Whakarewarewa Tourism Development: A Critical Analysis of Place and Space

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Abstract

This study focuses on a small hapu (Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao) tourism enterprise in the village of Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, New Zealand. The enterprise is a family run business, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village that has been actively involved in tourism entrepreneurial efforts in New Zealand. Whakarewarewa is used as an example to show the complexities of tourism development and the importance of representation of identities in assessing the flows of the global economy and their relation to local cultural construction of place.

The analysis utilises an 'insider' perspective and draws on the enterprise as being the locus of cultural revival and identity (re)creation for the hapu, while synchronously creating a commercial context for the personal experience the 'post-modern' tourist now desires. The tension found in this production-consumption dialectic provides a context to both validate this 'new' approach to tourism studies and seek future development opportunities for the hapu.

The emergent cultural turn in tourism studies has facilitated new ways of approaching tourism research within a critical development paradigm. This critical development theory promotes the importance of locally negotiated development and the understanding and embracing of the complexities embedded in the circuits found flowing through the global, national, regional and local scales.

The local perspective further endorses issues of representation revealing the inadequacy of traditional development theory in conceptualising indigenous tourism development. Furthermore providing evidence of the negative influence the application of development theory has had on the case enterprise through largely the discounting of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao development paradigms (historic) in favour of the modernist approach. The theoretical argument implies that the catalyst for development is 'underdevelopment' (and with a singular economic focus).

This research contends that while these 'new' tourism studies approaches are emerging, the case study provides evidence of critical tourism development undertaken by the people of the hapu (or the local) from the mid 19th century. Therefore 'new' tourism development paradigms are not necessarily 'new' but rather are being rediscovered. Accordingly articulation of 'development' has been largely influenced by what has been considered significant in Western terms - that of a singular and pragmatic economic imperative.

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1.0 CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

This thesis examines the construction of the 'culture' of a tourism organisation in order to understand how its actors have redefined the organisations tradition within multiple geographies and political economies. Furthermore the research provides a context within which to highlight the importance of locally driven tourism development found within a post-modern, post-structuralist development paradigm. This empirical capture then seeks to establish "the cultural practice of tourism as an arena wherein individuals create their identities based on power and knowledge" (Ateljevic, 2000: 381).

The analysis starts in 1886, when the hapu of Tuhourangi fled the devastation of Mount Tarawera's eruption where they had previously resided. Drawing upon local perspectives, set against significant elements of how development theory manifests, a critical analysis provides another approach to Maori tourism development. This thesis seeks to expose research gaps in the use of traditional development theory for indigenous tourism research and how contextualising and positioning the researcher is essential in this new 'turn' in tourism development research.

The application of development theory in the context of tourism discourse is applied to events in Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao history. This analysis also extends to alternative development practice that has been largely excluded in the modern project of development in New Zealand resulting in uneven development between Maori and others. This uneven development is now being recognised by the Government as an economic impediment to national development and thus rectifying historical grievances has become a Governmental economic imperative (The Stafford Group, 2001).

1.1 Research Question

Is Development Theory a myth or reality for Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao?

1.2 Research Objectives

Essentially this thesis examines the following issues:

- Can local economies develop while simultaneously protecting valuable socio-cultural and environmental resources within a globalised environment?
- Has the tourism industry at Whakarewarewa been developed to ensure local experience of 'place and space' is maintained?

1.3 Theorising Development

The way in which development theorists have contextualised their research in the past is a key point of critique for many scholars (Britton, 1991; Schwab, 2003). Development theory finds its origins in the West and, as Slater (1995) argues, it ignores the diversity of traditional societies, essentially homogenising groups together and imposing Western development perceptions on the world system. Early development theorists failed to contextualise their approach, as highlighted in Latin America where:

> No systematic effort was made to distinguish the effects of transnationalisation *per se* from those of the local social and political context, the prevailing economic policy regime and so on (Booth, 1985:763).

Theorists critique this orthodox scientific worldview of research (e.g. Kapustin, 2003; Schwab, 2003; Massey, 1994; Shrivastava, *et al*, 1987; Fals-Borda, 1981) using terms such as absolutist, purist, rationalist and elitist (Tandon, 1982), or descriptions such as the

"…movement to narrow our view of our world..." (Reason, 1994:324). These views confirm the need for this research to adopt a theoretical position that allows for social and cultural analysis to enable the economic development and sustainability of this small Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism enterprise. It must be inclusive of the perspectives of the researched community rather than what Reason argues, that it is an attempt to "…monopolize knowing in the hands of an elite few" (ibid:324).

Theoretical approaches such as that of the modernisation theory (Moore, 1965; Hoselitz, 1998) and dependency theory (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979) have been largely utilised in analysing socio-economic development, which is also the focus but not sole focus of this research. These two theories, however, serve to further endorse the limitations of traditional research capabilities in this area (Frank, 1971in Keelan & Moon, 1998).

Mowforth & Munt (2003:17) argue that the history of development is simply "the transposition of Western concepts and ideas" onto the world. How one measures development is also often gauged on Western concepts and ideology (Smith, 1999). The notion that the ideal society is one based on a Western model of development is predominant in development theory literature (Moon, 2004). The concept that development is based on an ideological framing of history and culture (Franklin and Crang, 2001) is now being challenged by critical development theorists, as elements of traditional societies continue to provide frameworks and vectors for development within the context of a dynamic global environment (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

1.4   Theorising Tourism Studies - Traditional Tourism Paradigms

With regard to theoretical perspectives Smith and Eadington (1994) assert that *serious* interest in tourism as an institution spans only two decades. Tourism research progress in the past two decades has emerged in the context of broader social science and development studies paradigms (Hall, 2000; Walle, 1997; Riley & Love, 2000).

Mowforth and Munt (2003:30) contend that "much tourism literature invokes the activity of tourism as a potential means of 'development'". The tourist industry being one of the biggest growth industries in the world (WTO, 2004) is now reflective of development theory discourse.

Tourism research is also developing. New ways of studying tourism are emerging with sustainable development featuring in much of this new discourse (Hall, 2004). Environmental issues have been a central force driving this paradigm shift. Also important are the relationships of power between all levels of the tourism industry (Mowforth & Munt, 2003) as forces from the global through to the local arise. Questions of sustainable development are continuing to challenge previous development theorist's work and a blurring of the boundaries between 'the modern' and 'post-modern' approaches has emerged termed 'the turn in tourism research' (Milne, 1998; Oakes, 1993).

Contemporary tourism research poses a number of considerable challenges to understanding the dynamic social, cultural, economic and political negotiation of 'local' tourism agencies that are largely mediated by individual agents (Oakes, 1993). More specific to this research is the challenge of identifying the contemporary construction or re-definition of place, space, culture and identity within the context of the case study, the small local tourism enterprise, 'Whakarewarewa Thermal Village'.

The traditional tourism research approach was highly influenced by economics and reflected market research principally based on scientific and quantitative rigor (Walle, 1997; Riley & Love, 2000). This market research approach, until recently, was primarily concerned with consumer behavior (Anderson, 1986; Deshpande, 1983) which by and large excluded other stakeholder considerations, which are, now acknowledged as essential in tourism research in order to "address questions of understanding and meaning" (Love and Riley, 2000:106). Rojek and Urry (1997:2) assert that this type of research seeks to "…deliberately abstract most of the important issues of social and cultural practice and only consider tourism as a set of economic activities". Furthermore,

Franklin and Crang (2001:15) argue that tourism studies also distinguish between the object being viewed from the social and cultural context that the object is within. This they maintain is impossible as "…things are more properly hybrids of the human and non-human" and thus tourism study must be positioned within a social and cultural context.

Milne and Ateljevic (2001) assert that a primary focus for those constructing the tourism product, particularly those involved in cultural tourism, is the differentiation of and positioning of tourism agencies within global political economies. The framework of Milne and Ateljevic's (2001) global-local nexus supports this view by considering the complex links between the international and national scales and how these have many continuous circuits with regional and local involvement.

This 'turn' in tourism research is now embracing broader theoretical perspectives (Milne, 1998; Ateljevic, 2000; Oakes, 1993) that consider localised identity within global structures. This emerging body of research has 'opened the doors' to a whole new theoretical approach to tourism study. With the changing global environment that coexists with a dynamic socio-cultural negotiation of the local (Oakes, 1993), a contemporary approach to tourism research was borne from the necessity to close the gap between largely theoretical academic literature and the sustainability of the communities where tourist activity is largely positioned (Moon, 2001; Walle, 1997; Tribe, 1997).

The framework of analysis for this present study is based on Milne and Ateljevic's (2001) research on 'the 'new' ways of studying the economics of tourism geography' that embrace the 'cultural turn in the new economic geography'. Milne and Ateljevic (2001) assert that there is limited literature in the 'new' tourism research approaches that refers to tourism's impact on the natural environment, culture and peoples lives. Analysis of the 'social system' that links production and consumption of the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village is required as actions alone have no meaning unless placed "…in relation to the understandings, purposes and intentions of the actor(s)" (Carr & Kemmis, 1986: 92). Therefore, an interpretive approach is justified.

Localised identity and the role of local values are key concepts in this new tourism research (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Unwin, 1996). Unwin (1996) asserts that the past provides a reference point to the construction of place-identity in the present and future. Therefore it should be acknowledged that the construction of identity is contextualised, dynamic and ever changing. Massey (1994:3) argues that while observers are "inevitably within the world (the space) being observed", they are also influenced by a multiplicity of takes on any given space. I therefore provide a context based on my position as an 'insider' acknowledging, however, that my interpretation is influenced by many individual and societal factors. The theoretical approach, then, is based on contemporary 'post-modern' tourism research (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001) within critical development theory. It embraces complexity and diversity while acknowledging that as observers we too shape perceptions dependent on the environment in which we live. As such the study details the author's position and perspective to bring about what Ateljevic (1998) calls 'a way' not 'the way' forward for researching a small localised community based tourism development.

The emerging consensus is that tourism geography has to transcend the boundaries between the economic and the cultural (Ateljevic, 2000: 371), and it is this perspective that underlies this paper. As Tribe (1997:642) states:

> The relationship between the study of tourism and the activity of tourism also points up the important issue of boundaries and concepts. For there is an issue of what parts of the phenomenon of tourism are studied in tourism studies, and how these parts are to be conceptualised.

Franklin and Crang (2001:8) argue that tourism "...seems one of the pre-eminent cases of discourse shaping knowledge of the world". These discourses take many forms and draw on many theoretical paradigms. Tourism research and its development is analogous with broader social science paradigm shifts in general and development theory in particular (Hall & Tucker, 2004).

Examining early tourism research approaches and the progress to contemporary tourism research provides a theoretical foundation on which to base this thesis. Denzin and Lincoln, (1994:3) call for:

> a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation that represents the researchers images, understandings, and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis.

This 'bricolage' concept is critiqued by some as being superficial and lacking rigour (Kincheloe, 2001; Jamal & Everett, 2004); however, as Franklin and Crang (2001:8) point out, "tourist studies needs to deal reflexively with the social arena of which it itself is a part". Furthermore, it is argued that 'local' people influence and are influenced by global tourism, a perspective which informs this research's use of the global-local nexus paradigm (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001).

A review of tourism research from both the industry oriented aspect and the socio-political and cultural aspect is presented in order to capture an empirical 'picture' of stakeholder driven 'values' from both demand and supply perspectives. The negotiation and inter-relationships present between these two perspectives is discussed to form a framework to be used in this particular case study. As Ateljevic (2000:376) suggests, a "…common sense understanding" is required to support the bridge between the research undertaken and actual practice. Emphasis is placed on the socio-political and cultural perspective as the intent of this study is to understand the 'space and place' of Whakarewarewa Thermal Village as a producer of cultural meanings which in turn influences tourist perceptions, motivations and behavior. Jamal and Everett (2004:9) claim that this 'praxis-oriented' research approach facilitates the ability of both "…locals and visitors to take a much more active role in managing experiences and activities of living and recreating in these natural spaces".

Perhaps more importantly to the writer is the sustainable development of the area, as it is a site of what Oakes (1993:47) calls 'cultural revival'. It embraces processes of 'place creation' which reaffirms the continuation of tribal identity, economy, traditions and links local agency with "broader geographical frameworks and more distant sources of power".

1.5   Methodology

The primary approach of this thesis, the application of a critical development paradigm to the case study, has determined to a significant extent the nature of the methodological techniques used. The thesis exposes research gaps in traditional development theory, particularly modernisation and dependency theories to articulate an alternative perspective to Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development found within the post-modern, post structural tourism studies discourse. Lee's (1992) contends that quantitative research methods are inadequate in this type of cross-cultural research. In contrast a qualitative approach emphasises 'culture and meaning' and is utilised in this study. This is justified as theorists assert that qualitative methods can provide deeper understandings of social interactions and the multiple realities of actors within any given context (see Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Riley and Love, 2000; Carr and Kemmis, 1986). This study therefore incorporates an amalgamation of three primary research methodologies, participative action research, archival research and literature review, which identifies the required information for critical reflection and analysis and allows for an in-depth study of the case, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village.

