented as an expert in bush knowledge and the location. Hegemonic branding is contested by the absence of the white male tourist conquering a wild land alone. Here the

image portrays a different story. One where the tourist guide is at the centre and as the expert.

Unidentified, immobile and united?
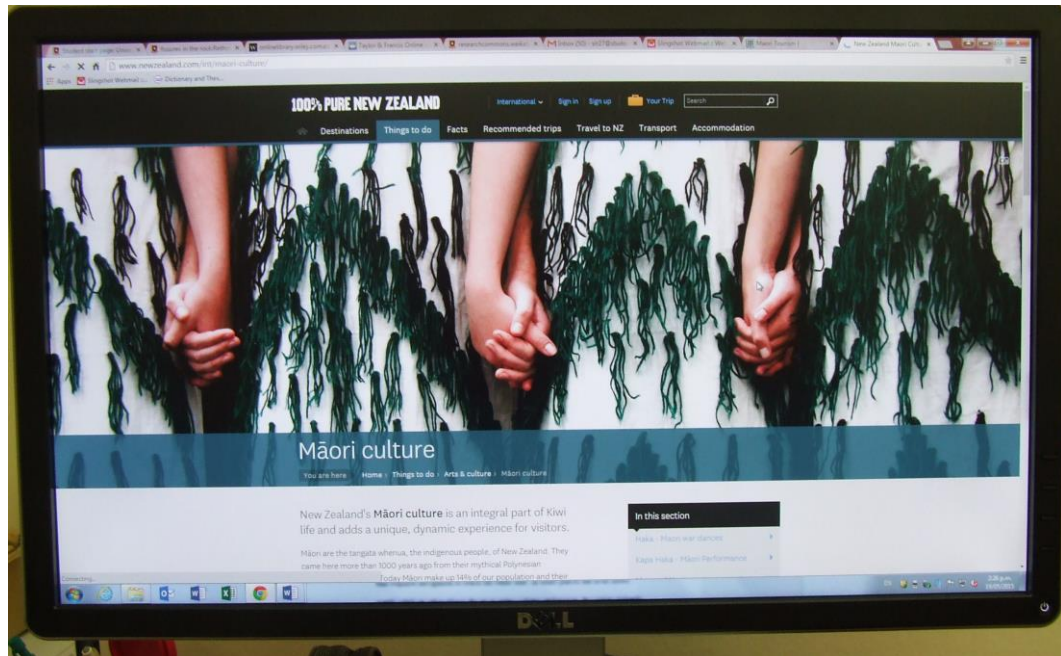
Figure 9: Māori 'culture'. Image by me 18/05/2015

This image can be found on the TNZ webpage representing Māori tourism. The image has a flat appearance not unlike tukutuku panels in a wharenui (meeting house). The image also looks like a sharp mountain range. In the image there are four feminised bodies and patterns in the korowai (Māori cloak embellished with tassels) also look like mountain peaks. Only the torsos are visible dressed in garments that reflect a traditional korowai. This image conforms to mind/body binary thinking, women as associated with the body and disassociated with the mind. To me the fabric in the korowai looks like manufactured cotton and the hukahuka (tassels) seem to be made of wool. All bodies are holding hands, their faces and feet are hidden, their identities are constructed in the fabric of their

clothing, they remain faceless and immobile because of the lack of feet to move forward. There is also no landscape in the image therefore no context of positioning on Aotearoa's landscapes. The faceless and immobile bodies of Māori women are inscribed as placeless without the power of positioning. The holding hands are all of a similar skin tone, small, woman or childlike. There is no diversity in skin tone nor in the size of hands, they are uniform, pale and delicate homogenising Māori women's identities within the boundaries of acceptable Western ideologies (Beets 1997). The holding of hands could be a representation of kotahitanga (unity) but rendering the bodies faceless defuses the power of Māori unity and self-determination. I find myself wondering if these are the hands of Māori at all, they could be any 'bodies'. This image essentialises Māori bodies for the tourist as not too 'dark' not too 'large or strong' but gentle, childlike, feminised and assimilated into a homogenised colonial ideology (Beets 1997, Hudson 2010, Suaaili 1997).

Māori hunters
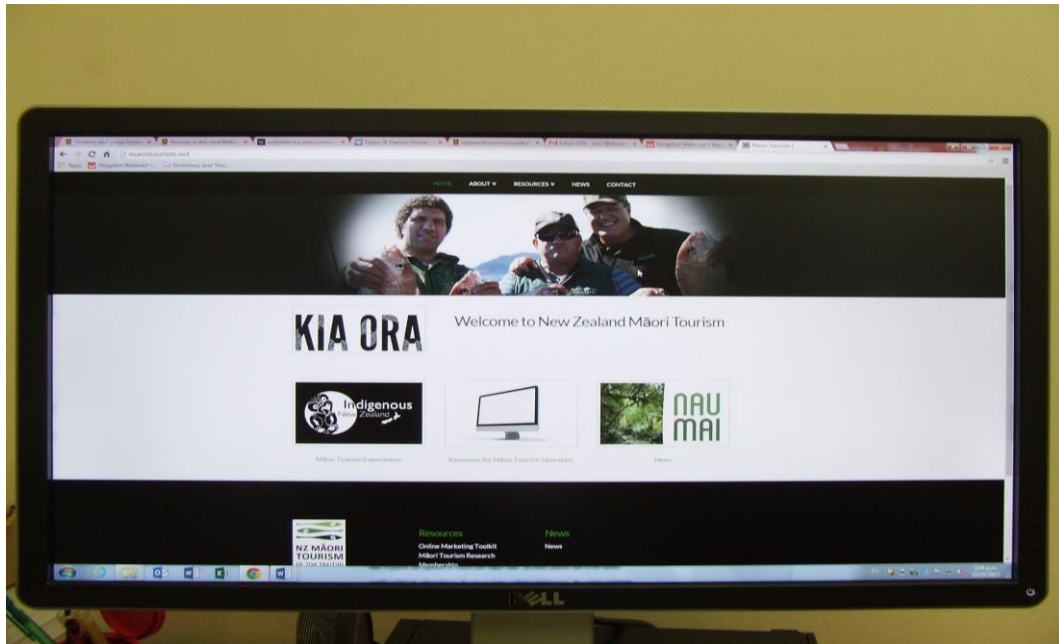
Figure 10: Maori hunters. Image by me 18/05/2015

On the NZMT website Māori men are constantly positioned as leaders with expertise and responsibilities. In the image above three men hold their snapper catch up for the photographer. In the distance is a blue bay and headland. Two of the men are smiling and the third man has his mouth is turned down. You cannot see his catch and the tallest man has his hand on his shoulder. An unsmiling face of tourists are not usually applied to tourism images and I am curious about how this image would be read by international tourists. It could be an expression of pride and staunchness to be read as a 'hard man' image. Maybe his fish are so big he is struggling to hold them up or he may be unhappy with his catch and is hiding them because they are so small. The reading of this image will be informed by the world views of tourists and discourses that shape Māori identities. This image seems less staged in some ways. Yes, the actors have posed for the

photograph but it looks to be the type of image a tourist or guide would take at the end of a day's fishing. While two of the men in this image are television hosts in 'Hunting Aotearoa' the roles of the actors in this image are unclear and, again, there is nothing to indicate who is Māori and who is not. Again, they look like kaitāpoi to me but they could easily be of another ethnicity. As a representation of Māori tourism this image may appeal to the kaitāpoi who travel to regions of interest. All of my participants discussed their experiences as kaitāpoi which they practiced in a multitude of ways. The point I make here is that NZMT are producing images that are inclusive of kaitāpoi. This also resists the hegemonic positioning of Indigenous people in tourism images as guides serving the white male tourist. It is not clear who the tourist is in this image.

Anahera also had a divided opinion on the representation of Māori but goes beyond her role at the information centre to offer the tourists what she considers to be a 'real' Māori experience. Her idea of a 'real' experience is depicted in the image above but her words also offer and insight into how she imagines Māori lives.

> Anahera: I feel really proud that Māori are out there in an international light and that wider scope. But, internationally, because we are made to look so, not real, we're made to look, you know, people come here expecting to see Māori running around in grass skirts doing the haka so I actually advise them if that's what you looking for you need to head to Rotorua because they do the whole shebang (entirety of a thing). And they say 'no, we want real!' and I say 'well, this is us,

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we're real!' We get some beautiful people here and when we do we

take them home to the settlement. We tell them, we explain that in real

life you might be heading down to the river to set the nets to get ika

(fish), you might head to the bridge to get whitebait, you might be

heading out to the beach to …. That is real Māori. That is real living

(Interview: 24/11/2014).

Anahera is proud of the way Māori are represented in tourism on the global stage

but at the same time she feels it is not a realistic representation of contemporary

Māori life in Aotearoa. While she contests what is portrayed in tourism images by

offering tourists an experience in her daily life not all Māori can achieve or they

may not even desire this kind of lifestyle. Anahera's conception of 'real Māori' is

constructed by geographical, cultural and social conditions. Although I did not

present Anahera with images such as Figure 10 her imaginings of contemporary

Māori life are still captured NZMT's representations.

In NZMT's images Māori women are positioned through their absence. While

NZMT are disrupting the single story of Māori tourism by (re)positioning Māori

identities as contemporary and in leadership they are still producing images that

continue a hegemonic masculine imagining of women in tourism images this is

discussed in the next section.