Accordingly a "…theoretical understanding must be matched by further consideration of methodological matters and the need for practical implementation" (Pearce & Butler 1999:11). One aspect is the importance of acknowledging the researcher's position and influence over representing the research findings and how, through a critical-interpretive narrative, these issues may be addressed.

Hughes (1995:49) contends that the dominant approach, with regard to sustainable tourism, is "technical, rational and scientific". He supports the need for this approach but concludes that there is an ethical interest when considering the development of people, be that of tourists (as the consumers) and destination communities (as the producers). He goes on to endorse other critical development theorists' views that traditional development theory is a Western ideology whereby:

> ...western societies have developed in such a way that they choose to recognise and respond to only 'objective', 'rational' and 'instrumental' patterns of knowledge (ibid:52).

This implies that marginalising value-based discourses such as spirituality and culture as 'personal' are therefore not a valid approach of academic study. However it should be acknowledged that 'the personal' subjectivities of researchers and their experiences are crucial to reflexively understand and interpret constructions of communities (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Smith, 1999; Oakes, 1993).

Kirkpatrick *et al* (1978) argue that the critical development paradigm emphasises the importance of understanding facts as opposed to defining facts within any given context. The emergence of critical development theory and its emphasis on the "...criticism of capitalism from the point of view of the wageworker or proletariat" (ibid:3) has now lead to challenges to representations of truth (Smith & Eadington, 1994).

Jamal and Everett (2004:2) state that "making knowledge claims is not a neutral activity conducted by a disinterested researcher, for all such claims require justification, a task that falls under epistemology". These epistemological questions in tourism research are found in much of the post-modern literature (refer Prasad & Prasad, 2002; Pringle & Park, 1993; Jones *et al*, 2000; Jamal & Everett, 2004) and can be classified into three central themes:

1. the importance of critical examination of tourism destinations as cultural producers, that presents issues of identifying cultural meanings that influence development
2. issues around representation as defined by the researcher
3. ethical responsibilities of the researcher when 'gazing' upon the researched.

Articulation of cultural meanings and place in Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tribal development is contextual and requires consideration with regard to the complexities of Whakarewarewa Thermal Village as a cultural producer. This impacts on the second point, acknowledgement of the researchers' position and interpretation of the 'truths' found from the research data. This research is positioned as an interpretation of the significance of Whakarewarewa and its activities from a local perspective as well as a brief on who is considered 'local' and who is the 'other'. While I am confirmed as a member of the Whakarewarewa 'whanau' I don't live in the village. Consequently this posed questions of how the 'local' or the 'insider' is identified, thus my position as an urban Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao woman researcher is articulated and how the research is represented within those considerations. Furthermore the representation is viewed as what Chang *et al* (cited in Milne & Ateljevic, 2001:379) call a "transaction process, incorporating both exogenous forces and endogenous powers of local residents and entrepreneurs". Clearly I sit at the intersection of those two populations.

The third point above is particularly pertinent to indigenous people's studies, as Merata Mita states:

> We have a history of people putting Maori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define   (cited in Smith, 1999:58).

Ethical responsibility placed on myself as the researcher goes beyond responsibility of researching for personal or academic purposes. More importantly is the tribal responsibility of linking the research findings to the betterment or development of my

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sub-tribe Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao. This responsibility reflects the reciprocal nature of hapu interactions, often referred to with terms such as koha and utu.

This paper is organised around two stages of exploration. Firstly, field research utilising, participative action research (PAR). Participative action research is described by Fals-Borda (in Reason, 1994:329) as the "…process of self awareness through collective self inquiry and reflection". Tendon (in Reason, 1994:329) states that:

> "PAR values the people's knowledge, sharpens their capacity to conduct their own research in their own interests…allows problems to be explored from their perspective and maybe most important liberates their minds for critical reflection, questioning and the continuous pursuit of inquiry".

This corresponds with this study's theoretical approach of understanding meanings of people within a specific context. Therefore the PAR approach places research in the context of the researched.

This methodology acknowledges the people being researched as self determining, that is that people influence to a significant degree the research project (Reason, 1994). An example is the influence of the researcher's urban upbringing. The initial research project was largely initiated in response to the urbanisation of many Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao hapu members, some of whom were losing contact with hapu identity. Concern for the researcher's immediate family and the hapu members living in urban areas prompted the research project and the subsequent thesis criteria. Furthermore the development and historical influences of tourism studies is based on the investigation of the sociology of a community not just quantitative exploration and subsequent interpretation of an objective researcher (Hall & Tucker, 2004). Within this paradigm, field research undertaken and observation was spread over several months. In particular a concentrated three months during the busiest holiday period from November 2003 to January 2004.

The researcher, while owning a property in the Whakarewarewa village and visiting frequently for holidays, had not lived in the village until that three month period. The field research consisted of observation of tourists, staff, the villagers and tribal members visiting the complex. The complexities of this fieldwork are reflected throughout the thesis, in particular the usage of the village by the villagers 'after hours' when the tourists and their 'gaze' had left. The importance of this PAR methodology is reflected in what Te Awekotuku (1981:147) reflects, "In our pa, the pakeha will never see us as our real selves. Because we don't want them to and thus a sense of control – however tenuous in reality – is sustained". Learning the cooking styles, the regulation of the natural resource for bathing etc. amongst other activities were highlights and a privilege as outsiders (i.e. non-tribal members) do not have access to these activities and reinforced how the tourist 'product' of the village was created from actual day to day living of the village people.

Secondly, a survey of literature pertaining to theoretical elements of the thesis and investigation of public information was carried out. Public information that is specific to the case study revealed data on development through the eyes of both tourists and the Government and provided much of the historical context of tourism development in the region. An example of this is the survey of relevant parliamentary debate papers in the Appendices to the Journals of House of Representatives (AJHR).

A reflexive view of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development and history is provided through an analysis of the authors' pepeha, a dialogue providing tribal elements of development. The pepeha presents a method used by Maori to capture historical elements of importance to hapu development. This analysis offers an alternative perspective as a contrast to how Western ideology has recorded hapu history. As Smith (1999:34) states "...to hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges" being an imperative of critical development theory pedagogy. Henare (1988:6) endorses the significance of seeking alternative knowledge for development when he states that:

> If we as a distinct people are to enter the 21st century as Maori, it will be
> on the path signposted by our ancestors and founded on their standards

and values. The only valid path is to seek optimum growth both in terms of nga tikanga and nga ritenga and in terms of resource constraints and limitations.

Following this review a critical analysis was undertaken which established the context and localised mode of social and political regulation of Whakarewarewa. The approach is therefore situated as a critical-interpretive narrative within Guba and Lincoln's (1998) critical paradigm. Furthermore the use of the global-local nexus (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001) articulates and contextualises the research within what Denzin and Lincoln (1994) call the 'space and place' of socially constructed phenomena.

1.6   Structure of Thesis

The thesis is presented in eight chapters. The first chapter provides the overarching objectives of the thesis, an overview of the theoretical position of the research and the methodology adopted. This thesis argues that 'tourism studies' is now positioned within a critical development theoretical paradigm. The emergent theory requires a 'new' approach to understanding tourism, one that represents the "researcher's images, understandings, and interpretations" of the context under analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:3). There are a number of theoretical constructs that bring together the theoretical basis of this thesis from the local production of the tourism product at Whakarewarewa.

The second chapter provides the context of the case study. A profile of both, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village Tours and Te Puia, the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute (NZMACI), is provided. In addition a brief representation of Whakarewarewa demographics is offered to support the critical analysis of the case study in further chapters.

Chapter three is the literature review, divided into two distinct sections. Firstly an in-depth review of elements of development theory is presented and how this has changed

and influenced tourism studies over time. Secondly, how tourism studies aligns to development theory concluding with the theoretical position of the thesis.

Chapters four, five and six apply the theoretical elements identified in the literature review to the case study to form an empirical capture of 'development efforts' within the history of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism. Examples of hapu development are presented highlighting the argument that development theory until recently has failed to consider social and cultural analysis as critical elements of economic development (Reason, 1994). The seventh chapter offers an alternative tourism analysis from a Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao worldview and how this is an essential part of the production of the tourism product at Whakarewarewa and therefore linked to hapu economic development. The last chapter concludes this research, drawing together the theoretical elements applied to the case study and offers considerations for further research in this field.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: Research Context

2.1 Commentary

The idea of doing a Masters degree was daunting and I truly believed that as a working mother of two children, wife, Aunty to many, active tribal member, a representative on many boards and a student, a thesis had no place in my life. When considering my study options, I stared at the photo gallery at home and became fixated on the photo of Guide Beatrice, my maternal Great Grandmother. She was the last 'official' Government employed guide in our immediate family to have worked in our ancestral base of Whakarewarewa. The whole family from my generation up can quite naturally guide tourists through this national icon of New Zealand tourism, Rotorua, because our cultural upbringing has instilled a sense of identity through traditions, oratory, music which is easily shared with tourists. While the 'older' generations of the family can do this, will future generations have the same knowledge especially given we predominantly live in urban areas away from Rotorua now. The questions I then asked myself were:

- Ma wai e tiaki taku mokopuna? - Who will guide my descendents?
- You can take a girl out of Whakarewarewa but can you take Whakarewarewa out of the girl?

It was these two questions that prompted me to think about what our small tribal tourism operation really means to me personally and what it means to the tribal members that are now in this diverse society, with differing cultural and societal influences. More importantly is the responsibility I have to ensure my children know their 'cultural capital' rooted in Whakarewarewa, maintain the legacy that has been passed through eight generations and have that connection to the place and space that is integral to their identity and cultural wellbeing.

'There's Life Beyond The Fence, Transcending The Boundaries'

This metaphor is the result of a conversation I had with a builder, while on a 'study retreat' at my sister's place in Opononi (far north New Zealand). We were talking about

building fences and how strange it was that prior to his fence being built his dog never left his property. Once the fence was constructed his dog continually escaped through gaps or jumping over the top. Until fences are built does anyone consider the boundaries or the life beyond?

I use this metaphor as it relates to the literal building of a fence in the Whakarewarewa reserve in 1998 that delineated the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, a Government run tourist attraction, from the 'pa' or family village. Tourist activity had been prominent in the village since 1886 when, 'my family' (referring to Tuhourangi), moved from the devastating effects of the eruption of Mt Tarawera to Whakarewarewa. Subsequent to the fence being built, 'the family' decided to set up a competing organisation - the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village to primarily maintain the village, provide an economic base, employment and to continue the legacy of involvement in tourism our ancestors had consolidated in this area.

While the analogy of a dog may seem unusual, the dog features as a prominent figure in Te Arawa tribal oratory. In fact it is said that the discovery of Rotorua by my ancestor Ihenga was prompted by his dog. The tribe of Te Arawa arrived in Aotearoa from Hawaiiki their ancestral home. They landed at Maketu on the East Coast of New Zealand and Ihenga the chief's grandson explored the new land. His dog, Hau, came back sick after overeating fish. Ihenga then knew there was a place with plentiful resources ahead and went on to discover the region of Rotorua (Stafford, 1967) which is the region of this study.

Upon reflection of this metaphor several issues arose:
- Is the fence a divide between - economic and cultural?
                                                      - national and local?
                                                      - positivist and phenomenological?
                                                      - academic and practice?
- Which side of the fence am I on and who goes between the 'holes' in the fence?
- Which side is the way forward? What opportunities are there to explore?

Also I present my interpretation of this metaphor of the fence as the divide between the researcher and the researched, the fence as the divider of dichotomous discourse. Does academic inquiry have to be on one side and practical development on the other? Booth (1996) suggests that the divide between 'academic inquiry and development' is growing. This metaphor is then pertinent to this study by the examination of the gaps in the fences or as Oakes (1993) refers to as 'the wall' that is 'riddled with holes', we can then look at creating links of this growing divide between academic inquiry and development.

Tourism in a global context is increasingly becoming a means whereby indigenous peoples are able to differentiate themselves within both local and global economic activity (Ryan, 1997). This opportunity for communities to participate in, and more importantly, determine their economic future has prompted a redefinition of tourism research that embraces the individual, local, national and global environments as opposed to broad dominantly economic, business oriented approaches (Milne, 1998; Rojek, 1995; Franklin & Crang, 2001).

The political environment in New Zealand related to tourism is focused on local, national and global development. Two current key directives of Government are:

- developing and expanding the Tourism industry within this new area of the knowledge economy[1]
- and to support Maori economic development opportunities particularly in cultural revival and associated growth of industries, strong growth of Maori social services providers and an entrepreneurial focus on the tourism sector, taking advantage of demand for authentic experiences (NZIER, 2003).

These directives are linked to strengthening Maori culture as a differentiating factor to international competition and more importantly providing Maori economic development opportunities that will provide benefits for whole communities (ibid).

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[1] Maori knowledge economy provides a differentiation to the general knowledge economy by the utilization and development of 'cultural knowledge'.

2.2   National and Regional Tourism Directives

Tourism New Zealand research findings scoped the current international demand for cultural tourism of which Maori tourism is part of. The report identifies the 'Interactive traveler' as being 80% of international visitors to New Zealand. Thus the national tourism organisation's primary activities are focused around capacity development and marketing to this segment (Colmar Brunton Social Research Agency, 2003).

According to Tourism New Zealand (2003:8), interactive travelers both domestic and international are those that are more likely to be interested in "...learning about people from a different culture (marae visit is the 'participation' measure), sites that are important to a country's history, sites that are important to country's indigenous people, food and wine trail/festival, dance performance, music concert, theatre, arts and craft trail and private gardens". This target market has shaped New Zealand's response to tourism product development and promotion. This theme is present throughout Tourism New Zealand's policy, reporting and promotional activity.

In a national tourism research report (Tourism New Zealand:Publications, 2003), Tourism Rotorua, the regional tourism organisation (RTO) reported that:
The top five cultural products in the Rotorua region are:
- Maori cultural performance (57%)
- Shopping for souvenirs (52%)
- Sites of importance to Maori history (45%)
- Sites important to New Zealand history (42%)
- Local cuisine (40%)

There are twenty six regional tourism organisations (RTO's) in the country. The cultural products, 'shopping for souvenirs' and 'local cuisine', rate in the top five in nearly all of the twenty six regions.   Of significance is 'Maori cultural performance' because Rotorua

is the only region that it features in. Also the 'sites of importance to Maori history' only presents in three of the regions.

Rotorua is well known for its 'Maori cultural product' as defined by Bennett (1995) as "an opportunity provided…for the tourist to have contact with Maori culture". The Rotorua region is now consolidated as New Zealand's place of the 'Maori cultural product'. Given the desires of the interactive traveler, particularly the international traveler, wanting an experience in learning about others cultures and seeing sites that are important to the country's indigenous people, Rotorua is significant as part of Tourism New Zealand's marketing mix. This product development has been created largely from the tribe of the Rotorua region's cultural capital, Te Arawa (Te Puia, 2005: History and Values).

The history of tourism in New Zealand indicates that while global and national influences have seemingly driven tourism development in this area, the people of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao (the local) have played a large role in how the nation's tourism industry is represented in the international arena. An example is the lasting images of Guide Maggie Papakura and Guide Sophia, well known guides of Whakarewarewa. Their hosting of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in the village in 1901 was promoted in the world news and those images are still being used in tourist promotions such as at the Auckland International Airport arrivals lounge and many tourist websites (see Te Puia, 2005). Tuhourangi tourism development has evolved from the controlling access to and owning of the natural wonders of the Pink and White terraces to Whakarewarewa village. The product is not solely the natural wonders but 'the experience' the tourist has as they tour through the village. This at Whakarewarewa is presented through an amalgamation of traditional practices such as manaakitanga which embraces hosting of guests and lifestyles of the villager's and hapu of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao.

2.3   The Case Study - Whakarewarewa – The Thermal Village

This research examines a tourism enterprise, 'The Whakarewarewa Thermal Village' in the hope of enhancing and promoting hapu development. The organisation is part of the hapu of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao and the research is interpreted through a reflexive voice that is relative to cultural meanings and values of this hapu. This organisation contributes to the hapu economy providing financial benefits and is inextricably linked to the strengthening of the hapu culture, traditions and identity of its members.

This generative learning environment is important to the writer, as it is an environment that promotes diversity and encourages whanau members to participate in hapu development and tourist activities. The Whakarewarewa village is therefore considered more than just a case study for a thesis but more as an opportunity to have real input into Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao development as an urban Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao woman.

Traveling to Rotorua from my residence in Auckland is always a time of excitement for me. It means I'm returning home. Three hours south of Auckland is Rotorua, promoted by Tourism New Zealand (2003) as the tourist capital of Aotearoa. The steaming hot pools and the Maori concerts are well known to most in New Zealand and famous overseas due to its longevity as a tourist destination. The region and its people are recognised as leaders in tourism participation in Aotearoa (Te Awekotuku, 1981). Whakarewarewa valley is situated two kilometers south of the Rotorua Township. Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao are two hapu of Te Arawa who have mana whenua over Whakarewarewa. The people of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao have lived in and around Whakarewarewa for over 300 years (Waaka, 1982).

Tourism in Whakarewarewa and its operations started in the mid 19th century, becoming more prominent in the period after the Tarawera eruption of 1886. Ngati Wahiao, numbering approximately one hundred and fifty people, were resident at Whakarewarewa at the time. Wahiao was a great chief of Tuhourangi who had settled in Whakarewarewa in about 1710. Approximately three hundred Tuhourangi escaped Te Wairoa from the

eruption of Mount Tarawera, and moved to Whakarewarewa at the invitation of Ngati Wahiao. Both hapu together developed a tourism trade that is still operating there today (Quinn & Moore, 1993).

The people of the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village while providing tourism related services since the mid 19th century have only operated this actual enterprise since 1998. It is located in Rotorua amongst a landscape of geothermal activity and a living Maori village. This organisation's shareholders have been left this legacy from ancestors all originating from the eponymous chief named Wahiao. The enterprise spans eight generations and the importance of 'te wa' – (time, place and space) to the people of the hapu offers another perspective of what Oakes (1993) calls intentional place creation. A reflective narrative of how the transference of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao[2] 'intellectual property' further contextualises the case showing the links between this generational learning and the tourism enterprise that exists today.

The Whakarewarewa Thermal Village, the hapu run tourist organisation, is a subsidiary of the Whakarewarewa Village Charitable Trust. This charitable trust leases rights to operate the tourism venture off the Rahui Trust Board who represent the village shareholders. The enterprise was set up in 1998:

> to foster and promote our Village/Tour Package as par excellence of
> tourism, to enable the growth and development of economic, health, social
> and cultural issues of the people of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao (Mission
> Statement).

Adjacent and physically connected to the village area is Te Puia or the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute (NZMACI). The NZMACI is a national centre for both the training of Maori in Maori arts and crafts and a tourist destination. This tourist venture includes much of the geothermal sites in the Whakarewarewa valley, such as the

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[2] Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao – sub-tribe of the Te Arawa confederation.

pohutu geyser, a museum, a model Maori village, kiwi house, carving school and restaurant. The people of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao were part of the NZMACI package, having developed the cultural capital in the organisation and holding mana whenua over the land there. In 1998, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village was created largely in response to the actions of the Government owned and managed tourist complex. The Rahui Trust and villagers were unhappy about the NZMACI's non-recognition of an informal agreement made between the parties on 21 October 1965. This agreement referred to charging rights of the institute and village of tourists going through the Whakarewarewa valley. This 'Gentleman's agreement,' as determined by the New Zealand High Court (1998), provided the parties a charging scheme whereby

> ...a single fee [was] to be charged and collected by the institute and for an agreed amount to be paid to the incorporation/trust (CP16/97, High Court Rotorua. 22 April 1998).

The Rahui Trust in 1998 took the NZMACI to the High Court seeking enforcement of this agreement and the judgement from this hearing stated that:

> Overall, it was at least arguable that each of the agreements was no more than an agreement binding in honour, and a summary judgment should not therefore issue (High Court Rotorua, 1998).

Following this High Court judgment the Rahui Trust decided that tourists entering the gates at the Western part of the valley (the Government owned region) will no longer have open access to the village. A fence was erected on the hapu/NZMACI boundary in 1998. This High Court decision and the dishonoring of the 'gentlemen's agreement' by the NZMACI was the catalyst for the hapu to create an autonomous enterprise. Subsequently a tourism enterprise was consolidated in the form of the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village, owned and operated by the people who hold the mana whenua of the valley.

2.3.1   The Guided Tour of Whakarewarewa Thermal Village

The village is open to tourists from 8.30am to 5.00pm every day of the year except for Christmas day. Standard admission to the village, which includes a guided tour and cultural performance, is NZD $20.00 per adult and $10.00 per child. There are various package deals and family discounts (Whakarewarewa Thermal Village:Price List, nd).

Tourists enter the village at the Eastern end of the Whakarewarewa valley. Prior to entering the village gates, on the left, is the wharekai or dining room. This dining room, named Te Rau Aroha has facilities to cater for three hundred people and is used for hapu meetings and other gatherings at the marae. It is not used for tour groups however it is hired out as a conference facility or meeting venue occasionally. In front of the wharekai are bays for tour buses and cars to park.

Just in front of the archway are the first signs of tourist information. The Whakarewarewa Thermal Village is signposted with a large map of the reserve. The guides usually meet their visitors at this sign and give a brief commentary of the area. The following is the path of the guided tours tourists take and a brief insight into Whakarewarewa, 'the village'.

The entrance to the village is an archway and a memorial to those hapu members that served in the world wars. Soldiers names are engraved into the stone and all that pass see and read the names of our grandfathers. This archway is the southern boundary of the village and main gate for tourists and locals to enter and is both the physical and spiritual gateway to the village. This is the hapu' turangawaewae, the base of which Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao still gathers in times of joy and sadness. Tangi are held here, weddings, family reunions, 21st birthdays and family day to day living.

The community:

> ...is both physically and symbolically set apart from the 'rest of the world' by the bridge and memorial archway at the village entrance. The village is the last remaining foothold of the tribe in the thermal area and of strong spiritual significance to the tribe as a whole (Waaka, 1982:7).

Through the archway is the bridge which traverses the Puarenga River. To the children of Whakarewarewa the bridge has been a place to earn pocket money as they dive from the bridge, collecting money thrown by tourists. They are known as the Whakarewarewa penny divers. This activity forms the beginnings of the interactive experience of the tourist with the people of the village. The name, 'penny divers', is a legacy from when pound sterling was still the national currency and despite the change to decimal currency, the name 'penny diver' has remained. The change in currency in the 1970's with the elimination of one and two cent coins and introduction of one and two dollar coins saw the penny diver income increase dramatically. Strict rules apply when penny diving, these rules are adhered to, as the alternative would be that you are not allowed in the river. The rules have been determined by previous penny divers, elders and village tourism management since the beginning of tourist activity in the village. Rules such as age restrictions (no older than fifteen), hapu membership (must be of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao descent) and behavior are monitored by the villagers and Wahiao Thermal Village staff. There is also a 'pecking' order in the river as, due to being more experienced penny divers and socialised with the rest of the village children, those children that live in the village tend to earn a lot more than visiting children such as my children.

During one of the research hui that I held at Whakarewarewa in June, 2004 with a non-Maori community from Auckland[3] a cousin stood up and explained the joy of penny-diving. In jest he stated that perhaps some people would consider it begging but for the

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[3] See Appendix 2 for letter of thank you from the Churchill Park Community detailing particular highlights of their stay with 'us', Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao.

children of the village, he said, "at least we were rich beggars!" (Personal Communication, Shipgood, 2004). This activity generates income for the hapu and is not a taxable activity. Children can make up to $100 on an average day in the river. This money goes towards school uniforms, school fees, and holiday entertainment amongst other things. While on the three month fieldwork period my son and niece who stayed with me became penny divers for the first time and learnt the rules and river culture. They were not as successful as the local village children but felt very much part of the village after being with the village children and interacting with the tourist visitors.

Tourists cross the bridge by foot, only hapu members are permitted to drive across. From the bridge, on the right is the ticket box for tourists. Alongside that is the pathway that leads to the bathing and cooking facilities also known as nga waiariki and ngawhaariki. The guide's take tour groups into this area first and explain how the landscape has changed over time although the hapu still control the geothermal supply to enable bathing and cooking to continue. This area is called the 'rahui' and is a shared area for the villagers to utilise. The rahui is managed by the hapu, the management structure is determined by shareholders in the village by way of annual hui. A trust board facilitates and administers on behalf of the shareholders and due to its legal requirements, reports all major decisions to the Minister of Maori Affairs. This structure is a legacy of national policy controlled by the Government, at first to facilitate management of newly formed land tenure laws and has continued as a way to manage the communally owned Rahui area. The Whakarewarewa Thermal Village enterprise leases rights from the Rahui Trust at a nominal rate to take tourists through the village (Rahui Trust Board AGM minutes, 2001).

As the tour progresses, tourists are taken to Ned's Cafe where they can purchase the food cooked in the hot pools (currently only corn cobs) and hangi. The cafe is part of the village enterprise. Close to the cafe is the village Kohanga Reo which are Maori preschools, translated as 'language nests'. The village preschoolers attend this Kohanga and tourists often have the opportunity to meet and see these children sing and play. The

children are exposed at a very young age to touristic activity and can often be seen performing with the resident culture group.