Wahine toa or Māori maiden?
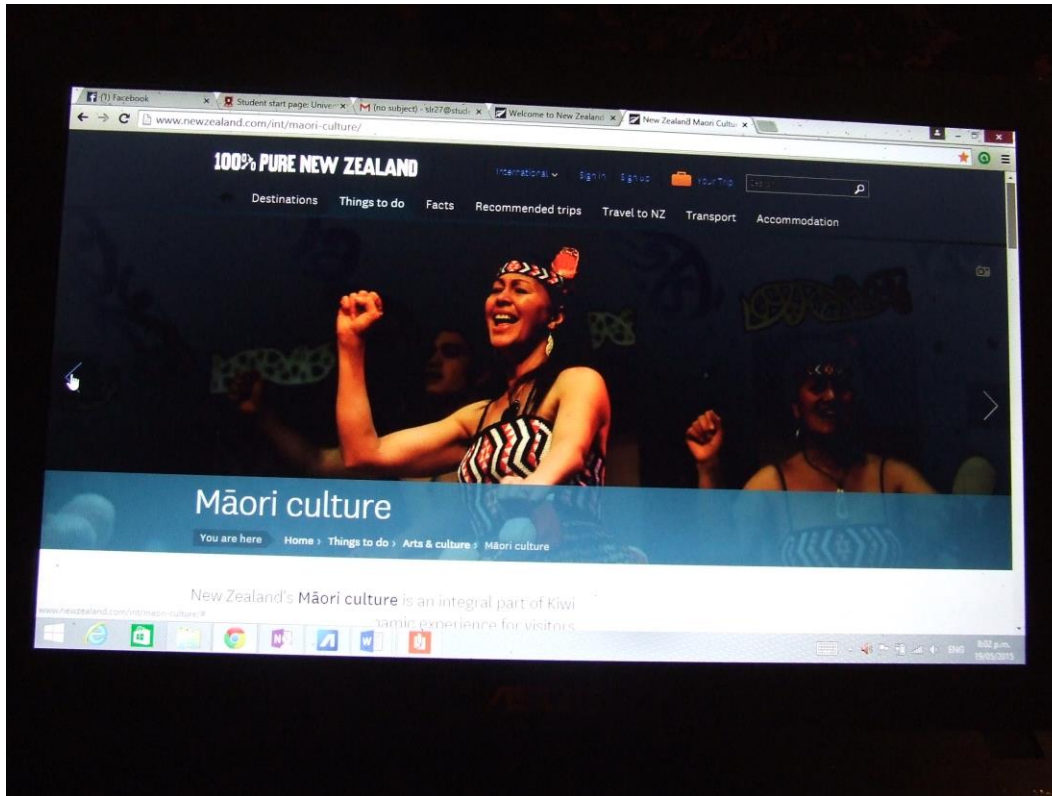
Figure 11: Māori culture. Image by me 18/05/2015

Above is an image found on the TNZ Māori tourism webpage and the following image, Figure 11 is an image from NZMT's homepage. Both contain imaginings of Māori women performing waiata (song) and poi (a ball swung during singing). I have deliberately placed these images in juxtaposition to highlight how both institutions are positioning women as the 'exotic other'. Tourism branding often includes Indigenous women inscribing the 'exotic other' onto tourism landscapes (Beets 1997, Johnston & Frohlick 2011, Suaalii 1997). In the TNZ image there are three actors, two women and a man in the background, dressed in a contemporary representation of traditional Māori clothing. Actors' mouths are smiling and open for waiata as they perform, the women are in the foreground and poi and patu

(short flat weapon) etch 'difference' onto the bodies of women. The image is framed with Māori design and tukutuku panels (lattice work) which suggests they are performing at a marae although the background may also be the backdrop of a stage.
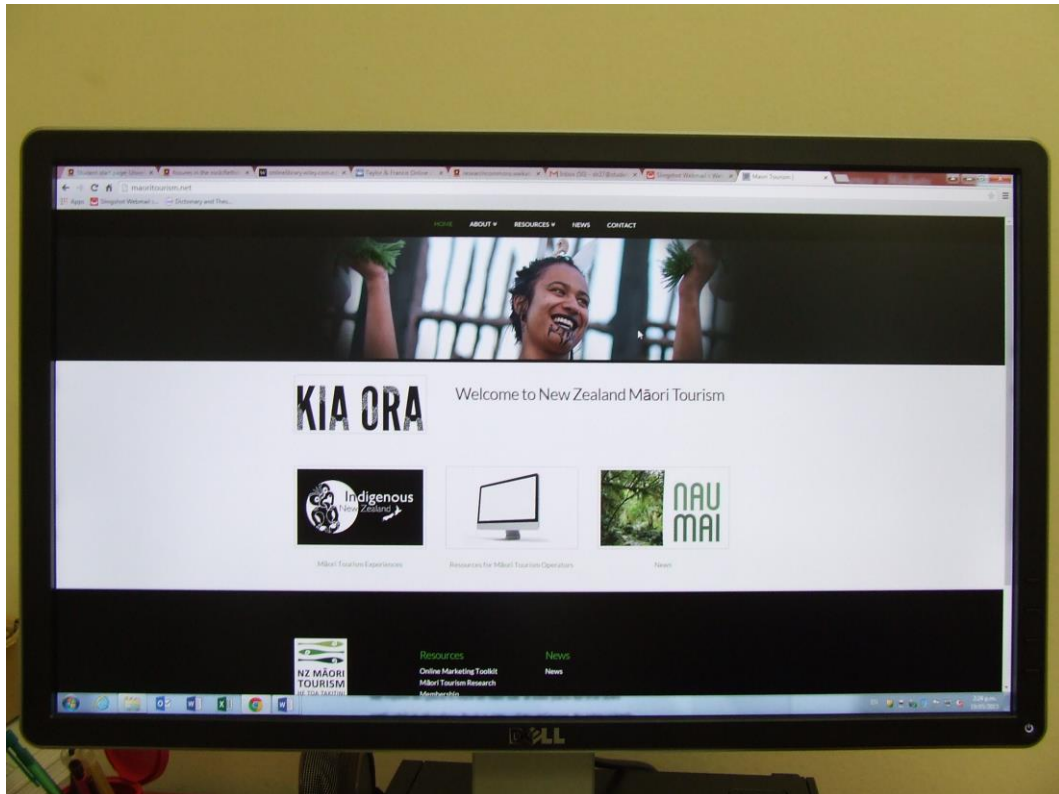
Figure 12: Welcome to New Zealand Māori Tourism. Image by me 18/05/2015

NZMT's image is a headshot of a lone woman with moko on her chin and poi in her hands. This image mirrors TNZ's image in the way the woman's body is positioned as traditional performer, smiling, feminised and romanticised. The background is unclear in NZMT's image but to me it looks to be outdoors in the setting of a reconstructed pā (fortified Māori village). Combining such elements as poi, tukutuku, marae or pā fulfil a historical and colonial function providing an "oases of timelessness" ricking relegating Māori woman to the past (Beets 1997 16). Throughout Aotearoa's colonisation images of tourism Māori maidens have

been applied to branding constructing discourses of 'Otherness' on 'savage' and untouched landscapes (Beets 1997). In both images women's bodies are rendered potentially immobile, yet again, with the exclusion of their feet and there is no sign of the tourist.

State sponsored colonial representation of Māori women in tourism is, in many ways, continued today by the same discourses that informed early twentieth century tourism (Beets 1997, Frolick & Johnston 2011, Hudson 2010, Te Awekotuku 1981). The only differences in the two images above are the location, number of actors and the props used to inscribe the bodies of Māori women. In the NZMT image the poi the woman holds are slightly out of view obscured by framing of the picture, she has a white feather and bone heru (comb) in her hair. Both institutions, TNZ and NZMT, are reinforcing and capitalising on a 'traditional' representation of Māori woman in tourism (Beets 1997).

It seems NZMT maybe inadvertently conforming to colonial, masculine and hegemonic representation of the Māori maiden by positioning women as traditional performers in tourism. While they position Māori men as leaders women remain marginalised as the 'exotic other' in their images of tourism. Tourism geographies are moral terrains where wāhine are increasingly engaging in leadership roles. Amokura Panoho is currently the chairperson on the New Zealand Māori Tourism Board (NZMT) she provides strategic advice for Māori governance of the tourism industry. This is an important leadership role and I question why NZMT are not representing Māori women as leaders. Māori women are performing vital roles in maintaining, reclaiming and reshaping Māori identities in tourism and beyond. By engaging Māori women in tourism research I

am re-weaving the tourism kete with whenu that highlights the multiple ways
Māori women are leading Māori tourism.

Conclusion

Values applied to the staging and branding of Aotearoa's tourism are constructed
through complex colonial and masculine power relations fuelled by binary
thinking such as: tourist/host, contemporary/traditional and civilised/'savage',
valued/worthless and 'the exotic other' which can result in essentialist imaginings
of identities and places (Amoamo 2011, Frolick & Johnston 2011, Mosedale
2012). An analysis of tourism branding reveals that while historical and colonial
representations continue, tourism images portraying contemporary Māori living in
a contemporary Aotearoa are increasing. Amoamo (2011 1260) posits that Māori
are not "passive victims" and colonial representations in tourism are disrupted by
a reclaiming and repositioning of Māori identities and protocols in political
spaces.

In TNZ images the bodies of Māori are inscribed with cultural markers such as
bone carvings, traditional clothing, moko and weaponry that confirms and
confines Māori identities to Māori 'cultural' tourism while NZMT constructs
diversity in tourism through their tourism images. NZMT disrupt these imaginings
by positioning Māori men as leaders with expertise but, at the same time, risk
continuing hegemonic masculine discourses by positioning women as the
romantised (and submissive) Māori maiden. Colonial representations of Māori
women's identities are continued and maintained by both NZMT and TNZ.
Aotearoa was a popular destination for the colonial tourist in the 19th century and

images of Māori women as the 'exotic other' on an exotic landscape were, and are still, commodified to lure tourists. Māori women are stepping up to leadership roles within tourism spaces and unsettling masculine and Eurocentric imaginings of women's roles. Wāhine are leading the delivery and development of Māori tourism and I suggest this needs to be reflected in state sponsored branding by both TNZ and in NZMT.

NZMT's list of Māori tourism providers revealed there is diversity in the types of tourism experiences provided by Māori. Participants felt that while they were proud of the cultural representation of Māori tourism was important they also felt these imaginings fixed them in the past. Māori tourism providers are excluded from state sponsored branding if their contemporary identities and diverse tourism products do not fit neatly into the categorised 'cultural' tourism product and/or landscapes. They felt their representation in state sponsored branding depended on their willingness to perform as the "Māori doll dancing to the tune of marketing" (Interview: Moana 31/08/2014).