Further along the path are viewing platforms to the famous Pohutu and Prince of Wales geysers. Prior to the fence being erected, tourists were able to walk right up to the geysers which now are only accessible through the Government run operation. Throughout the tour are residential homes, some traditionally carved and the guides tell stories of who lived in these 'whare' and how they were built. The central building in the village is Wahiao, the elaborately carved wharenui or meeting house of the hapu. The wharenui is named after one of the eponymous leaders of the hapu, Wahiao. While Wahiao is our traditional meeting place it is also used in the winter months for cultural performances given to tourists. The guides take tourists into the wharenui and share ancestral stories using the carved figures as reference points. Two of the carvings inside the whare represent Hinemoa and Tutanekai, now a well known love story of two of our ancestors.

Souvenir shops are also prominent in the village. As you enter the village the road is lined with three residential houses. One of them has converted their garage into a souvenir shop, selling hand made poi, screen printed T Shirts, a few Maori carvings and postcards of the village. It is a casual independently owned initiative, not officially run as part of the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village enterprise. Many of the houses in the village have set up to sell arts and crafts, mud from the pools and other souvenir items, all independently owned. Perhaps this is a legacy of the NZMACI intention of setting up the 'natives' so as to provide income from the tourists, more likely however is that the locals have taken advantage of the opportunity that is presented from having tourists walk past their front door. There is one shop that the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village enterprise owns and guides encourage tour groups to shop there. This is not always conducive to other villagers who are keen to promote their shops to the tourists. This stakeholder conflict embodies what Hall (2003) asserts is the norm in tourism development. Hall refers to this 'norm' at a larger macro/policy level however this conflict is illustrated here at a micro level as well. The collective and systemised tourist gaze generates unequal terrains of power (Urry, 1990), whereby different interests or attractions are promoted

based on a complex web of power relations (Freire, 1985). This terrain of 'power struggle' directly affects the individual village souvenir shops economically but more importantly strains the relationship between the 'community' and the village tours tourist enterprise. Hall (2003:99) observes that "the central role of the 'community' in tourism planning has come to be recognised as one of the tenets of sustainable and socially responsible tourism". With this in mind it is important that the village tours not only consider the profit making opportunity of promoting its own souvenir shop, but balance that consideration with that of the community providing for "sustainable and socially responsible tourism". Acknowledging this would also further align the enterprise to its mission "...to enable the growth and development of economic, health, social and cultural issues of the people of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao" (Mission statement).

Right throughout the village is geothermal activity, steaming vents, mud pools, hot pools and geysers. Behind the wharenui is a nature walk where there is a hot lake and where native fauna and flora are predominant. This is not part of the guided tour however tourists are able to walk through at their own leisure. All are signposted and paths are clearly demarcated. To the left of the whare is Lake Roto-a-Tamaheke which is actually part of the Government owned reserve. The lake used to feed a major bathing complex named 'the Hirere' in the village but over the past ten years the lake has dried up. In 2000, the bath was closed which was a major upset for the hapu as communal bathing is considered very important as it provides the opportunity for whanaungatanga, a central concept of hapu identity.

The guides take tourists up through the residential area and at the northern end of the village is a Catholic church, where services are still conducted although, now, only once per month. Surrounding the church is a graveyard and it seems a place of intrigue to the tourists as the graves are built up above ground due to the geothermal activity below. Also are memorials of famous guides such as Guide Maggie Papakura and Guide Rangi, who became well-known through their professional association with a number of celebrity tourists including the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall (Stafford, 1967).

To the right of the wharenui is where my family property is located. Up until 1967 we had a house where my mother was brought up. In 1967 due to council regulations, where houses were not allowed to be renovated or upgraded in the village, my parents demolished the house and now we have a small section that is currently utilised by our neighbors as a garden. When my immediate family takes visitors to Whakarewarewa we tell the story of this property and what procedures now are necessary for people to build there. This is of interest as the geothermal activity limits how and what is built in this area. These regulations are stipulated and controlled by the local council.

To further illustrate the village, He Matai Tapoi Maori (2001:102) provided a non-exhaustive list of attractions at the village:

- Living Village
- Pohutu Geyser Views
- Prince of Wales Feathers Geyser Views
- Views of various vents exuding steam
- Boiling Mineral Pools
- Boiling Mud Pools
- Boiling Lake – Roto-a-tamaheke
- Coloured Lakes – Kanapanapa and Opouri
- Thermal Baths
- Corn on the Cob cooked in Boiling Pool
- Steam Cooking Boxes
- Daily Cultural Performances
- Hourly Guided Tours
- Visitor Participation Activities (including traditional weaponry (such as fighting sticks), musical instruments (such as the conch horn) and performing arts (such as the All Black Haka).
- Carving Display (including an on-site carver)
- Midday Hangi & Concert
- Whare Tupuna (Ancestral House)

- Nature Walks
- Horse Treks
- Ned's Café

In 1999, 22,278 visitors visited the village, and by 2001 this had increased to over 87,000 visitors averaging 422 visitors per day (The Stafford Group, 2001). While there has been an increase in numbers, in comparison in 1991 over 360,000 visitors visited the adjacent NZMACI (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1999:36). While the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village enterprise is strategically working towards its mission, to enhance the social status of the hapu through its tourist activities in the village, the potential loss of business, namely tourists from the NZMACI, to those small souvenir shops and individual small businesses in the village is significant.

Within four years of establishment, as a result of increased visitor numbers, the enterprise was able to employ seventy five staff, all of whom are descendants or married to descendents of the hapu Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao. An upgrade in the village environment including the marae complex, ablutions, bathing and cooking facilities was undertaken as part of the millennium upgrade, supported by Mitre 10's DIY marae television programme (screened on Maori Television in 2005). Promotion and marketing of the village by way of joint ventures, capacity development and business growth is encouraging innovation and hapu development based on hapu values and tradition synchronously integrating technology and knowledge systems into product development.

Traditional structures and value systems are negotiated through local level politicking within the hapu. Often taken for granted processes have required intense negotiation. An example is the formal voting of the Rahui Trust Board which required ninety percent of the annual general meeting time in 2001 to decide how the voting would occur. Issues such as whether people should be voted based on; whakapapa and if so which whakapapa would be appropriate; merit and what kind of qualification would be acknowledged; knowledge of hapu tradition; residence in the village etc.

2.4   Community Profile

The 2001 New Zealand census figures show there was a population of 276 people and 60 families residing at Whakarewarewa most of whom live in the village. The actual area included in the Whakarewarewa statistics is made up of the village and three outlying streets most of which is accommodated by Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao hapu members. The statistics, while not solely representing the village proper, give an indication at the situation of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao living in and around Whakarewarewa village. The count also includes a hostel (where an Asian family of four reside), an old Post Office (now a training establishment for Te Runanga o Tuhourangi), an art gallery (owned by hapu members) and three small shops situated just outside the village gates.

2.4.1   Education:

Despite claims that the enterprise is a successful Maori tourism destination it is evident that this does not necessarily translate to economic and social development for the community of which it's positioned.   Whakarewarewa Thermal Village is a small enterprise and has limited capacity for individual development opportunities. Capacity development is therefore a priority for progressing individual staff development opportunities (Personal Communication, Te Hau, 2005).

The Whakarewarewa community has a smaller percentage of people with post school qualifications and a higher percentage of 'no qualification' than elsewhere in New Zealand (Census NZ, 2001). The tourism enterprise, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village is attempting to address these issues of education through promoting education initiatives for its staff. The enterprise has a commitment to staff training (on-site and off-site) (The Stafford Group, 2001). While this initiative has thus far seen eleven staff members selected from the guides and administration staff, gain the National Certificate in Tourism (Guiding, Level 3), the capacity within the village or Maori Tourism in general to progress into broader career development is limited. Some of those graduates are also

now undertaking further study towards the National Diploma in Tourism Management (Level 5). These qualifications are Government controlled through the New Zealand Qualification Authority framework which also determines funding criteria of the private training establishment that provide the courses. This is not dissimilar to the guiding certificates process of 1909 when the Government passed a by-law regulating guiding at Whakarewarewa through guide licensing. This essentially affected how the guides in the region were controlled, transferring more control from the hapu operation in the valley to the Rotorua Tourist Board. This law regulated the tourist guides, specifying requirements of guides in the hope of improving tourist experiences in this thermal wonderland. The transfer of control from the hapu to the Rotorua Tourist Board in 1909 initiated not only guiding standards but essentially gave the Government power to stipulate how the tourist product in Whakarewarewa was produced.

There are two distinct rationales for regulating and educating the staff of Whakarewarewa Thermal Village, particularly the guiding staff. Firstly, training with regard to regulatory requirements, reflects Government interest in tourists' experiences and influences core training programmes. Secondly the enterprise is attempting to up-skill their staff to meet its mission, "to enable the growth and development of economic, health, social and cultural issues of the people of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao" (Mission Statement). The dialectical nature of tourism in Whakarewarewa is illustrated whereby both production and consumption factors are influencing tourism operations and social areas such as education. Massey (1994) suggests that tourism development progresses relative to environmental influences and in this instance, education or professional development of staff is, and has been, influenced by circuits running through the global-local nexus. For example, the global influence of the International tourist's expectations, national influence of Governmental regulatory by-laws and local influence of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao and their mission to enable hapu growth and development.

The national tourism campaigns promote Rotorua as the place to see Maori success in tourism (see Destination Rotorua website, 2005) however current education statistics do not describe positive outcomes to development in this area. Governmental control of

educational delivery has not been conducive to Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao development. The recent Government action with the Maori tertiary provider, Te Wananga O Aotearoa provides an example of how Government decisions can significantly affect Maori education outcomes in general. Te Wananga O Aotearoa, a new Maori tertiary provider, opened in 1999 and is the largest tertiary provider in the country. Forty percent of all Maori tertiary students are enrolled there. Political interest in the Wananga resulted in a Governmental takeover of control in 2005. The Waitangi tribunal, in a recent press release stated: "...they [Te Wananga O Aotearoa] will have suffered irreversible prejudice by reason of loss of a degree of control and input into the future of the institution that they created" (NZ Herald, 26 October, 2005). This is significant to those forty percent of the nations' Maori tertiary students that are enrolled there. Hall and Tucker (2004:146) assert that Government funded education determines the direction of the tourism industry:

> In cases where university places are Government funded, the growth in university-level courses in tourism is itself related to broader Government and industry perceptions of where jobs may be created or where human capital needs to be focused.

Consistent with this are the findings and recommendations by the Ministry of Tourism (2001:42) that policy development should focus on "improving involvement and commercial performance. The options cover the gamut of education, ensuring representation and ensuring good planning". Furthermore in their considerations of future policy development they recommend the need for "...Improving access to suitable education (courses that adopt a Maori learning style, that are of high quality and that are relevant to the industry)". These national economic imperatives consistently stimulate the community level development plans. However, simultaneously the tourism industry is constantly influenced by global scales such as war or increasing oil prices. Specific education requirements of small enterprises such as Whakarewarewa where, quite unique geographical and cultural factors add to the 'tourist experience', ensures the issues of education remains a key factor on the local through to national stage.

While statistics show that Whakarewarewa has a lower percentage of post school qualifications, there are many in the hapu that hold traditional ancestral knowledge or tribal qualifications. This traditional knowledge has been utilised in both a tourism context as points of interest to tourists and important to hapu members as part of identity and cultural integrity. The hierarchical nature of the hapu places those 'knowledge holders' or kaumatua, in positions of responsibility as the integrity of the hapu has to be maintained. Speaking rights on the marae, trustees on the trust boards and managerial positions within the hapu operations all illustrate forms of how the hapu operations are controlled. These people along with their tribal responsibilities also carry reciprocal obligations to hapu development and are not always easily transferred into a commercial context. An example is the concept of kaitiakitanga or stewardship of the region. While these knowledge holders promote tourism through sharing stories of old, adding to 'the experience' of the interactive traveler, they also have responsibilities to protect those stories and to ensure the sustainability of the resource that the tourist gazes at 364 days per year. Over time the kaumatua have made decisions on what information is utilised for tourism. This has been integral to the procurement of the tourist product provided at the village. An example is the story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai. The story is presented by way of whakairo in the meeting house, legend books and the guide's commentary. This story has a much deeper meaning and significance to their descendants and this meaning is communicated in traditional practices such as waiata, whaikorero and naming. This alludes to what Te Awekotuku (1981) asserts is a control mechanism whereby the hapu have power over what is presented, maintaining the mana of the people that procreated the hapu, the village and its tourism operations.

In 2000, after two years in operation, the staff levels reached and have maintained twenty three full time, seven part time staff and forty five casual performers. The jobs range from grounds maintenance, guides, performers, catering personnel, retail store and administration workers. All staff are members of the hapu or are married to members. Professional development for most of these roles is limited and specific to development within Whakarewarewa because knowledge systems and stories are not easily

transferable. The existing capacity for staff professional development appears to be limited to guiding or management as a career. This then poses potential issues of tourism in the village stifling growth as the current capacity of the village cannot facilitate opportunities for individual staff to progress their development into a broader scope within the tourism industry. Examples of this issue are common amongst the author's whanau. Many guides having either stayed employed by the NZMACI throughout their working lives or changing careers all together. In an interview with a cousin (personal communication, Mikaere, June, 2005) she, like many of the hapu, in her fifties is now studying towards a PhD. Asked why she had left it so long to study, she replied "I had too much fun doing concerts and international travel when I was younger but now I have time to study and start a career". Alluding to the perception that guiding and tourism is not considered a career.

While statistical data shows that the number of post school qualified people is lower in Whakarewarewa, many of the hapu move away when they finish working in the village. For those hapu members, like those of my cousin, they move into non-tourism careers. This provides evidence of what Brien (2004) asserts is the perception that tourism or hospitality is not considered to be 'real' jobs. Perhaps then for Whakarewarewa, tourism development is about promoting other tourism industry opportunities to those ready to leave their performing, guiding roles and/or creating capacity for individuals to develop in the tourism industry.

More importantly is the need to identify and create future capacity for the hapu to develop its own educational processes and professional development for the hapu. While tourism is sometimes perceived as having negative impacts on destination communities, Te Awekotuku (1981) found that there are definite benefits and opportunities for the Maori of Rotorua to progress and increase participation in this industry.

2.4.2   Employment and Income

Census 2001 figures showed that Whakarewarewa had the largest percentile grouping of people (38%) with an income of $10,000 - $20,000 compared to the rest of the country (25%). Comparative to the region and country the people of Whakarewarewa have less income. These figures corroborate with the 2001 unemployment rates, as the unemployment rate at Whakarewarewa (13%) was nearly double the national average (7.5%). Of those that are employed the income was still at a relatively lower level than elsewhere. The largest occupational group at Whakarewarewa is 'Service and Sales' (25.7%) compared to Rotorua (17%) and New Zealand (14.8%).

These figures indicate that while the people living at Whakarewarewa predominantly work in one of the tourism industry occupational groups, service and sales, they are not at the same income level as the rest of the country. In Whakarewarewa itself most are either unemployed, work for motels/hotels in non-managerial positions, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village or maintain an income selling arts and crafts such as carving and weaving.

This was indicated in the Government's plan in 1907 when building the model pa (now ironically part of the NZMACI). In their proposed plans the recommendation was that "the villagers could make carvings and mats for sale, thereby earning sustenance" (AJHR, 1902:H2). This notion was reiterated in 1967 as part of the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Act (1967) which maintains the practice was:

> to encourage, foster, and promote all types of Maori culture and the
> practice and appreciation of Maori arts and crafts: To train Maoris in the
> practice of Maori arts and crafts: To provide demonstrations or exhibitions
> of Maori arts and crafts: To foster and maintain public interest in Maori
> culture and Maori arts and crafts' (The New Zealand Maori Arts and
> Crafts Institute Amendment Act, 1967: Subsection 14).

This to some degree has been achieved. The Arts and Crafts Institute has built and maintained a very good reputation amongst the industry and is a focal point of the NZMACI tourist product. Until 1998, when Whakarewarewa Thermal Village was initiated, Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao worked and developed the 'cultural product' in the Government run organisation (NZMACI), supplying their cultural capital into the enterprise and selling the arts and crafts that were made as souvenirs for the tourists. However these activities and support provided to the NZMACI development did not translate into economic success for the hapu. The NZMACI management positions are Government appointments and while the cultural capital of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao presents in most of the organisations promotional material (see Te Puia, Rotorua website, 2005) and presentation, the senior management are not hapu members. Most hapu members that are employed there are employed in non-managerial, part-time contract positions.

2.5   Conclusion

The metaphor of 'the fence' is presented here to illustrate the dialectic nature of Whakarewarewa as a tourist destination and turangawaewae for the hapu of Tuhourang/Ngati Wahiao. The production and consumption of tourism has largely influenced hapu systems over several generations and the context of the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village provides an example of the circuits that exist between local, regional, national and global tourism imperatives.

It is argued that the importance of meritocracy in this post-modern society is not necessarily applicable in the Whakarewarewa village as whakapapa, or aristocracy, is still a prevalent factor in hapu decision making and systems which influences the operations of the case study, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village. Furthermore, while the Government owned NZMACI is now totally independent of the hapu tourism enterprise, much of the tourist product of the business is dependent on Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao knowledge systems and human resource.

In conclusion, the rhetorical nature of tourism being a tool to economic and social development is not in reality the case. Whakarewarewa is promoted by the Government as a success in Maori tourism. The regional tourism organisation, which is largely tourist led, also presents Maori cultural performance as its top cultural product in the region. However, the socio-economic status of those who have been significantly involved in tourism development of the region for many generations is still lower than elsewhere in the country.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: Te Ara ki Te Ao Marama - Theoretical Pathway

3.1   Introduction

This study examines the interrelationships between local culture and identity and tourism development. The diagram below illustrates the overarching theoretical argument of this thesis, which is primarily that 'tourism studies' is now positioned within a critical development theory paradigm. Furthermore, social science and development studies perspectives contextualised in tourism studies reflect changes in the political and economic environments that are revealed in this study using Milne & Ateljevic's (2001) global-local nexus framework. The global-local nexus framework is a useful tool to identify the defining characteristics of 'value' that essentially drive development in this case study as well as present the alignment of development theory with the progression of tourism.

Figure 1.   **Paradigm Shift**

Social Science in General	Development Studies	Tourism Studies
Positivist ↓	Modernisation Theory ↓	Impact Studies ↓
Structuralist ↓	Dependency Theory ↓	Complexity of Tourism Development from a structural view ↓
Postmodern/ Poststructuralist	Critical Development Theory	Global-local Nexus Framework

Figure 1

Development theory as outlined in the table above aligns with the history of tourism studies. Initial approaches, found for example in impact studies, reflect modernisation theory in that they were largely based on positivist, scientific and quantitative rigor (Walle, 1997; Riley & Love, 2000) whereby the measures of transforming a traditional society to a modern state were measured by factors such as Rostow's (1956) index of 'stages of growth'. The failure of modernisation theory to address the complexities involved in the determinant structure and development of society (Frank, 1971, in Keelan & Moon, 1998) saw the evolution of modernisation to dependency theory which, in a tourism studies context, is addressed through an analysis of the power dynamics of 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' within Western ideology. Extending this evolutionary path is an acknowledgement in tourism literature that local participation is an essential element of development (Capenerhust, 1994) and thus embraces the global-local nexus framework as a post-modern, post-structuralist paradigm of analysis.

The following literature review considers the three major development theories, modernisation, dependency and critical development theory, within the broader context of social science and how this has influenced the 'new' tourism research approach. This informs the empirical capture of Whakarewarewa today providing a broad history of tourism development and the current context of tourism at Whakarewarewa. It illustrates the circuits that have and are continually linking local, regional, national and global scales utilising the global-local nexus framework. Furthermore, it reveals, from a local perspective, factors of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism that are necessary for hapu tourism success.

3.2   Development Studies

3.2.1   Modernisation Theory

The first major development paradigm, modernisation theory, became prominent in the mid 20th century. This is attributed largely to the profound economic and political changes within a dynamic shift in global relations (Moon, 2001). The result was a huge

increase in scientific discovery, positivist approaches and technological advances requisite of discourses of control and limitation that separated the emotional status of the researcher from the subjects being researched (Hasse, 2001). Modernity is mirrored in the 'Enlightenment' discourse and emphasises the principles of reason and rationality (Wang, 2000). Rationalising modernity is characterised as:

> The rationality that is intrinsic to modern technology imposes itself upon both the activity and the consciousness of the individual as control, limitation and, by the same token, frustration. Irrational impulses of all sorts are progressively subjected to controls...The individual is forced to 'manage' his emotional life, transferring to it the engineering ethos of modern technology (Berger *et al*, 1973 cited in Wang, 2000:163).

Associated with this is what Jamal and Everett (2004:7) refer to as 'instrumental reason', which is:

> a means-end rationality where objects and events are treated as means to a pre-determined end, usually associated with the scientific objective of discovering natural and physical laws, and the modernist project of human progress and economic growth through the applications of scientific knowledge (technology).

Hofstede (2005) asserts that rationality is subject to values held, which "are strong emotions within a minus and a plus pole". This view is in direct contrast to the above scientific approach whereby rationality is divorced from emotion. It is argued that this form of 'managing' emotional life is impossible as all researchers and their findings are influenced by their world-view perspectives (Johnston, 2001; Jamal and Everitt, 2004; Eyles, 1988).

Further to that debate is the assumption of modernisation theorists to consider local cultures and tradition as impediments to development, imposing often foreign value systems and using economic outputs as a method to measure developments success

(Slater, 1995). Modernisation theorists in the main, propose that fundamental elements of modernised society are those concepts that have determined Western societal success or achievement (Rostow, 1956; Smelser, 1966; McClelland, 1970). Rostow (1956), in his description of what a modernised society looks like, offered an index of Western standards by which to measure the achievement of a modernised state. These included a per capita growth in economic wealth, more efficient production systems, a move from rural employment to urban centres and changes in value systems of the society.

Rostow's matrix of modern society provides a critique of traditional society particularly in analysing the role of employment. In traditional society, roles are often blurred between 'earning roles' and 'non-earning roles'; for example the guided tours at Whakarewarewa incorporate child care or the kohanga reo in the representations to tourists. The rationale for this, however, is not purely 'child care while at work' but an example of integrated learning that indigenous peoples historically engaged as a teaching/learning tool (Metge, 1983). The children of the hapu are exposed to tourist activity from a very young age, performing in the resident kapa haka group, talking to tourists who may see them at the kohanga reo or the children that are 'penny diving' in the river. Hoselitz (1998) asserts from a modernist view, that this lack of specialisation is a barrier to economic development. It is however, evident that rather than ignoring those traditional society structures as modernisation theory requires, a more prudent approach would be to adopt those existing structures that provide a platform by which to develop further (see Henare, 1995; Habermas, 1978).

Modernisation theory is thus found to be a Western agency that fails to:

> ...take adequate account of the determinant structure and development of the social system within which diffusion, acculturation, and economic development and cultural change take place. Perhaps the most important theoretical fault…is that it is premised on dualism instead of on structural and developmental holism (Frank, 1971 cited in Keelan & Moon, 1998:15).

Frank advocates that, to become developed, underdeveloped countries need to adapt and develop themselves on the basis of current social structures, a context that is not adequately addressed through modernisation theory. However, this theme is progressed in dependency theory.

3.2.2   Dependency theory

Dependency theory, the second major paradigm of development studies, emerged in the late 1960s where dramatic economic changes in Latin America were impacting on the economic development of communities there (Moon, 2001). It provides a more robust approach to development, challenging modernisation's capitalist view. Dependency theorists draw on Marxist analysis which challenges the concept of modernist capitalism by presenting it as inherently exploitative (Oakes, 1993).

Keelan and Moon (1998) imply that developed countries sought to maintain a dominant position by using their political and economic powers. Cardoso and Faletto (1979, cited in Keelan & Moon, 1998:7) propose that the basis of dependency lies within the internal and external dynamics present and the links between them:

> The concept of dependence tries to give meaning to a series of events and situations that occur together, and to make empirical situations understandable in terms of the way internal and external structural components are linked.

Frank (1979:15 cited in Keelan & Moon, 1998:23) suggests that underdevelopment is a catalyst for development within dependency theory:

> Indeed, it is this exploitative relation which in chain-like fashion extends the capitalist link between the capitalist world and national metropolises to

the regional centres (part of whose surplus they appropriate), and from these to local centres…At each step along the way the relatively few capitalists above exercise monopoly power over the many below…Thus at each point, the international, national and local capitalist system generates economic development for the few and underdevelopment for the many.

This view is consistent with a broad structuralist orientation reflective of more general social science research paradigms "where dominant and dependent countries together form a capitalist system and underdevelopment is an inherent consequence of the functioning of the world system" (Schuurman, 1996:5). While generally these theories are applicable at a global level, as a result of global structures there is evidence of this at a local level.

A theoretical implication of dependency theory for this research is the focus placed on intentional 'unequal development' based on Frank's notion that the catalyst for development is 'underdevelopment'. Dependency theory implies that 'underdeveloped' countries or communities are helpless to change their futures as dominant world structures seek to exploit and alienate them (Doxey, 1975 in Hasse, 2001).

Smith (1999:34) supports this concept of marginalisation when considering that "...history is not important for indigenous peoples because a thousand accounts of the 'truth' will not alter the 'fact' that indigenous peoples are still marginal and do not possess the power to transform history into justice". While this is a pessimistic statement, she goes on to highlight that the 'revisiting' of history (as written by Western pedagogy) can reclaim the past providing access to alternative knowledges thus forming the foundations for alternative ways of doing things.