CHAPTER SIX

Values, morals and shifting Māori tourism terrains

Māori working in tourism are faced with multiple conflicting realities on a daily basis. They negotiate the moral terrains of their own world and those of visiting tourists, all of which are layered with the political, colonial, patriarchal and capitalist values of Aotearoa. Juxtaposed between these layers are diverse Māori values and practices that shape tourism terrains at the grassroots. In other words, the daily realities of Māori tourism providers are inextricably entangled with state planning and branding of Aotearoa's tourism. In this chapter participants' voices are brought to the fore to examine how Māori values are integrated and practiced at the bedrock of tourism's moral terrains. In doing so, this chapter demonstrates the complexities and tensions but also the challenges and resistances that Māori tourism terrains create. The final research question is examined. How and in what ways do Māori tourism providers (re)construct their places and identities through practicing Māori values in Aotearoa' tourism spaces?

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 to be navigated, negotiated, traversed and travelled. Waitt et. al. (2007) describe a moral terrain as:

> A web of values layered over place through discourses that establish
> normative practices and belongings. Moral terrains are inscribed
> onto bodies through affect (Waitt et al 2007 249).

As a spatial metaphor 'moral terrains' challenges tourism geographers to think beyond dualisms such as culture/nature, human/landscape, active/passive. Tourism landscapes can be conceptualised as active, social, political, economic and spiritual spaces contoured with challenges and degrees of agency (Waitt et al 2007). For Māori, the landscape is imagined as the body of Papatūānuku (Earth mother), in other words, a physical, spiritual and ancestral body which is inscribed with unique traditional and contemporary values (August 2009, Simmonds 2014). Hapū, iwi and whānau become important institutions where traditional knowledges inform diverse economies (Te Awekotuku 1981). It is not my intention to define Māori tourism based on fixed descriptions of Māori values as this is a contradiction of the very essence of those values and can serve to narrowly define and prescribe what are incredibly diverse values and practices. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis ngā matatini Māori is an important value which reflects complexity and diversity. Māori values are both fixed and moving at the same time. Overarching values and practices are shaped by Te Ao Māori they are transcendent, constant and unmoving while, at the same time, terrestrial, flexible and constantly moving (Hall 2012). Dualisms are disrupted through processes that break down concepts of dichotomies because duality is not in opposition but linked and existing in unison (Hall 2012). The terrestrial becomes transcendent, the fixed is also flexible, physical is, at the same time, spiritual.

In this chapter the voices of participants converge around three key themes. In the first section I look back at the past stories of colonialism to understand how participants have experienced life in Aotearoa. Looking back to experiences of colonialism allows the reader to better understand why planning for control of future tourism is important for Māori in tourism. Not only does it allow for

alternative stories to be told but it is also necessary for Māori to "(re)educate themselves in the histories of their peoples relations with the New Zealand state, land loss, politics, cultural assimilation and past injustices" (Paora et al 2011 253). I feel these stories are important not only for Māori or Māori involved in tourism but also for the entire population of Aotearoa and governing bodies.

The second theme examines participant's experiences of Māori tourism workspaces. The workspace and marae institutions are a space where the individual and collective experience is contingent on the values that inform the institutions practices (Valentine 2001). In this section I examine how practices in workspace and marae geographies influences the Māori experience in tourism. Marae relationships are interconnected through whakapapa (ancestry) and whenua (land) and maintained and nurtured through a set of practices that bind people together. Participants felt the presence of Māori principles in the workspace enhanced their experience, built on their cultural knowledge and cemented a good future for their children.

In the last section the practices of participants are explored in order to highlight values that inform the diverse economies of Māori in tourism. Practices that challenge the 'norm' in tourism such as free home sharing and tangata whenua (people of the land) discounts, are discussed as performances that disrupt the 'single story' of capitalism and tourism (Gibson-Graham 2006, Molesdale 2012). While tourism is considered a product of colonialism driven by capitalism Māori working in tourism are adding another layer to tourism geographies through placing value in capitalist and non-capitalist practices. Not only are they adding

another layer they are also challenging the status quo, reclaiming and performing self-determination.

Telling the multiple stories of Aotearoa's tourism terrains

Tourism as a body of knowledge and tourism landscapes are interwoven with a multitude of constructions. Tourism itself has a colonial history constructed on the perception of the 'other' and the 'exotic'. These landscapes are constructed through current and historical representations of place and people creating social discourses and practices that are capable of enhancing, modifying or destroying unique cultural systems. Some theorists may see looking back at the past injustices of colonialism as a practice that is capable fixing the subject in the role of the colonised (Gibson-Graham 2006). Looking back, however, is often practiced by Māori 'outside' of colonial bounds and I argue that there is a need to recognise historical and ongoing colonisation. Without looking back we cannot fully understand the social, cultural, physical, political or economic experience of participants (Paora et al 2011).

The aim of telling these stories is to highlight the benefits participants experienced while engaging Māori values in tourism. Participants chose to tell their stories of the past when I asked about how they expressed their Māori values. The topic of colonisation was not included in the research questions rather it seemed the participants felt it was important to tell these stories in order for me to understand where they had come from. For some it may have been an expression of how far they had come to get back to their culture. For one participant it was a way for him tell his story of resistance and for another it may have been a way to express

feelings of loss, having something of value taken and to explain what they experienced as a lack of knowledge about their identity.

During the colonisation of Aotearoa Māori suffered many hardships and injustices (Simmonds 2014, Te Awekotuku 1981). Rūhī grew up in the 1940s and her early childhood experiences are a stark reminder of the brutality of colonialism. She said:

> Rūhī: I had my Māori language beaten out of me at home and at school. (Joint interview: 24/07/2014)

After the death of her mother Rūhī was taken from her rohe (tribal lands) at a very young age. She was raised in a Pākehā household where she felt she was made to feel ashamed of being Māori. This has been experienced by many Māori, she is not alone in her experience (Smith 2012, Te Awekotuku 1981). Feelings of shame produce individual and collective effects that not only shape experiences but also feelings of inadequacy (Probyn 2005) 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 today. She said that when she visits marae she feels her knowledge of Māori protocol is lacking but at the same time experiences feelings of connectedness and homecoming. Rūhī's understanding of Māori culture are felt as a lack of knowledge and are due to the internalisation of a colonial discourse about what it means to be Māori (Mikaere 2011). Colonisation and her childhood situation in the past denied her access to her culture by cutting her off physically, emotionally and spiritually from the moral terrains of her whakapapa. Her present affiliation with kaumātua and her involvement in tourism has empowered her to

reshape her identity and her future demonstrating that it is never too late to reclaim what was once taken. She elaborates:

> Rūhī: 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 practice 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)

As Rūhī travels through life she has had to traverse the moral terrains of a Pākehā world. Rūhī is finding that although she has felt disconnected from her Māori culture in the past she now has a stronger connection through attending the kaumātua group and through acknowledging Te Ao Māori in her tourism practice. As a holistic healer and teacher visited by both domestic and international tourists she now feels she can identify herself and her practice as being based on Māori values and her identity as Māori.

Anahera reiterates the colonial violence many elders experienced:

> Anahera: 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 korero about her kaumātua and kuia supports Rūhī's story but moves beyond that to discuss colonised experiences as an intergenerational loss and

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shaming that is ongoing and affecting many members of her marae not only the older generation. This kind of shaming through colonialism is carried on through the generations (Probyn 2005). Anahera's use of the word 'lost' is an emotional response rather that a literal one. It expresses the grief of being denied something of value. The expression of 'lost' has been resisted by Māori scholars who provided us with a more accurate way of describing the phenomena as "stolen, erased, repressed, and (mis)represented" (Simmonds 2014 117). While Anahera has remained linked to her marae, Rūhī's connection was severed when her mother died and she was raised in a Pākehā household. For Rūhī creating links with her own marae has been difficult not only because of her past experiences and the physical distance between where she lives and her ancestral home but also because of brutal colonial practices. Yet, Anahera works, interacts with some members of her hapū on a daily basis and this means that she is able to negotiate, move past, heal from and resist the intergenerational loss of culture through re-learning and maintaining Māori practices and principles.

> Anahera: I still don't know much and we're a generation on now, I still can't
> korero 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)

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Looking back has enabled Anahera to recognise the importance of maintaining te reo and Māori value systems in the present and in the future. She looks towards future generations as teachers and leaders. What Anahera may not be aware of is that she is playing an important role as a Māori woman through her learning and leading in tourism spaces. Not only is she benefiting personally from learning more about her culture and language while working at the tourism centre she is also taking that knowledge back to the marae and sharing it with other members. She understands her experience is of great value and values her experience as a privilege.

Kāhu grew up in Aotearoa's largest city but his parents ensured he maintained his connection with his whakapapa and hapū through regular visits back to his marae. Kāhu's korero was filled with fond memories but may also be viewed as a time of resistance against urbanisation and colonisation. While his parents wanted him to make the most of the opportunities the city offered he felt more comfortable in rural marae spaces.

> Kāhu: yeah I mean I grew up in Auckland so it was all European and all wealthy but we were entrenched in our Māori so if we went anywhere we went back to our marae. We always went down there for our holidays, tangi and things. I went to school down there in the end. I just used to take off and they (teachers) would let me go to school and my parents used to have to come down to get me and drag me back. I didn't like Auckland so I used to run off but he (dad) wanted us to be up there

for our future, for opportunities and stimulation. (Interview: 18/08/2014)

Kāhu told stories of his resistance to life in the city on a few occasions during our interview and it seems that these early experiences in both worlds may have empowered his ability to resist total colonisation and urbanisation. Here, again, we can understand Kāhu's moral terrains more effectively by listening to his past. His use of words such as 'entrenched' and 'drag me back' indicate how deeply he felt about being part of the Māori world. He didn't run away to escape school or his parents, he ran away to escape the city and a colonised lifestyle choosing to construct and maintain his connection to the marae on a daily basis.