3.2.3 Critical Development Theory

Advancing these linear theories of development within social sciences in general, development studies, and (particular to this research), tourism studies, is an emerging critical development theory. The 'Frankfurt School' set the stage for the emergence of critical theory as it was initiated in response to what Marcuse (1964, in Jamal & Everett, 2004:7) terms the growing 'one dimensional society'. This 'one dimensional society', Jamal and Everett argue, has fundamentally been studied from the perspective of Western capitalist thought within traditional development studies (ibid, 2004). This group of theorists from the Frankfurt School became what Denzin & Lincoln (1994) term 'bricoleurs', synthesising social theory to provide understanding as opposed to just defining 'truths', while recognising that:

> ...we ourselves are interwoven in the life-world we study, as researchers, residents, societal members and tourists. Hence we too are complicit in contributing to the impacts being experienced by natural-human spaces and places (Jamal & Everett, 2004:3).

Kirkpatick *et al* (1978:3) state that "...truth lies in our attempt to change the world, in our critique of the established reality". Thus, they say, critical development theory does not lie within the facts of a given reality "but in the negation or transcendence of those facts". They go on to propose that critical theory has two principle goals: "...to bring to consciousness the awareness of capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic domination and to create a popular demand for liberation..." (ibid:6). Along with that challenge arose what Jamal and Everett (2004:1) call a new "...set of scholars and researchers seeking new ways to describe and understand the natural and social world".

This theory places significance on context. Vitebsky (1993:107) asserts that "...ignorance 'grows'… in someone when knowledge and context no longer fit each other". The context of Whakarewarewa is a function of the people's values and beliefs, hence 'knowledge' derives from hapu culture based on Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tikanga and

ritenga. An example is the pohiri process on the marae whereby 'knowledge' systems are aligned to the context of the occasion. The theoretical constructs examined in the literature are therefore applied to the case study to identify key points of tribal tourism development within the context of Whakarewarewa as a key player of tourism's evolution in Aotearoa.

3.3   Tourism Studies

3.3.1   Modernisation, Tourism – Impact Studies

Modernisation theory is illustrated in the tourism impact studies discourse in that it ignores traditional societal structures as necessary elements of development. Cultural meaning is therefore is relegated to an historical context and is considered an impediment to economic development (Oakes, 1993).

Impact studies discourse, until recently, was principally concerned with consumer behavior (Anderson, 1986; Deshpande, 1983) that was industry oriented (Jamal and Everett, 2004) which excluded a significant element found in the emerging critical development paradigm, that of 'cultural meaning'. Impact studies discourse, while useful, has limited the understanding of tourism development processes (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003,) to what Oakes (1993:47) maintains is an "idealistic construct of the past", whereby culture was considered static and unrelated to the present conception of economics.

Early positivistic and pessimistic approaches to tourism research are found in impact studies discourse. This approach regularly assigned locals a passive role whereby tourists' needs and wants were paramount. This resulted in changes to tourist destinations to attract the tourist rather than promoting sustainable development of the host community and place being visited (Cohen, 2004). This perhaps highlights why certain destinations were contrived and manipulated to attract tourists to the detriment of the

social, economic, ecological and cultural factors embedded in host societies. MacCannell (1976) argued that a major theme of impact studies was that of 'staged authenticity', where tourist destinations were created based on tourist consumption wants and needs. An example of this is the creation of a 'model Maori pa' by the Rotorua Town Board in Whakarewarewa in 1907, adjacent to the real Maori village. The 'Natives' were expected to dress in grass skirts and perform to what the tourists considered to be authentic. Another more recent example is the development of Tamaki Tours, set up as a commercial enterprise driven by the tourist want for the authentic. This phenomenon, while providing employment and other opportunities, has contrived the 'authentic' for the purposes of the tourist. Furthermore this challenges Vitebsky's (1993) assertion that 'knowledge' and 'context' must fit. In the case of Tamaki Tours Te Arawa 'tribal knowledge' systems are not recognised to the same degree as hapu based enterprises again-illustrating the manufacture of the 'authentic'.

Furthermore, Franklin and Crang (2001:15) argue that traditional tourism studies distinguished the researched 'object' or 'thing' being viewed from the social and cultural context that the 'object' or 'thing' is within. This, they maintain, is impossible as "…'things' are more properly hybrids of the human and non-human" and thus tourism study must be positioned within a social and cultural context. In response to the growing need to embrace complexity, tourism studies (reflecting development theory) shifted to a structural approach whereby locals were considered victims and not as active agents in tourism.

3.3.2   Dependency Theory, Tourism Research from a Structural Approach

Britton (1991:451), when referring to understanding tourism, asserts that it is a "theorization that recognizes, and unveils, tourism as a capitalistically organized activity driven by the inherent and defining social dynamics of that system, with its attendant production, social and ideological relations". Referring to 'ethnic tourism' Oakes (1993:51) maintains that a Marxist analysis conceptualises research into 'pre-modern'

and 'modern' contexts. He argues that the capitalist reinforcement of 'separateness' is considered to be merely a "cultural outcome of exploitative and alienating structures imposed on locals 'from above'...separation keeps groups divided, stifles united resistance, and perpetuates structural exploitation". An example of this is the NZMACI Act (1963) whereby total Government control of the area was legislated and created a division amongst the hapu as to how they responded to these changes. This structural approach adopts the position that the 'modernised' are helpless to develop without the dominant Western structures that have attempted to transform traditional society to modern (as measured by the Western ideal).

Smith and Eadington (1994) assert that the tourism industry is manipulative in that value systems and local perspective worldviews are ignored in preference to what is considered development based on pragmatic economic requirements. This reinforces dependency theorists' assumption that, to become developed, non-Western societies required dominance by external powers, namely Western structures and ideology (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

3.3.3   Critical Development Theory – The 'new' tourism studies

A new cultural turn in tourism studies has facilitated new ways of approaching tourism research within this post-modern context (see Ateljevic, 1998, 2003; Franklin & Crang, 2001; Oakes, 1993; Hall, 1994; Milne, 1998, Pearce & Butler, 1999). Critical development theory provides a 'new' approach to broadening our understanding of tourism processes. Traditional tourism theory has taken an objective approach by abstracting issues of social and cultural practice, relegating tourism studies to a focus on economic activities (Rojek & Urry, 1997). The 'new' approach to tourism research focuses not on economic development alone but embraces the complex and diverse context of cultural meanings found within the society in which tourism studies is positioned (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003). The rationale for such an approach is that it responds to and reflects local through to global components of sustainable development

in a way which embraces what Friere (1985) and Fals-Borda (1981) argue to be the emancipatory interests of the local to enable local empowerment and responsibility. At its most fundamental level it adopts a 'seeds of change' approach where an understanding of 'truths' facilitates local development based on ethical considerations of sustainability (Cuthill, 2002:182). Oakes (1993:48) considers local identity as integral to tourism studies and that it cannot be abstracted as localised identity but has always been "negotiated within a complex and often confusing mesh of interaction across multiple geographic scales".

Jamal and Everett (2004), when referring to 'nature based destinations', argue that these destinations are producers of cultural meanings and, through critically examining these destinations, they show in their research of Yellowstone Park, that these productions influence tourist motivations. This contrasts with traditional tourism theoretical approaches, such as modernisation theory or 'impact studies' (see Britton and Clarke ed. 1987; Graburn, 1983), whereby studies consider "...the entire range of changes brought about in a society as a result of tourism" (Prasad & Prasad, 1987:9) as opposed to tourism changes as a result of societal development. Graburn (1983) highlights this when asserting that tourism research should primarily understand the interrelationships present between the local culture and its influence on tourism.

Furthermore, when referring to the study of cultural processes, Freire (1985) highlights the complexities and diversity of this discourse and the power relations inherent in cultural representation as:

> ...culture is the representation of lived experiences, material artifacts, and practices forged within the unequal and dialectical relations that different groups establish within a given society at a particular point in historical time...It is also a form of production that helps human agents to transform society through their use of language and other material resources....Furthermore, culture is also a terrain of struggle and contradictions....there are dominant and subordinate cultures that express

different interests and operate from different and unequal terrains of power (Freire, 1985:xxi).

Oakes (1993:58) supports this view when referring to China, saying that "...local identity was always a contested domain, rather than a natural given". Adopting the perspective that culture and local identity are contested domains with unequal terrains of power, New Zealand 'state-sponsored' forms of economic integration provide for an 'overarching structure' that connects "local ethnic identities to a national and international network of capital accumulation and commodity production". He goes on to emphasise that:

> …as tourist attractions, locals are not necessarily isolated or bound to their places of tradition, only to be exploited and put on display for the tourist's experience. Rather, local culture is reworked according to the links which have been made (in large part by the state) and along which new inputs will be carried (ibid:60).

Utilising earlier theoretical approaches to tourism research while positioning the research in a critical development theoretical paradigm, the research critically addresses the production or construction of cultural meanings that influence tourism processes from local through to global scales. Applying critical development theory, according to critical development theorists (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Milne, 2001; Booth, 1996; Britton, 1991; Oakes, 1993; Slater, 1995), promotes further understanding of representations embedded in cultural production of the case study, such as what Freire (1985) defines as "lived experiences, material artifacts and practices". Understanding as opposed to defining facts is a central theme of critical development theory and addresses issues that have arisen in tourism research between academic study and praxis, in order to offer 'a way' not 'the way' forward for a small localised community tourism development (Ateljevic, 1998).

Another theme in critical development theory is the establishment of a theoretical position to undertake a critique of development within the context of the case study from what Kirkpatrick *et al* (1978) call a 'proletariat' perspective. Jamal & Everett (2004:8) state that:

> The emancipatory interest stands as a necessary corrective element of modernity; it helps identify the contradictions and dialectic tensions that exist between the system-world and life-world.

In addition, Oakes (1993:49) asserts that "...an all together different conception of 'local place', one which is not oppositional to, say, 'global space'" is required. He goes on to state that "there has been a tendency to assume that cultural and economic phenomena exist in different, even oppositional, spatial worlds, conveniently thought of as local and global".

The paradigmatic shift in development studies and tourism studies over the past two decades is reflected in the 'new' tourism studies approaches whereby understanding of the linkages between cultural and economic or global and local are considered essential and, as Oakes (1993:50) maintains, play "an important role in the ongoing process of cultural construction in touristized areas".

Britton (1991:142-143) maintained that tourism production must be aligned to capitalist production and is regulated by what he calls the 'tourism production system'. This view endorses the 'tourism production system' as:

> ...a mechanism for the accumulation of capital, the private appropriation of wealth, the extraction of surplus value from labour, and the capturing of (often unearned) rents from cultural and physical phenomena (especially public goods) which are deemed to have both a social and scarcity value.

This analysis fails to consider the cultural construction and maintenance of 'old identities' present within tourism production. Oakes (1993:55) says that "only recently have there been significant explorations of the spatial implications of the intersections between culture and political economy". Cultural construction in tourist areas is seen as important within this 'new' tourism research terrain as it is argued that the cultural or local influences, and is influenced by, the global economy and all scales in between (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001).

Tribe (2004) supports the importance of this 'new turn' in tourism research which allows for researchers "…to follow innovative and radical lines of enquiry" that can examine competing truths that encourages critical analysis and greater reflexivity in tourism research approaches. He also, however, challenges the ability of this "new tourism research" to "progress from consciousness to change". This thesis examines relevant issues of this community based enterprise, within this 'new tourism research' paradigm in order to examine whether there exists an interface between theoretical commentary and this community development.

3.3.4   Unpacking the local

Many writers have attempted to define tourism research, with a number of differing strategies emerging (Pearce and Butler, 1999). Dann *et al* (1988:8) argue that an overarching concept in going forward with tourism research is "to place greater emphasis on theory and on developing understanding". In addition to theoretical understanding there is an increasing importance placed on methodological matters and the requirement to consider practical implementation. A theoretical issue highlighted within the above considerations is "…the furtherance of understanding of resident perceptions, values and priorities regarding tourism's role in the community" (ibid:27).

This 'community' theme is supported by Smith and Eadington (1994:3) when referring to 'mass or mainstream' tourism:

…and the many problems it has triggered has led many observers and researchers to criticise…past methods and directions of tourism development and to offer instead the hope of 'alternative tourism' broadly defined as forms of tourism that are consistent with natural, social and community values and which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences.

Murphy (1985:171) argues that this typology of 'alternative tourism' is an 'idealistic dream'. He does however support 'alternative tourism' by saying that by "…focusing on the community's heritage and culture in the development of the tourism product" (ibid:151) community driven tourism development occurs that creates a distinctive tourism product. The consequences of creating distinctive tourism products is not only community 'buy-in' but identification of what Prahalad and Hamel (1990) call core competencies.[4]

Jamal and Everett (2004:1) argue that environmental and cultural sustainability is dependent on our relationships with 'the natural world' within the complex context of 'globalisation and technological structures'. Wang (2000) goes on to say that the 'natural world' cannot be an objective concept as it is influenced by global through to local factors such as global structures, political and cultural influences and social constructions. Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln (1994:3) stress the importance of understanding those relationships operating "...in the situations and social worlds studied" in order to connect the local with the global structures and how they interact in order to form an understanding of the 'whole' as opposed to a description of disconnected facts. This is supported by what Doorne *et al* (2003:1) assert to be a response to the increasingly complex global context:

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[4] For the purposes of this argument a competence is a 'a bundle of skills and technologies rather than a single discrete skill or technology' see G. Hamel and CK Prahalad, 1995.

In the current era of globalisation and regional economic integration, localised concerns with cultural identity, historical memory and collective belonging are assuming a new significance.

This new significance has seen the emergence of what Ateljevic (2000:381) maintains is a 'blurring of boundaries' between the global and local. She states that:

The concept of critical theorists within cultural studies has been presented as a key to laying a foundation for an integrating framework between the two oppositional approaches. Establishing the cultural practice of tourism as an arena wherein individuals create their identities based on power and knowledge.

This reference to creating identities based on power and knowledge is reflective of the postmodernity discourse, whereby tourists are no longer seeking just a holiday but rather an experience which is interrelated to one's perception of identity (Featherstone, 1995). Tourism development therefore poses major theoretical challenges. Developing a standard framework that 'captures' key elements of tourism development of individuals, communities or 'locals' within broader social, cultural, economic contexts is near impossible as even at the local scale there is a diversity of views (Taylor 1995). Research addressing these complexities illustrates this "broad scope that tourism lends itself" (Patoskie, 1993:488, Also see Smith and Eadington, 1994). Murphy (1985) argues that this diversity promotes 'internal marketing' or co-operation that engenders community understanding and therefore greater participation. Participatory development is now considered a requisite concept to tourism development (Getz and Jamal, 1994) as it is increasingly recognised that local participation engenders 'buy-in' of locals, a central theme in postmodernity tourism discourse.

This research seeks to describe and understand the 'natural and social world' of tourism from the local level. More specifically as an indigenous or more correctly Tuhourangi stakeholder in this study of a small localised tourism venture, the approach of this
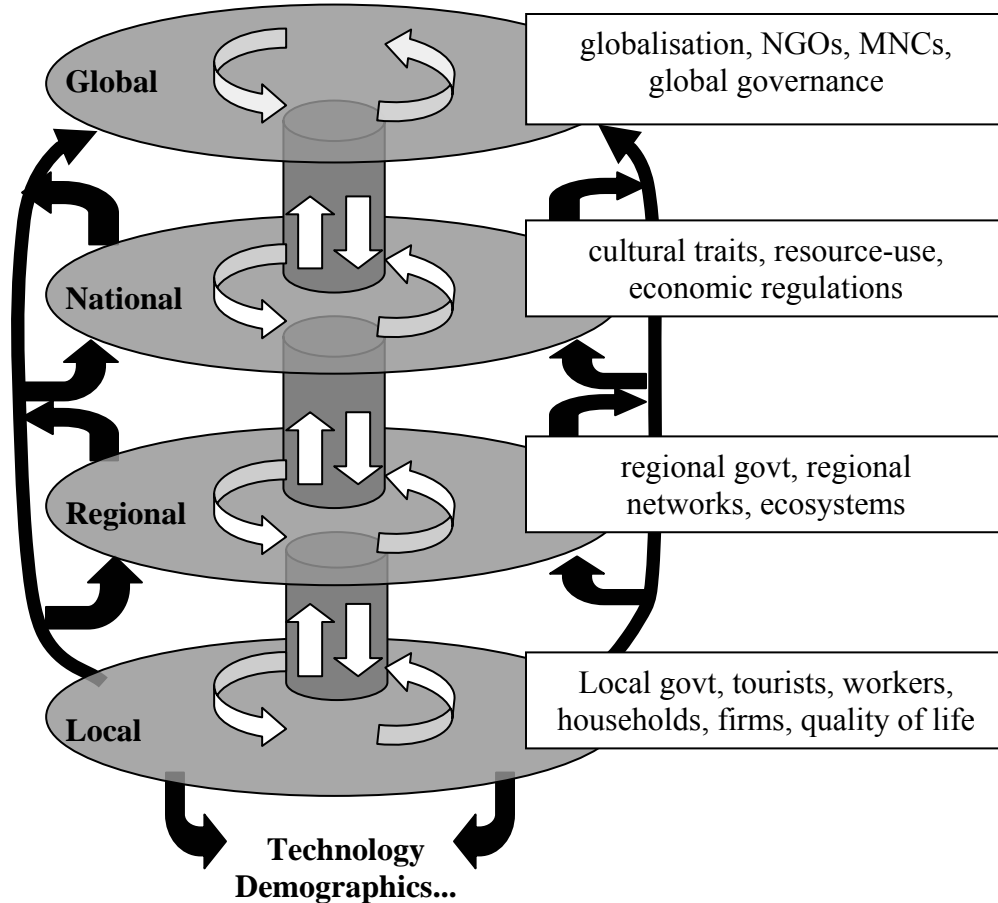
researcher is to aspire to be what Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) call a 'bricoleur'. The challenge is to fashion a theoretical approach that provides 'understanding' in order to find a 'real' understanding that can move research closer to praxis and inform tourism development from the bottom up. This concept whereby the 'local' is acknowledged as a key player in tourism development emphasises what Hall (2000) endorses as "development *in* the community as opposed to development *of* the community".

This context is considered to be, as Denzin and Lincoln (1994:3) state, "…connect the parts to the whole, stressing the meaningful relationships that operate in the situations and social worlds studied". Smith and Eadington (1994:11) broaden this analysis to consider the social implications of traditional tourism development:

> Perceived tourism difficulties with mainstream tourism have encouraged planners, researchers, social critics to rethink the logic of traditional tourism development, to examine the alternatives to mainstream or mass tourism and to begin formulating better ways to integrate tourism into a broader range of values and social concerns that traditional tourism development has somehow put at risk.

These perceived difficulties engender a response that embraces the interrelationship between scales from the local through to the global. Much of traditional tourism studies research has identified global and national influences, for example the mass tourist consumption behavior and subsequent impact studies work. The complexities of the 'new' cultural tourism domain have necessitated a broader articulation of development that acknowledges the local as an agency that is important and influences the tourism industry. More importantly this 'new' tourism research is inclusive of and facilitates sustainable development opportunities that influence ecological, economic, social and cultural factors for the tourist industry in general and the host communities where activity is positioned.

3.3.5   The Global-Local Nexus Paradigm

Global	globalisation, NGOs, MNCs, global governance
National	cultural traits, resource-use, economic regulations
Regional	regional govt, regional networks, ecosystems
Local	Local govt, tourists, workers, households, firms, quality of life

Technology Demographics...

Figure 2

Tourism and the global-local nexus

(sourced from Ateljevic and Milne, 2001, p 372)

This paradigm illustrates the continuous circuits connecting the different scales of processes found in the tourism industry. More importantly it provides a platform from which to analyse the many processes from globalisation through to individual quality of life. The continuous circuit of relationships and processes that flows through the framework both upstream and downstream is employed to elucidate the complex

meanings, influences, culture, ethnicity, production and reproduction embedded in tourism with particular focus on local perspectives (Doorne *et al*, 2003).

Processes of globalisation have been taking place for hundreds of years, since the first explorers traveled the world. McGrew (1992) has coined this dimension of globalisation as 'stretching' a concept that includes processes found worldwide and refers to the concept of 'space' or spatial connectedness as a point of analysis. These processes, however, have intensified over the past century as, for example, technological advances such as improved modes of travel or the rapid increase in internet use increasingly connect all scales with each other (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Therefore alongside 'stretching' McGrew argues that there is the dimension of 'deepening'. He refers to the increasing impact global forces have on national through to local scales and the resultant marginalisation of those scales as a result of global forces.

Wallerstein set out to define essential elements of the modern global capitalist system:

> It is this ceaseless accumulation of capital that may be said to be its (the world-system's) most central activity and to constitute its differentia specifica. No previous historical system seems to have had any comparable mot d'orde of social limitlessness…At the level of this central defining activity of ceaseless growth, the ceaseless accumulation of capital…no other historical system could have been said to have pursued such a mode of social life for more than at most brief moments…The one thing that seems unquestionable, and unquestioned, is the hyperbolic growth curves – in production, population, and the accumulation of capital – that have been a continuing reality from the sixteenth century…There was the genesis of a radically new system (Wallerstein, 1990 cited in Keelan & Moon, 1998:22).

Wallerstein along with other world-systems theorists believe that the analysis of a society can only be achieved while considering its history within the context of an international

framework. Mowforth & Munt (2003:10) capture the essence of this approach when critiquing development of tourism in the Third World:

> ...it is often argued that existing forms of mass tourism development are unsustainable in terms of the negative impacts on the environment, the way in which it corrupts and 'bastardises' local cultures and the manner in which any potential economic benefits are frittered away as a result of the First World ownership of much of the tourism industry globally.

This perspective is endorsed by modernisation theorists who consider Western (First World) notions of the 'developed society' as the catalyst for development globally. Furthermore the theme that pervades this perspective is that it is only once "exposure to the Western notions of development and success takes place that non-Western countries can even consider undertaking their own paths towards such development" (Moon, 2004:19). Peck (2000) also critiques this concept of globalisation found in business literature as marginalising the role of nations, regions and localities as merely 'learning networks' and 'reflexive institution forms' that are seen to be powerless to control the influences of the stateless multinational corporations (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001).

This view of globalisation is a rather pessimistic approach however it is from this premise that much of the new tourism literature and research originates (see Smith, 1992 on the impacts of tourism on host communities). Indeed globalisation can then be considered as a platform for the identification and capitalisation of significant economic, social and cultural factors to be made by indigenous non-Western agencies in order to strategically position themselves in this rapidly changing environment.

On the national scale Thurman (2001:3) argues that "sustained economic growth requires a centralised state to provide the collective goods necessary for its efficient operation". This modernist view refers to the necessary economic condition of a developed society. Government policy, legislation, "...reorganization of structural capacities and strategic emphasis" (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001:373) are necessary components to analysing

tourism's development. The New Zealand Government, for example, promotes New Zealand tourism to the world via the 100% NZ Pure campaign (the primary national marketing campaign), and this one campaign has significantly influenced local tourism activity (see Tourism New Zealand, 2005). The Government is effectively regulating product development through shaping the national image thus shaping tourist demand and behavior (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001:373). Ironically, the original face of the 100% Pure NZ campaign was that of a Maori warrior with a supposedly authentic traditional Maori tattoo on his face. It is actually what MacCannell (1976, [1]) calls "staged authenticity", a cosmetically improved version of Maori tourism perhaps?

It is argued that one of the reasons the interrelationships on the national scale are important is because a significant amount of reorganisation of the Whakarewarewa tourism industry has been driven by Government policy such as the Closing the Gaps report (2000) and the New Zealand Tourism Strategy 2010 (2001). Indeed by virtue of the Government owning and controlling the New Zealand Arts and Crafts Institute at Whakarewarewa, direct application of national strategic emphasis is evident.

The notion of regional development has increasingly become significant as a factor in analysing development in the context of tourism (paraphrased from Milne & Ateljevic, 2001:373). Economic development at the regional level is often the result of organisational networking and subsequent sharing of capacity (Milne, 1998). Regional Government has significantly influenced and regulated tourism activity, particularly in the case study region (see Department of Tourist and Health Resorts Report, 1902). While this phenomenon is reflective of national Government policy and proves to be useful in analysing the tourism development of the case, extra significance can be added, from a critical development perspective, by the examination of the interrelationships on this scale to others such as regional/local relationships.

Importantly, the most appropriate research on Maori tourism, particularly that with a focus on closing the gaps in Maori participation and performance, should be that located in a context which is confidently Maori. The local scale plays a vital role in

contextualising tourism development and enabling 'locals' to participate in tourism's development.

Development theory, particularly modernisation and dependency theory, casts a bleak view of the locals' ability to influence their own destinies. In contrast, an "emerging community approach views locals as being capable of planning and participating in tourism development, of making their voices heard when they are concerned, and of having the capability to control the outcomes of the industry to some degree" (Milne & Ateljevic,2001:375-76).

Oakes maintains that the local scale "plays an important role in the ongoing process of cultural construction in touristized areas" (Oakes, 1993:50). He goes on to state that "the social spaces of modernity are as much cultural as economic constructs". This perspective contrasts with what Smith and Eadington (1994:9) maintain is a "pervasive tourism industry characterised by low paying service jobs and manipulative values; and [ignoring] the needs of local citizens and the community values that [are] inconsistent with pragmatic economic requirements of the tourism industry". This view reflects modernisation theorists' assumptions that, to become developed, non-Western societies required guidance and integration of external powers, specifically Western concepts and ideas and that traditional societies norms and values were to be ignored (Moon, 2004; Mowforth & Munt, 2003). In the context of this thesis, the Government has performed the role of a guiding power when it came to matters of the development of Whakarewarewa or Maori tourism development in general. There are, however, indicators that show that localised identity still plays a major role in tourism development of the area and also influences Government strategic emphasis, an example being the recent Hui Taumata whereby Maori tribes throughout the country independently met to develop and build upon strategic competencies which includes Maori tourism as a key economic driver (Hui Taumata Report, 2005).