Experiences of colonisation have resulted in the devaluing of Māori social systems (Te Awekotuku 1981) which can, in effect, impact on self-value. Through conversation with participants on Māori values in tourism the devaluing of culture and self-value was brought up on several occasions. This reminds us of why the impacts of colonisation need to be resisted and deconstructed. When I asked participants about the benefits and agency for Māori in tourism some expressed their thoughts in the following ways:

Sandi: What impact do you think Māori values can have of the lives of people involved in tourism?

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 lime light. They don't think they are worth that amount of money.

Sandi: 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 acknowledges that Māori do have opportunities in Aotearoa and that

many Māori also have a vast array of talents but she feels they need to be

encouraged to step into the limelight. Feelings of 'unworthiness' socially and

economically has been an outcome of colonial powers that were in search of

resources (and people) to exploit (Te Awekotuku 1981). Māori culture and social

systems have been devalued by colonial forces some Māori now feel they have

nothing of value to offer and are left disempowered. Some hide, some are afraid

and some believe it will never work out. These beliefs are constructed in the

experiences of colonisation shaping their moral terrains. Climbing mountains of

self-doubt and swamped in feelings of fear some Māori struggle to negotiate

agency and navigate the social systems of Aotearoa.

Kāhu also discussed this when I asked if he thought Māori have the agency to

develop tourism based on their own values. He replied:

Kāhu: We have plenty of opportunities it's just some aren't actually doing it. I'm not saying they can't because people can do anything if they put their mind to it. It's a confidence thing, if you tell people they are stupid … there's a consensus going around the people are lazy. I mean years ago they (non-Māori) thought we were dumb and then Māori thought they were dumb themselves. They don't think that now so it's changing you know. (Interview: 18/08/2014)

Both Kāhu and Anahera understand that there are opportunities available to Māori in tourism in Aotearoa and their comments reveal how the 'single colonial story' of a Māori identity has impeded on the personal and collective agency of some Māori, hapū and iwi. I feel these are important opinions to consider. If we do not look back into the experiences of Māori we cannot move beyond the discourses constructed through colonialism. I often hear some Pākehā questioning: "why do Māori have more opportunities than I do? And why is it that Māori don't take them?" When I have tried to explain what Anahera and Kāhu have communicated and I am told, in no uncertain terms, "That's complete rubbish". The discussion then often escalates to suggestions of "laziness" or "just bloody hopeless". While this is not the opinion of all Pākehā the discourse continues at the determent of Māori traversing the moral terrains of not only tourism but all areas of societal life in Aotearoa.

It is crucial to (re)construct Māori experiences and identities in order to disrupt essentialising and devaluing colonial discourses. Power is about defining what truths are real and which can be ignored, "We live in a time of refusals. A time in

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which public and political discourse around equality, poverty and race is shaped by a refusal to see, to acknowledge, to act" (Smith 2013 229). Tourism developed and controlled by Māori can be a platform where Māori identities are reconstructed and valued and the devaluing discourses of colonialism are deconstructed, acknowledged and then put to rest.

Landscapes, marae, work and identity

In my discussions with participants they spoke about how they practiced variety of Māori values rather than a definition of what values they incorporated into their style of tourism delivery. Unravelling the strands of ngā matatini Māori (diversity) is an important part of this research and relates to the research question, how and in what ways do Māori tourism providers (re)construct their places and identities through practicing do Māori values? Acknowledging ngā matatini Māori, diversity in tourism and Māori identities is woven into my research as a point of validity. Whetū and Tūrama's korero about ngā matatini Māori in tourism spaces highlights the need to diversify Māori tourism.

Sandi: So how do you feel about ngā matatini Māori?

Tūrama: Yeah, well, the hapū, they have all different practices.

Whetū: That's a tricky one cause as you go around the country everyone has different ideas and different beliefs everyone was brought up different so, so for me to answer that question is tricky cause I won't know the next is doing and he won't know what I'm doing. But we all have a common ground. (Joint interview: 22/08/2014)

Putting values into practice was more important to my participants than the definition of each value. This was an important learning from this research both academically and for me personally. I found that when I asked participants about particular values my questions were meet with vague answers. As I learnt more about ngā matatini Māori I realised that I needed to take a different approach to analysing the information I had collected. I felt it was important to focus on how values shape the moral terrains of tourism and tourism bodies rather than provide a definitive discussion of Māori values in tourism.

In Figueroa and Waitt's (2008) discussion on the moral terrains of tourism values and practices, the tourists are analysed to understand how emotions play a role in shaping tourists' behaviour and identities. In what follows, this framework is applied to the way participants expressed their identities at home and at work in order to understand how their values are layered onto Aotearoa's tourism geographies. For some of the participants' home and work are inseparable. Living in the spaces of work or working in the spaces of home causes boundaries to be blurred. Work ethic and personal values become juxtaposed unable to be separated. For some, home is not only where one lives and/or grew up but also where one's ancestors have come from and where they are buried. For this reason I felt it was important to, first, understand how participants (re)imagined their place in the world before considering tourism workspaces.

Relationships with the landscape are inscribed and embodied and exemplified by two participants in particular who spoke in depth about their identities and their

landscapes. In response to a question I asked about how they practice Māori values in your day to day spaces, Moana replied:

> Moana: 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 (a place of belonging) 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 feels 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 is what helps her to identify as a Māori woman. She sees herself as Māori with a Pākehā background and while she questions what that might mean she does not describe herself as both Māori and Pākehā. For me this is helpful to understand my own liminal position. Many times I have been confronted by both Māori and Pākehā with questions of my lineage: 'so exactly how much Māori blood do you have?' This question often leaves me spluttering

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and stuttering in exasperation (and with a little anger) not really knowing the answer. I feel whakamā (embarrassed) that the question is even asked. Hearing Moana's description of her identity as Māori with a Pākehā background empowers me with a new way to describe my own identity. One which affords me to rethink my identity and base it on my connection to my whakapapa, the whenua and my values rather than on the purity (or impurity) of my blood. Evelyn Stokes (1985 1) suggests it is "better to define Māori as a state of mind, world view or a particular geography and history". Regardless of the quantity of Māori blood my body holds I feel it is my Te Ao Māori, my experiences, my whakapapa and my relationship with this land that makes me who I am.

Kāhu, had left Aotearoa in his early 20s to live in various countries around the globe, but felt similarly to Kāhu but refereed to the architecture of the marae in particular:

> 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) and I was always drawing Māori designs and the house I build had the same flavour to it.

> Sandi: 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)

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Throughout Kāhu's past experiences he has maintained his connection to his whakapapa through art and the construction of his home abroad. The physical shaping of his home represented and sustained his identity as Māori while he connected with the people and the spaces he inhabited. This enabled him to etch his identity on to the landscape while navigating the moral terrains in a foreign land. Marae architecture has also been incorporated into the construction of his homestay accommodation and he is constantly upgrading and modifying this, thus expressing his Māori identity through carvings and art. Four of seven tourism ventures I visited also featured marae style architecture. While some were more elaborate than others they featured contemporary Māori architecture. Below is a photo I took while travelling through the research sites. I chose to include this image because it offers a glimpse of Māori architecture that can be found in the less staged tourism spaces of Aotearoa. The structures of marae are complex, diverse and ever evolving.

Figure 13: Marae architecture. Image by me 21/11/2014

It could be argued that ways Moana and Kāhu identify with the land is gendered through imaginings of the land as a female entity, the body of Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), and Kāhu as capable of modifying the landscape. Moana senses herself and her children embodied in the landscape of her tīpuna while Kāhu inscribes his identity onto landscapes through constructing his home based marae architecture. While the gendering of landscapes may play a part in the way they imagine their identities I also draw attention to Kāhu's geographical circumstances. Kāhu has spent many years abroad and his current home/tourist accommodation is not located within his rohe. The way in which Kāhu visualises his identity and the construction of his home/s and workplace may also be associated with feelings of displacement. In some ways he is ensuring his Māori identity remains connected to the land his home and business is built on in meaningful ways. He elaborates:

> Kāhu: Well you know our family are connected to this place because my mother and father lived here and so do we. My daughter's remains are here so nobody wants to part with this place because we've got this connection here. And another thing is a lot of the trees and plants are a result of my mother growing things here, some of them have come from my childhood home. So yeah, we are quite connected to this land even if I'm not related to any of the people here. My mother used to always say there's supposed to be a meaning behind what you're doing and it has to do with history as opposed to dollars and cents and the conventional way of thinking now. You know people tell everyone else what to do and try to get as much money as possible but she taught me to have a

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connection with what I was doing and meaning behind it. (Interview
18/08/2014)

For Kāhu there is value in being bonded through whānau, past and present, to the land and his mother's plants. He has constructed a connection to the land through the spirit of his parents, his daughter and his childhood, for him they are all present. His home and work space is layered with a multitude of values which intersect on physical, social, emotional and spiritual terrains. While this aspect of his identity does not connect directly to tourism it may be that providing homestay accommodation to the tourist allows Kāhu to sustain a lifestyle that encourages the wider whānau to remain and maintain their connection to the land (Bennett 2001).

Anahera's kōrero about her experience on the tourism landscape also highlights a close relationship to the whenua. Here she describes non-human actors as life giving linking to her collective identity:

Anahera: not only does it give us life but that's what we live under and live around. It's survival without those [mountains, trees, rivers] we don't have survival because they all sit and link one another up to make what we do and who we are. (Interview: 24/11/2014)

Participants' statements highlight how Māori identities in tourism spaces are both transcendent and terrestrial. Landscapes are considered to be more than a resource to be exploited for tourism and are a valued component of their identities, a representation of who has come before them and who will come after them.

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Marae spaces were important institutions for some of my participants. Marae are dispersed across tourism landscapes. Within marae spaces values are practiced and applied to the moral terrains of the people who interacted in those spaces. Two of the field sites I visited were iwi operated and six of my participants were active members of marae. Marae are places where hapū members come together on collectively owned land (Mead 2003). Marae leadership is governed by a group of trustees and/or committee members who represent the collective or hapū. Moana discussed tourism as something that was often considered at her marae committee meetings. The challenges they faced was how and what kind of tourism could be implemented but also because of their location. The committee felt tourism may offer hapū members a way to sustain marae life and their culture. They felt that tourism could create job opportunities in their rohe which may encourage people to stay or return to their papakāinga (home). In the following statement Moana discusses some of the challenges her marae faces:

Moana: I think that in most marae we are faced with smaller numbers of Kaumātua and larger numbers of young people who don't speak te reo, they're not brought up in marae settings, they're urbanised so it's changing the face of that identity of what it means to be Māori. And those stories perhaps, that in the past we've had of a very strong identity, being part of the marae, may not necessarily exist anymore in a contemporary setting. The challenge that I find is that it's marrying up the contemporary with the traditional to move forward. Culturally that progress, and it recognises how, hopefully, in the near future, the skills that are at the marae are around in the future and that women step more

into those roles. The leaders, the Kaumātua who are at the forefront of korero, of learning and sharing that knowledge, that's what I've noticed at a marae level. And they are challenges and actually stepping over needs to become a little more communalised way of looking at who we are and our roles as male and female. Women should step up so there's issues that need to be put forward and for us to also move forward with the young people. (Interview: 22/11/2014)

Moana is finding that marae leadership roles are increasingly becoming the responsibility of Māori women. While this may be due to the work commitments of men and the declining number of kaumātua remaining in the hapū it may also be because women are gaining higher education, holding roles in management and are more active in marae spaces. This links back to what has been said in the previous chapter about women's leadership roles. Not only are women challenging Eurocentric and masculine representations and leading tourism at a multitude of levels but they are continuing to (re)construct leadership at the marae.

Marama and Anahera's experiences underline how Māori women are returning to their hapū to work in tourism. Both had grown up, were educated and had worked in large cities and when they returned to their rohe they brought their skills with them. Marama returned to her papakāinga to work in the kitchen of a Māori owned and operated hotel. While the hotel was not iwi owned their institutional values were based on marae tikanga. The hotel worked closely with surrounding marae to provide tourist groups with marae stays, conference venues and

education and referred to members of staff as whānau members rather than staff. Moana returned to her rohe because she wanted to be closer to her whānau and iwi and also wanted a quieter lifestyle to the city.

> Marama: 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 knowledge in mātauranga Māori meant she became one of the lead guides. During her time there she also introduced concepts of whakawhānaungatanga and pōwhiri to the workforce and a female perspective to the tourist experiences offered in by the hotel. She explains:

> Marama: 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 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)

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Marama's ability and willingness to step into many roles is shaping tourism's moral terrains in her rohe and in Aotearoa. Not only is she capable, flexible and content in a multitude of roles, she is shaping management, service and guiding roles according to her female perspective or mana wahine. Her identity is embedded in tourism landscapes as a leader - willing to do any job with the agency to tell another important story about the Indigenous landscapes within which tourists 'navigate'. Colonisation has promoted the roles of men as leaders over and above women's roles, historically this was not always the case (Hoskins 1997), and there are now many wāhine reclaiming these positions of leadership and influence (Simmonds 2014).

Anahera worked within a tourism organisation which was iwi owned and operated, she also had multiple roles. She was a camping ground caretaker, committee member and guide. She also performed service roles, guide and management roles. Her skills and knowledge ranged across the daily running of a camping ground and across the development of the organisation. Prior to our interview there had been a management meeting and I noticed that all leaving the meeting were women. Anahera's experience in tourism has been about learning tikanga and the skills of leadership within the workspace and she discusses her workspace experience, saying:

> Anahera: 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 tikanga and management skills in tourism. While the gender of all committee members is unknown to me it seemed there was a strong female representation in management. Interviews reveal the way wāhine are (re)constructing leadership imaginings in a number of spaces of Māori tourism. Identities and values are imagined as connected to the landscape and etched onto landscapes. In the next section diverse economic practices are examined to further disrupt the single story of Māori tourism.

Māori values shaping alternative tourism practices

As discussed in Chapter Four Aotearoa's tourism geographies are layered with spiritual, social and collective values combined with capital economies. Alternative practices in tourism builds diverse economies. Gibson-Graham (2006) and Molesdale (2012) list alternative practices as – collective approaches to development, Indigenous and traditional knowledges, home sharing, gift giving, trading through non-monetary means and concepts of reciprocity (Molesdale 2012). By discussing how values are created and expressed through alternative practices in diverse economies I to encourage not only Māori but other Indigenous peoples across the globe to reflect and acknowledge their own diverse and unique value systems. The alternative practices found in this study are organised into three subsections – tangata whenua discounts, spirituality and free home sharing.

Remaking the tourist experience through whakapapa and mānakitanga: Gift giving and Tangata whenua discounts

In Gibson-Graham's (2006) post capitalist economies gift giving is listed as an alternative practice that values a non-monetary exchange. To weave this concept into the study I unpack my own experiences in tourism and the research field. During field trip I stayed in Māori owned accommodation and I ate in as many Māori owned restaurants as possible and bought a few souvenirs for family. I was both researcher and kaitāpoi. Māori values and practices were shared with me during tourist transitions which unsettled the dominant story of capitalist driven tourism in New Zealand. I felt these experiences where important because they are a set of practices that were shared with me because of my identity as Māori and because they are practices that I perform when I travel.

While exploring a small coastal township I came across a small honey stall outside a house. Mānuka honey production was being developed by iwi organisations in the area and I felt that I should at least investigate. At the time I had no knowledge of who owned the stall. As luck would have it the hives were owned by a local kaumātua and kuia. The stall contained honey, rongoā (Māori medicine) and vegetables. During our exchange I asked questions about Māori rongoā, told the Kuia where I was from and why I was there. I was interested in bee keeping and she showed me their hives. Within a short amount of time not only was I was sitting down to coffee and snacks but I had also been offered another jar of honey and was given the leaves of several Māori rongoā plants.

During this time the couple shared the Māori history of the area and their experiences living in a tourism area. I think my puata (transparency) about my identity played a role in the way the interaction unfolded but my Māori identity also had an impact. I felt honoured to sit at their table, share their time and hear their stories I considered this to be far more valuable than any expensive souvenirs I would take home to my whānau. It has enriched my knowledge of others and brought me a step closer to understanding my culture and my identity as Māori.

One of the places I stayed at also sold Māori produced honey, Māori art, rongoā, skincare products and ran Māori lead tourism experiences. My stay included a tourism experience where the guide, who was a kaumātua, and I connected almost immediately through exchanging our whakapapa and hongi. My learning continued throughout this experience and after the guide came and shared my dinner table. Here we relaxed and discussed our iwi connections. I could see he was drained after performing his script and guiding us through the forest so I refrained from asking questions about tourism. It was not a scheduled interview therefore I felt it was important I allow him to rest and enjoy his dinner. The point I make with these stories is that I felt valued as kaitāpoi. My tourist experience was enhanced because of my whakapapa. The gifts I received in these two cases was their time, mātauranga Māori, and whakawhānaungatanga (establishing relationships) and a healing of my lost, or rather taken, whakapapa.

Another alternative practice the hotel and a restaurant extended was tangata whenua (people from the land) discounts. This meant the people who belonged to

the rohe could stay, eat and/or buy products for a discounted rate making tourist experiences more accessible for Māori connected to area. The practice of giving local or Indigenous discounts are often found in many non-Western tourist destinations (Molesdale 2012) and I argue that the Indigenous tourism experience is overlooked, particularly in Aotearoa. This tangata whenua discount was extended to me when I brought souvenirs. I was told that the discount usually only applied to people who could whakapapa to the area but they felt they wanted to offer it to me. While my whakapapa did not directly link to the area I feel, and maybe they did too, that a connection had been made and value in that connection was expressed through the offering of a tangata whenua discount.

Wairuatanga in the workspace

Practicing spirituality in the workspace was important to participants working in tourism. They felt working in an organisation which incorporated spiritual practices into their tourism spaces enhanced their lives because their personal world view or beliefs were continued and nurtured in the workspace. For example, Marama says:

> Marama: 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 in the previous section, Marama works for a large Māori owned and operated hotel and she felt that this meant that her personal belief systems were

not only supported and integrated into her working life but also shared with others. Mānakitanga (hospitality or care giving) and wairuatanga was not only an important aspect of customer experience but was also extended to employees changing the way interactions at work are practiced. In this case a practice such as spiritualism in the workplace has benefitted and enhanced her experience working in tourism. She considers her career to be more than a way to earn a living placing value in the transcendent experience and practices as well as sustaining life through capital gain. This theme was continued throughout participant stories and is evident in the words of Whetū when he discusses what it means to include his beliefs in his working life:

> Whetū: 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)

When shared with some tourists, however, spirituality can be misconstrued or lost on particular individuals. While some tourists may benefit from gaining spiritual information, it may be that the inclusion of wairua is for the benefit of those delivering tourism rather than those consuming the experience. Anahera discussed spirituality from the tourists' point of view and how that can shape the experience.

> Sandi: And spirituality is just as important?

> Anahera: Because of where we are and what our place signifies out rightly, it's already spiritual. It's whether, I don't know if this will sound right, but it's whether you are able to pick up on that. Because there's a lot of

people out there that are not spiritually minded, they don't really, well

they don't like the spiritual with the physical and because of that

they've missed something because it's spiritual. (Interview:

24/11/2014)

Anahera's spirituality and the tourism she delivers is closely linked to and shaped

by the transcendent and terrestrial space in which the experience takes place. She

feels that people who separate the physical from the spiritual may struggle with

understanding the Māori experience she delivers but her kōrero in the previous

section informs us that her life has been enriched by working in an institution that

supports her world view.

Whakapapa and whānaungatanga: Free home sharing

Free home sharing was practiced by three participants. As an alternative practice

this meant that accommodation transactions were not based on capital gain or

value. As discussed in Chapter Five Anahera took tourists home to her settlement

to disrupt state sponsored branding and Māori (mis)representation. Atawhai

worked in an information centre and had owned a seafood establishment in a

tourist town. She found herself taking young tourists home on a regular basis free

of charge. She shares:

Atawhai: I always put them (tourists), and this is how I ran my business, I

always put them like when my own children are overseas in their

country. I want them to look after my kids like I've looked after these

guys. My husband he'd feel hōhā (wearisome) because he would come

home and there'd be tents on the front lawn and he'd say" say "who are

those people out there?" and I would say "oh they're from Scotland".
The whole idea was, my god if my sons ever go overseas they better be
looking after my kids. (Joint interview: 24/07/2014)

Atawhai's reasoning behind sharing her home with tourists was based on
reciprocity, another important Māori value, and the idea that if she cared for
young tourists holidaying in Aotearoa her children would be cared for if they
travelled abroad. Atawhai also felt it was her responsibility to keep some of the
young female tourist safe. She felt she could not leave them to fend for
themselves in a foreign land without enough funds to secure safe accommodation.

Several participants extended their welcome to tourists who stayed for lengthy
periods. Whetū and Tūrama shared their home with two young female tourists for
approximately three months. Kāhu felt sharing his home meant non-Māori got to
experience another perspective to the dominant tourist experiences and practices
in Aotearoa: He also felt sharing his values with non-Māori taught them to think
collectively stating:

> Kāhu: After coming here she's a different person, she's connected with the
> people in our home, whereas when she came here she was this little
> white girl all about herself, now she cooks me paua fritters. (Interview:
> 18/08/2014)

During Kāhu's free home sharing experience he felt it was important to teach non-
Māori how to become connected to the whānau and for him this bonding occurred
through sharing in the cooking and caring for other members.

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Whakawhānaungatanga was also an important value for Atawhai to teach during free home sharing experience.

> Atawhai: I used to say to them 'have you rung your mother? When you leave here you ring your mother and let her know where you are and that you're safe". That's what is all about aye, just keep in touch with your family. I made sure those tourists got it. (Joint interview: 24/07/2014)

Here Atawhai is making sure young tourists think outside themselves by reminding them to ring their parents. For participants it seemed that tourist interactions ran deeper than a capital transaction. The experience becomes transitions of learning, teaching and caring about others to strengthen relationships and connections.

Conclusion

Participants' stories illustrate how the moral terrains are contoured by colonialism and reconstructed through Māori led tourism. In the chapter I have focused on how some participants have sustained and (re)constructed their individual and collective identities by preforming multiple Māori practices in Aotearoa's tourism spaces. Participants were aware of institutional frameworks within their everyday tourism spaces and their stories reveal value in practicing and sharing diverse economies within multiple institutions and with tourists.

Māori tourism providers incorporate a set of Māori values practices in the workspace that are unique and diverse. Māori women are (re)constructing their roles as leaders through tourism and as they do they are (re)shaping the moral

terrains of tourism in Aotearoa. For the participants in this study Māori values, practices and Te Ao Māori has positive impacts on the way tourism spaces are experienced and their tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) to disseminate Māori tourism that is based on Mātauranga Māori rather than the discourses of colonial, masculine and capitalist imaginings.

In the next and final chapter I summarise the theories and methods that have guided this research. I then go on to discuss the findings in a way that links to overarching research objective and research questions. Future research is discussed before I conclude the thesis with a personal story of self-discovery through (a long waited for) an intimate interaction with my iwi, hapū and rohe.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion: Weaving a kete of embodied Māori tourism experiences

This thesis traversed the moral terrains of Aotearoa's tourism spaces in order to examine the way values are integrated into Māori tourism. Social transactions and diverse economies take place during intimate interactions of Māori tourism embedding value in the non-material, non-human, non-capital and the non-individualist (Mosedale 2012). The research was guided by Kaupapa Māori and a theoretical kete was woven together using strands of mana wahine, feminist geographies, post structuralism, moral terrains and post capitalism. This research has centralised and validated the voices of Māori tourism providers and the ways in which they define Māori tourism values and identities. Diverse and, at times, conflicting values are layered across Aotearoa's tourism moral terrains in complex and nuanced ways. It was my intention to critique the hegemonic ways Māori tourism is classified and categorised by a set of values driven by Western, colonial, capitalist and masculine discourses. Māori values, per se, are not defined in this thesis rather they are considered to be a set of diverse and unique understandings that shape the identities and practices of Māori tourism providers and therefore Māori tourism geographies.

The overarching objective of this research was to understand of how values are integrated into moral terrains of Māori tourism. At present Māori tourism is classified by the New Zealand Government as a set of traditional performances based on historical, colonial and masculine representations

of Māori. Categorising practices have the capacity to marginalise Māori

tourism operators and exclude them from reaching their full potential

(Barnett 2001). It is vital that Māori tourism is constructed from a Māori

perspective, which includes a wider variety of tourism experiences and

contemporary Māori identities and values. While Māori tourism research is

receiving some academic attention there is a great deal of potential to

examine the phenomena from a critical social geographical perspective that

embraces both Kaupapa Māori and mana wahine theoretical frameworks.

Alarmingly, academic work is still being produced that discusses Māori

people as a 'product' or an 'attraction' for tourism (see Olsen 2008). This,

for me at least, highlights the hegemony of tourism discourse and the

importance of an Indigenous critique of not only tourism but also scientific

approaches to tourism research with Indigenous groups.

The information gathering process for this thesis included participant sensing,

semi-structured interviews, textual analysis and autoethnography. My research

practices were guided by a Kaupapa Māori methodology and the formation of a

research whānau in the area where I live ensured the research was appropriate,

relevant and ethically sound. The research whānau grew from attending a weekly

kaumātua and kuia hui at the local marae where I reside. Kaumātua and kuia

helped design my research questions and guide the way I approached, the

knowledge I disseminate and the way I interacted with research participants. My

attendance at the kaumātua and kuia hui has become an ongoing and important

part of my life where I learn more about myself and my tīpuna.

11 semi-structured interviews were performed in three different rohe (tribal lands). Interviews and participant sensing were performed in northern and coastal spaces of Aotearoa. Participant sensing covered a range of experiences that were delivered by Māori tourism operators and included horse riding, camping, tramping, kai (food), hotel accommodation and a harbour cruise. Appromiately 53 people were integral to the research in this thesis

This research asked three questions: how do values shape the moral terrains of Māori tourism? To better understand the values that shape and prescribe Aotearoa's tourism geographies I investigated the strategies of Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) and New Zealand Māori Tourism (NZMT) to grow the industry. By analysing strategic documents from the two institutions I was able to unpack discourses of power that are being maintained and resisted. The second question is: how is Māori tourism constructed through state sponsored branding and polices? Through an examination of state sponsored branding from TNZ and NZT images the research revealed some inconsistencies in the way Māori identities are imagined. It also exposed consistency in way masculinity shapes the positioning of Māori women in tourism. Finally the third is: how and in what ways do Māori tourism providers (re)construct their places and identities through Māori values in Aotearoa? For me this an important component of this research. It reveals how the lives of Māori tourism providers have been shaped by colonialism and masculinity but also how wāhine and tāne are reconstructing their futures and the futures of their children.

I examined the macro geographies of TNZ and NZMT. I focused on the way values are discursively constructed in Aotearoa's tourism institutional policies and images. Māori tourism providers negotiate multiple and complex realities in multiple institutions. A post capitalist and Kaupapa Māori framework was applied to analysis of planning documents produced by TNZ and NZMT. This has enabled the research to disrupt hegemonic discourses about the economy and tourism (Gibson-Graham 2006, Molesdale 2012). This study revealed that leadership and partnerships in Aotearoa's tourism governance is nuanced by the mapping and identification of 'best partners', resisted through conflicting representations of leadership and that tourism transactions are not always based on the disposable funds of tourists. I untangled concepts of leadership, partnerships and the way strategic priorities are prescribed within the two institutions' documents exposing the way power relations are inscribed onto Aotearoa's tourism terrains.

While, at times, TNZ and NZMT strategic documents were aligned there were inconsistencies in way partnerships and leaderships in Aotearoa's tourism institutions are textualised and imagined. What I found was that while TNZ aims to integrate Māori content across all programmes it seems that this 'content' pertains mainly to subject matter rather than embedded partnerships and Māori participation. After mapping Aotearoa's travel landscape TNZ have identified what they consider to be best partners and yet communication of partnerships fails to position Māori as active collaborators.

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NZMT's planning documents articulate a 'people first' approach and position Māori as leaders within Māori tourism therefore disrupting hegemonic Western styles of tourism development. NZMT also presents diversity of Māori tourism experiences on the global tourism stage. The NZMT document is layered with Te Ao Māori (Māori world view) embracing spiritual, social and collective values. While NZMT is constructing discourse that disrupts power relations and positions Māori as leaders in a variety of tourism experiences, some marketing images are still based on masculine imaginings of Māori women's role as the 'exotic other'. Tāne are presented leading a variety of tourism experiences while images of wāhine remain narrowly prescribed as 'Māori maidens'.

Power is carved into Aotearoa's tourism terrains through the positioning of identities in tourism images. I examined the representation of Māori identities in state sponsored branding produced by TNZ and NZMT in order to understand how the imaginings of power is procreated and then presented on the global stage. Explicit visions of difference in gender, ethnicity and hierarchies in state sponsored branding articulate knowledge and power in elusive ways (Frolick & Johnston 2011). Complex understandings and dynamic relationships saturate Aotearoa's moral terrains of tourism which then shape the identities and daily experiences of Māori tourism providers.

Tourism in Aotearoa dates back to early colonial times and Māori identities became inscribed in tourism images as the 'exotic other' (Beets 1997). This is continued in current tourism marketing and promotion

trends as a point of difference but neglects to acknowledge the contemporaneous lives of Māori (Hudson 2010). Tourism texts and images construct the knowledges of visiting tourists and, as mentioned in chapter one, the historical and traditional representations of Māori in tourism may leave the tourists unaware of interactions with Māori outside the cultural tourism experience. 96 of the 115 Māori tourism providers listed with NZMT offered experiences that did not fit into the, somewhat, essentialising and Western categories of Māori tourism. I argue that their very identity as Māori and their Māori values are the defining elements of the Māori tourism experience. In some ways, those Māori tourism providers who extend the tourism experience beyond historical, cultural, traditional and colonial imaginings offer the tourists a more pragmatic glimpse into the lives of contemporary Māori.

Throughout the analysis of visual images produced by TNZ and NZMT inconsistences were unearthed. TNZ's images of Māori were always staged with 'cultural markers' of some kind to confirm their identities as Māori. While NZMT disrupted colonial visualisations of Māori in tourism by centralising tāne as leaders and experts, women's bodies were inscribed with the same traditional 'cultural' markers. NZMT are continuing the hegemonic masculine and colonial discourses of the exotic and romantised 'Māori maiden'. This does not reflect the level of leadership wāhine hold in tourism. I argue that Māori women are leading tourism in both the delivery and state planning of tourism and this needs to be reflected in

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Aotearoa's tourism branding to ensure wāhine are also acknowledged as leaders and experts of Māori tourism.

While participants felt proud of the way Māori were represented in state sponsored branding of Māori tourism and that this representation was very important for maintaining their heritage they also felt it fixed their identities in the past. Participants resisted state branding by taking tourists into their homes to ensure the tourists take home knowledge of the contemporary lives of Māori tourism providers. The Māori tourism providers interviewed in this study felt that tourist wanted to know more about the contemporary lives of Māori live and that state sponsored branding needs to reflect that as well as historical and traditional Māori identities. They resisted the expectations of becoming, as one of the participants expressed, the "little Māori doll dancing to the tune of marketing" (Moana 31/08/2014).

The final strand of this thesis weaves in the spatial and embodied experiences of Māori tourism providers as they negotiate and traverse the multiple layers of Aotearoa's tourism terrains. Institutional, colonial, political and capitalist values are juxtaposed with diverse Māori values and practices which are often conflicting. This theme brings participants' voices to the fore in order to understand how Māori values are practiced at the bedrock of tourism's moral terrains. The daily realities of Māori tourism providers are inextricably tangled with state sponsored branding, strategic planning, tourists' values, power, colonialism and Te Ao Māori. The practices and narratives of Māori tourism

providers were considered to underline the diverse economies that challenge the single story of capitalism.

Examining past experiences of colonisation facilitates a better understanding of why it is crucial for Māori to control planning and branding of Māori tourism. Examining present experiences highlights how Māori tourism providers resist ongoing colonisation by (re)constructing Māori tourism based on their own unique and diverse Māori identities, values and practices. Concepts of workspace and home were examined which revealed a blurring of boundaries. While some Māori tourism providers worked from home providing homestays notions of rohe (tribal land) and kāinga (home) stretched the concept of home. Home becomes a spiritual space where Māori connect with Papatūānuku (Earth mother), their tīpuna (ancestors), hapū (sub tribe) and tourists. The workspaces of Māori tourism providers are permeated with Māori values and practices that shape the experiences of both Māori and tourists. Work ethic and personal values are unable to be separated, they are intricately and intimately interrelated affecting the experiences and identities of Māori tourism providers. I argue that it is the diversity of Māori values, Te Ao Māori, practices and identities that define Māori tourism. The tourists experience is but one layer of the moral terrain of tourism. Being able to practice Māori values and tikanga (protocol) in the workspace enhanced the experiences of Māori tourism providers and increased Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), personal and collective wellbeing.

Participants' identities were imagined in relation to whakapapa (ancestry), whenua (land), Te Ao Māori and their contemporary lives. Their kōrero (talk)

highlighted intimate relationships with the land and how Māori identities in
tourism are both transcendent and terrestrial, personal and collective. Participants'
identities were shaped through physical and spiritual connection with human and
non-human actors. Living in the spaces of work or working in the spaces of home
causes boundaries to be blurred. Involvement in tourism offered them a space to
sustain their identities as Māori, their lifestyles and provide a future for their
children. They also felt tourism was a vehicle for them and their hapū to learn and
maintain Māori culture while sharing their knowledge and diverse economies
with tourists.

Tourism is accessed by those who have disposable funds and if one imagines it
from the perspectives of TNZ alone tourism can be considered a capitalist
practice, constructed through market value, profit and productivity and with the
intention to appropriate financial returns and the tourist dollar. When a post
capitalist analysis is applied to the practices of tourism providers other layers of
value are draped across a vast and diverse economy. Diverse economies in Māori
tourism was explored through participants' kōrero and an autoethnographical
account of my experience as a researcher and kaitāpoi (domestic Māori tourist).
This analysis allowed me to examine diverse economic that take place during
tourism interactions. Practices such as free home sharing, tangata whenua
discounts and spirituality were discussed as practices that unsettled the single
story of capitalism (Gibson-Graham 2006). These practices were, at times, an act
of resistance, constructed with reciprocity in mind and/or to ensure tangata
whenua had access to the same products as wealthy tourists. The values that
shaped diverse economies were uniquely Māori and one could argue that the

concept of 'post' capitalism may be disrupted when the traditional knowledges and practices of Māori are considered alongside diverse economies. In some ways I feel the 'post' may possibly be (re)considered as 'pre' capitalism and that Māori and other Indigenous peoples are the experts in diverse economic practices.

Future research

The geographies of Māori tourism spaces are complicated by relationships of power, positioning and values. The impacts of colonialism are continuing discriminations and inequalities that are in persistent need of dismantling (Smith 2013). To circulate the ways in which Māori are reclaiming their identities and leadership within and beyond tourism in Aotearoa further research is needed. While prior research projects have examined Māori values in tourism most have aimed to define tourism based on a fixed set of Māori values. This research project provides a glimpse into the experiences of Māori tourism providers and untangles some of the discourses that construct the moral terrains of Aotearoa's tourism. As I have journeyed through the research process I have found that Māori tourism is constantly evolving as Māori (re)claim control of the way their identities are represented and tourism development is prescribed. I also found that the more I untangled the strands of tourism governance in Aotearoa more questions arose. I feel I have only just begun to unravel the complex, multiple and shifting realities of the Māori tourism providers' experience. A deeper examination into the phenomena from a Kaupapa Māori and geographical perspective is essential to ensure that the future of Māori tourism is (re)constructed and sustained to meet the requirements, and to be of benefit for Māori tourism providers and for all Māori.

I suggest future research expand on the three themes revealed in this research to better understand how Māori tourism can be reimagined and based on Māori identities and a diverse range of tourism experiences. I implore Māori geographers to further examine Māori tourism to disrupt the essentialising categories that marginalise and confine Māori tourism providers in historical and traditional tourism spaces. Further research into the spaces of tourism may be decolonised and reconstructed through Te Ao Māori and based on the diverse and unique values and practices of Māori leading tourism. It is also important that mana wahine is applied to a critique of Aotearoa's tourism geographies to ensure wāhine leadership is acknowledged and continues to gain momentum dispelling the hegemonic masculine discourses that saturate the moral terrains of tourism.

Diverse economies of tourism requires further investigation to unsettle the single story of capitalism. While it can be said that tourism has its roots firmly embedded in colonialism and is driven by a capitalist market this discourse may be uprooted when Māori values become centralised in tourism planning, practices and research. Further research into the practices of Māori tourism providers may present an insight into how capitalist economies may be not only resisted but also combined with diverse economies that value intimate and non-monetary tourism transactions.

My experiences as a researcher and kaitāpoi also raised questions about how Māori travel now and in the past. The concept of tourism as a colonial practice can be dismantled when one considers how Māori first arrived in Aotearoa and how other Indigenous travelled throughout the world 'pre' colonisation. Through

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an examination of the ways in which Indigenous practice tourism may not only disrupt a colonial imagining of tourism but also highlight diverse economies as 'pre' capitalist. I also feel a study such as this may be interesting to uncover the emotional responses one can experience when travelling to connect with one's whakapapa. Indigenous throughout the world have been displaced through the appropriation of lands and through that have lost culture knowledge and connection. I would be interested to know if others travel to connect to their ancestral home. This would offer an additional meaning to the moral terrains of tourism.

Finally home

Tourism is not always wanted by Māori communities. During the final stages of this research one of our whanaunga passed away. Aunty was my mother's last cousin of her generation and even though the tangihanga was during the week and our rohe is a seven hour drive from where we live it was important to ensure our mother returned to farewell her cousin. Our rohe is on the eastern coast of the far north. The community is fairly isolated and most community members are Māori and related in some way. Our marae is in close proximity to Cape Reinga and only ten kilometres off a well-travelled tourist path. Once I recovered from the emotional impact of spending our first night on our own marae and slowly became better acquainted with my whanaunga I began to tell some about my research and I asked about their opinions on tourism in our rohe. Their answer was a concise "we don't want it here". They then proceeded to tell me how the local council had offered to tar seal the (dangerous) dirt road into the

community and why they had turned the offer down. What follows are only the opinions of a few and not all community members will feel the same, yet, it still highlights how tourism development needs to discussed at the bedrock of Māori communities.

Our rohe is a picturesque place. Wild and tame horses wander the streets freely and children play without fear of traffic or strangers. The wahapū (harbour) is plentiful and it sustains the lives of the community both physically and spiritually. The harbour mouth is practically enclosed with white silica sands that have been heavily exploited. I was told the silica sand hills were once as high as a three story building. Now they have drastically dwindled to a small rise at the edge of the harbour. There is an air of distrust surrounding the government and commercial developments in the voices of my whanaunga and they have been resisting developments for many years. Most are comfortable with their lives the way they are, and feel no great need for material things. The whenua provides most of what they need and they do not feel the urgency to keep up with the developing world. My hapū does not want to share their rohe with the rest of the world and nosey tourists. They prefer to keep it hidden, a precious taonga to be protected and kept secret so that when the time is right whanaunga can return and find a place to rekindle their whānaungatanga with the land, people and Te Ao Māori.

A view from the outside and so-called 'privileged' world may define our rohe as balanced on the edge of poverty but that is only because the well-being of people

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living in New Zealand is mainly measured against how much they earn and the financial value of their material processions. Life in our rohe is not without hardship and I'm sure many of my whanaunga struggle to make ends meet. The point I make is that tourism development needs to be controlled and chosen by the tangata whenua who exist and inhabit these precious places within Aotearoa's landscapes. As we drove home along the eastern coastline of the far north we entered into the rohe of my great grandfather and the childhood playground of my mother. Each passing town became more affluent, each bay that we passed contained bigger and more elaborate yachts, the coastline became compacted with large expensive (and probably empty) summer homes and the impacts of colonialism, capitalism and tourism finally hit home. I realised how important this research is to ensure Māori tourism providers' voices are heard.

Figure 14: We are finally home, my mother, my sister and I. Image by me 01/05/2015

GLOSSARY

The translations used in this glossary were sourced from *Te Aka: Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index,* J. Moorfield (2005). In some instances translations have been taken from participants' narratives. It is important to note that there multiple meanings and translations available for many of these words. In most cases, I have presented the most common translation(s) of the word.

Aho tapu – scared thread

Aho whāngai – the thread that
    nurtures

Aotearoa – New Zealand

Haka – posture dance performance

Hapū – sub tribe

Harakeke – New Zealand flax

Hauhake – to harvest

Heru – comb

Hongi – to press noses in greeting

Iwi – tribe

Kai - food

Kai moana - seafood

Kaitāpoi – Māori domestic tourist

Kaitiaki – guardian

Kapa haka – Māori performance

Kaumātua – male elder

Kete – basket/kit

Kōrero – to talk

Kotahitanga – unity, collective action

Kuia – female elder

Mana whenua – land authority

Manuhiri visitor

Marae – open area in front of
    meeting house, also refers to

general complex of buildings and
    land

Mātatauranga Māori – Māori
knowledge

Mokopuna - grandchild

Ngā matatini Māori – Māori
diversity

Pā – fortified village

Pākehā – non Māori

Papakāinga - home

Papatūānuku – Earth Mother

Pepeha – tribal saying

Poi - a ball on a string of varying
    length which is swung or
    twirled rhythmically to sung
    accompaniment

Pohewa – woven food basket

Puata – be clear, transparent

Pūkana – expression of spirt

Pūkana – an expression of spirit

Rohe – tribal lands

Rongoā – Māori medicine

Tāne – man

Tangata whenua – people of the land

Tangihanga – funeral, rites for the
    dead

Taonga - treasure

Te Ao Māori – Māori world view

Te kete aronui - basket of pursuit

Te kete tuatea - basket of light

Te kete tuauri - basket of darkness

Te reo – Māori language

Tikanga – Māori customs and
      protocols

Tino rangatiratanga – self-
      determination

Tīpuna - ancestors

Toa – brave, experience,
      accomplished

Tūhono – to join

Tukutuku – lattice work

Tūrangawaewae - a place of
      belonging

Urupā – burial ground

Wāhi tapu – scared place

Wahine - woman

Wāhine - women

Waiata koroua - traditional chant

Wairua – spirit/soul

Wānanga – seminar

Wero – challenge

Whakamā - shy

Whakapapa – ancestry

Whakawhānaungatanga –
      establishing relationships

Whānau – extended family

Whenu – strand

Wharenui - meeting house

APPENDIX ONE: INFORMATION SHEET

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULITY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Māori values in tourism

Whaikōrero

Ko Kura Haupo te waka
Ko Pohurihanga te tangata
Ko Maunga Piko te maunga
Ko Parengarenga te wahapū
Ko Te Reo Mihi te whare tupuna
Ko Ngāti Kuri toku e mihi atu nei
Ko Sandi Ringham toku ingoa

This research project looks at Māori values in the development and delivery of Māori led tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand. I am conducting this research as part of my University of Waikato Master of Social Science qualification and I am majoring in Geography. The aim of this project is to develop an understanding of how Māori values are understood and practiced in Māori tourism. I am a member of hapū and rohe and I aim to encourage kōrero (discussion) on the importance of Māori values to improve cultural, economic, political and spiritual wellbeing. Tourist values and responses will also be considered.

Interviews and participant observation

It is hoped that eight to 10 participants will take part for interviews and two to three tourist enterprises can be visited for participant observations. Interviews will be conducted with Māori involved in tourism as well as tourists who visit Māori focused tourism sites in New Zealand. Participants' identity will remain confidential. Participants are welcome to bring whānau support to interviews. My approach to interviewing is committed to Te Tiriti o Waitangi but also flexible in order to honour and respect all people's cultural, social and spiritual values. Interviews will be conducted when it is convenient for the participants and practical for me to attend. Some rohe will be located far from my home and I am hoping that interviews can be held while I am visiting your rohe.

I am asking you to please either allow me to take part in your tourism experience and/or agree to take part in interviews. If you agree to an interview I would

appreciate the opportunity to audio record our conversation to ensure your views and opinions are recorded accurately.

Your rights as a participant

You have the right to:

- Decline from being included in the participant observation and/or interview process;
- Stop the interview at any time;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Decline from having your interview audio recorded and can ask to have the recorder turned off at any time;
- Withdraw from the study up until one month after receiving the interview transcript;
- Withdraw your statements from the transcript;
- Ask questions at any time during your participation in this research.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality is of the utmost importance. No personal information or identifying factors will be published. Personal information and research documents will be kept in a locked cupboard in my office at the University of Waikato. Electronic material will be protected by a computer password.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Waikato. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

The results

For examination three hard copies of this thesis will be produced. One will be produced online. Given the opportunity I hope that this research can be presented at conferences and/or in the geography programme at the University of Waikato. Publications such as journal articles may also be a result of conducting this research. I may also present the research outcomes at marae.

If you choose to take part in this research interviews and participant observations will take place at your convenience. A copy of the final report will be available at your request. Thank you for considering my research. If you have any concerns or questions about this project either now or in the future please feel free to contact:

The researcher:
Sandi Ringham

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Email: naomis@waikato.ac.nz

APPENDIX TWO: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
Māori values in tourism

PARTICIPANT: TOURISM PROVIDER CONSENT FORM

A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant

Name of person interviewed: _____

I have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to one month after the interview.

During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

I understand that my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [ ] the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
I agree to the researcher taking part in this tour package		
I agree to be interviewed		
I agree to having my interview audio recorded		
I understand that I can ask to have the recorder turned off at any time.		
I wish to view the transcript of the interview.		
I wish to receive a copy of the findings.		

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I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Participant Information Sheet.

Signature of
*participant:*_____*Date:*_____

Signature of

*researcher:*_____*Date:*_____

APPENDIX THREE: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULITY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Māori values in tourism

PARTICIPANT: TOURIST CONSENT FORM

A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant

Name of person interviewed:

_____

I have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project. Any questions that I have, relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to one month after the interview.

During the interview, I understand that I do not have to answer questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic. I can stop the interview at any time, and I can ask to have the recording device turned off at any time.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my interview, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

I understand that my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [ ] the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
I agree to be interviewed		
I agree to having my interview audio recorded		
I understand that I can ask to have the recorder turned off at any time.		
I wish to view the transcript of the interview.		
I wish to receive a copy of the findings.		

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Participant Information Sheet.

Signature of
*participant:*_____*Date:*_____

Signature of
*researcher:*_____*Date:*_____

APPENDIX THREE: LIST OF QUESTIONS FOR MĀORI TOUR PROVIDERS

These question are a base for starting conversation. Prompts such as 'Can you tell me more about that?' will be used throughout all interviews.

1. Can you tell me why you developed a Marae based Maori tourism experience?

2. What kind of experiences do you offer to tourists?

3. What do you think the tourist is looking for in a Māori experience?

4. How do you include Māori values in the delivery of the tourist experience?

5. Which Māori values do you include?

6. Are there any you don't include?

7. How important is marae, hapū, iwi, rohe and whānau participation and affiliation to your experience and in the development of tourism?

8. In what ways would/is your marae, hapū, iwi, rohe and whānau be involved in the development of tourism?

9. What do you consider to be a successful tourism enterprise?

10. Do base your ideas of success on Māori values, economic values or both?

11. Do you feel you have agency to develop a tourism product that includes your cultural values?

12. How do you feel about the way Māori are represented in the marketing of Maori tourism on the international tourism stage?

13. What would you change in representation of Māori if you could?

14. What impacts do you think tourism can have on the values and lives of Maori involved in tourism?

15. How does tourism fit into the everyday Marae experience?

16. How would you like to see Māori values incorporated in the development of tourism in the future?

APPENDIX FOUR: LIST OF QUESTIONS FOR TOURISTS

These question are a base for starting conversation. Prompts such as 'Can you tell me more about that?' will be used throughout all interviews.

1. What made you decide to visit this area of New Zealand?

2. Can you tell me what made you interested in visiting a Māori cultural experience?

3. What other things have you done in New Zealand?

4. Do you think Māori focused tourism is important to the development of tourism in New Zealand?

5. What kind of things did you learn about Māori values during your experience?

6. How do feel about Māori culture now you have experienced Māori tourism? Is it what you expected?

7. How are Māori values the same or different to your own values?

8. What do you think you will take away from your experience?

9. Are there any Māori values or practices that you might introduce into your life at home?

10. How would you describe a successful Māori tourism enterprise?

APPENDIX FOUR: ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Sandi Ringham
Professor Lynda Johnston
Ms Naomi Simmonds

Geography and Tourism Programmes

30 June 2014

Dear Sandi

Re: **FS2014-24 (Re)constructing tourism values: an examination of the role of Māori values in tourism**.

This is to confirm the ethical approval for your research that I gave by email. The revisions you made to the application were entirely satisfactory and I hope that the research is progressing well.

Kind regards,

Ruth Walker
Chair
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

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