The emerging 'new' cultural turn in tourism studies perhaps highlights the increasing inadequacy of previous modernisation and dependency development theory particularly

in addressing issues of sustainability at a local level. Hall (2003:99) states that "the central role of the 'community' in tourism planning has come to be recognised as one of the tenets of sustainable and socially responsible tourism". This community approach to tourism poses further challenges to researchers, as communities which are far from being homogenous groups though often united in kinship, are also driven by social, economic and politic processes which add a whole new scope to tourism research's complexities. An overarching theme in the analysis of these processes is then the role of politics and power in tourism (Hall, 2003).

Furthermore, Doorne *et al* (2003:9) state that:

> Far from signaling the end of localised identities the practices of representation impose an aesthetic ethnicity, but one which also corresponds with local representations of the personal economy through which the ethnicity of cultural groups is lived.

This concept of local identity presents another issue, that of representation of 'the local'. Jamal and Everett (2004) argue that the position of the researcher is a significant factor in researching the local. They contend that the cultural producers of tourism destinations influence development, that representation as defined by the researcher is influenced by a diversity of factors and thus the person who 'gazes' at the local has ethical responsibilities.

Pearce and Butler (1999:6) provide a rationale for a critical reflexive approach to tourism study by arguing that successful tourism development is dependent "…on a full appreciation of contextual factors and the way in which these are incorporated into the development process". Additionally they suggest that indigenous research models developed for one agency, or in this case, for Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development, cannot be a perfect fit for another as indigenous culture, like all communities, is constantly evolving within the environment in which it exists.

The importance, therefore, of 'understanding facts' found within a critical development theory paradigm as opposed to defining 'facts' found within positivist theory, (Kirkpatrick *et al*, 1978) is endorsed by many as the way forward for developing sustainable economic, cultural and environmental praxis for global through to local tourism actors (see Jamal and Everett, 2004; Mowforth and Munt, 2003, Doorne & Ateljevic, 2003).

3.4   Alternative Development – Maori Worldview

The rationalising principles of modernity, it is argued, are subject to values held that are based on people's worldviews (Johnston, 2001; Jamal & Everett, 2004; Eyles, 1988). Relevant in New Zealand, then, and particular to the case study, is the Maori worldview.

To comprehensively explain the Maori worldview is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, it is necessary to point out the essence of why Maori development requires consideration of the history of space and place in order to progress with the future. Indeed the past is often considered the future for Maori (Henare, 1988). Patterson (1992) argues that the Western perspective is that the past generally lies behind and that development is based on an individual's aspirations and goals that are the future. This he argues is not so for Maori. This is illustrated in the proverb:

Ka pai ki muri, ka pai ki mua –
(If the time before is strong only then will the future hold fast)

This alludes to the past being the place where one finds one's terms of reference for the future including guiding principles of behavior, goals, and identity. These are 'values' which according to Hofstede (2005) are the basis for how one rationalises the world. While this is not unique to Maori, to be a member of the hapu, one needs to be able to whakapapa (or link their genealogy) to a common ancestor, in this case Tuhourangi or

Wahiao. Once those lines have been established, the shared values and ritual of the hapu are continually related back to those ancestors.

Maori development is defined as a notion:

> ...based inter alia on whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and tohungatanga. The value of kinship, the importance of reciprocity, the duties of stewardship and the necessity of customary expertise are all integral elements of the Maori renaissance. All these concepts are designed to bind people together…" (Durie, 1994).

The Maori worldview is then relevant for Maori tourism development because how we rationalise events or activities is based on embedded historical value systems that are passed down through generations via traditional means such as ritual on the marae. All human activity and relationships are governed by history found often in the form of mythology and the elaborate system of ritual (Metge, 1983). The historical influence on our value systems cannot be posed as a homogenous concept representing all Maori. While there are commonalities found in Maori philosophy, each tribe has very different histories and thus differing value systems (Rangahau, 1972 in Henare, 1995). These value systems are often found in historical events commonly recounted in myths, legends, waiata and whaikorero. They provide Maori with methods of performance management and control which maintains the integrity of traditional knowledge and hapu operations. Dr Ranginui Walker (1978:19) states that:

> A myth might provide a reflection of current social practice, in which case
> it has an instructional and validating function or it is an outward projection
> of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and
> perfected.

Smith (1999:34) argues that centering one's research position in a Maori worldview encourages the recovering of Maori stories of the past as represented by Maori as

opposed to 'other' representations based on mostly Western perspectives. Furthermore, she states, "reconciling and reprioritising what is really important about the past with what is important about the present" is key to understanding theory and research from one's own perspective and for development of Maori.

McIntosh, Zygadlo and Matunga (2004) support this approach as, they say, it is important "for the protection and development of cultural values, as well as for the support and promotion of sustainable Maori self determined tourism development". They introduce the notion of 'Maori-centred tourism' utilising empirical measures of specific cultural values such as Whanaungatanga (kinship or relationship), Wairuatanga (state of being spiritual), Kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and Manaakitanga (warm hospitality). These contrast with Rostow's (1956) index of modernisation theory. This highlights a dichotomy between Maori centred tourism and tourism development theory. An example is represented in the story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai perhaps one of the most famous legends retold in the Rotorua region (see Stafford, 1977). Firstly, this legend is particularly significant to our family as it is from this genealogy, we descend and hence I can call myself a 'local' of Rotorua although I was born and grew up in Auckland. Secondary in significance is the telling of this legend to non-tribal people in an economic context. It is essentially recounted as a romanticised story of a forbidden union between two lovers from different hapu directed at tourist's intrigue of culture and history. This dual difference in encoding and communicating the stories is an example of the production-consumption dialectic whereby meanings are differently created for different audiences (Ateljevic, 1998). Another example is the recruitment of Whakarewarewa guides. In 1990 three of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao applied for a position as a guide for the NZMACI. These three hapu members all grew up in the village, all fourth generation guides, they were well versed in the area. They lost the position to an Ngapuhi woman. While this occasion may have been purely administrative for the NZMACI, the loss of mana to the families had significant implications. The hapu has criteria that measures suitability of the guides; two examples are the kinship connection to the place of Whakarewarewa and hapu endorsement of applicants. The result was that all family

members that share the same great grandmother of those applicants will not guide for the NZMACI. This continues to this day (Personal communication, Brown, 2006).

Traditional Maori philosophy is encompassed by those 'Maori-centred tourism' measures. For example, the value of wairuatanga provides us with reaffirmation of past activities whereby ancestors and their activities are continually acknowledged in contemporary contexts through all Maori ritual. This notion of 'Maori centred tourism' then endorses what critical development theory requires, identification of cultural meaning, representations and ethical responsibilities of the researcher (Prasad & Prasad, 2002; Pringle & Park, 1993; Jamal & Everett, 2004). The analysis in the following chapters then presents an empirical review of tourism research applied to examples from the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village enterprise, presented from an alternative critical development position.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: The Genesis of Development Theory and Tourism Development
of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao

4.1   Impact Studies and Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao Tourism

The ideal modernised society as described by modernisation theorists, (see for example, Hoselitz, 1998; Smelser, 1966) was not aligned historically to the tourism development plans of Tuhourangi. An example is the tourism plans of Tuhourangi in 1885, who were operating the tourism industry at the Pink and White Terraces of Rotomahana. At the time the Government was attempting to take over the tourism activities there as they were critical of the relatively high fees being charged to tourists and realised the potential economic benefits to the country. Tuhourangi, while also aware of the economic advantages (Stafford, 1967), were also concerned for the sustainability of the environment, particularly under the kaitiaki (guardians of the environment) obligations and responsibility of the hapu (Te Awekotuku, 1981). To regulate tourist activity, it seems, a contemporary marketing strategy was adopted by the hapu. They charged relatively high fees to go to the terraces, and in so doing, captured the high spending market segment. This limited numbers of tourists attending the terraces, in part to protect the environment (Te Awekotuku, 1981). Therefore Government development plans aligned to elements of modernisation measured on Western standards, similar to Rostow's (1956) index, particularly per capita growth in economic wealth and changes in the value systems of the traditional society. The Tuhourangi development plans were to, as Habermas (1978) suggests, adopt the existing structures as a platform to develop further.

The Government were critical of this "small scale, no sale approach" (Quinn & Moore, 1993:29) and over the proceeding decade, the Crown, partitioned and acquired 80 percent of the Whakarewarewa block. This consisted of 3264 ha, immediately south of the city of Rotorua. Forestry had become a major export and the Crown set about planting exotic trees.

Increasing pressure from European settlers to alienate land ownership from Maori and the potential the geothermal activity in the area had for tourism and a national sanatorium lead to Governmental development plans being drawn up (Te Awekotuku, 1981). In a letter from the Hon. W. Fox to the Premier in 1874 (AJHR H-26:4,5) he stipulates another rationale for 'extinguishing' Native land title that includes concern for the environment, not however the cultural impact on the people of the land and is again motivated by economic interest.

> ...the idea that these majestic scenes may one day be desecrated by all the constituents of a common watering-place, has something in it bordering on profanity...But that they should be surrounded with pretentious hotels and scarcely less offensive tea-gardens; that they should be strewed with orange peel, with walnut shells, and the capsules of bitter beer bottles (as the Great Pyramid and even the summit of Mount Sinai are), is a consummation from the very idea of which the soul of every lover of nature must recoil...I beg to suggest to the Government of New Zealand that as soon as the Native title may be extinguished, some such step should be taken with regard to Rotomahana, its terraces, and other volcanic wonders. It 'is to the credit' of the Maoris that they have hitherto done all in their power to protect them, and express no measured indignation at the sacrilegious act of some European barbarians who, impelled by scientific zeal or vulgar curiosity, have chipped off several hand's breadth of the lovely salmon-coloured surface of the Pink Terrace...when its sanitary resources are developed, it may prove a source of great wealth to the colony...The essential first step would be to obtain, by purchase from the Natives, the ownership of all the principal groups I have described...Let the Government then do it, or assist somebody else to do it, by guaranteeing the dividends of a company, or otherwise.

While he alludes at first to a conservationist approach, he then goes on to say that the area should be developed into a sanitary resource as a form of wealth generation for the colony, implying economic development for a selected few. Not once does he mention or consider that the Tuhourangi people survived on the tourist trade. Furthermore, it is ironic that the subsequent Governmental acquisition of this tourist area (not so much the Terraces) then encouraged tourist facility development and Governmental development of 'tea-rooms' that were hitherto considered pretentious and offensive. This is a requisite of 'impact studies' whereby the tourist destination began to be contrived and manipulated to attract tourists ignoring the social, economic, ecological and cultural factors embedded in the host community.

The Thermal Springs District Act of 1881 was one of the Governments first significant interventions of the time. This Act essentially allowed the Government to reserve suitable land, some 700,000 acres (New Zealand Herald, 24 June, 1886:9), for leasehold occupation, with any arrangement being subject to Government regulation and control. From its inception this was disputed by Tuhourangi as it left uncertain the status of tribal lands and effectively gave Government full control. Tuhourangi, after much dispute over this new Act agreed on the understanding that it was, "a machinery by which Native interests in these wonderful springs could be dealth with with the consent of the Natives throughout" (Parliamentary Debates, 1881:522). This Act was not managed well and rents owed to the land owners were often not paid and subsequently was repealed in 1910. Much debate in Parliament went on at this time focusing on whether the Maori owners proclaimed under the Act consented to their land being brought under the Act (Parliamentary Debates, 1883 in Moore & Quinn, 1993:340).

Tuhourangi tourism development, from its very beginnings portrayed some of the characteristics Hall (2003) asserts are the norm in tourism development. These include social, economic, political and stakeholder conflict. An example of stakeholder conflict preceding Government involvement was the increasing pressure on resources. As early as 1849, for instance, Tuhourangi were starting to receive an increasing amount of tourists to the area and owned the Rotomahana Lake where the Pink and White Terraces were.

Another tribe Ngati Rangitihi who had kinship ties to Tuhourangi and were living at the far Eastern end of Lake Tarawera began to realise the economic opportunities tourism was generating. Three battles ensued (including the battle of Te Ariki) with great loss of life; the result of those battles was that Tuhourangi maintained undisputed rights of the land and thus the tourism activity in the area. In the peace negotiations several women were sent to Tuhourangi as a gesture of peace (Stafford, 1967). While this ritual is not practiced today, whaikorero or speeches of importance relay back those genealogical links, and by doing so, stress the importance of building relationships based on whanaungatanga, the Maori value of family and all that entails. In this instance the conflict between these two stakeholder tribes was dealt with through tribal interrelationships based on tribal values and belief with shared genealogies of descendants that followed. This however did not totally stop disputes over resources, for example, in 1886 Warbrick of Ngati Rangitihi was still claiming rights to the terraces (Bremner, 2004). Due to the inability to pursue these rights through traditional means, Warbrick pursued a more contemporary course and attempted to challenge ownership through the legal system. These issues are still being challenged to this day (ibid).

Whanaungatanga deriving from the word whanau (family) is used now at Maori and non-Maori gatherings in Aotearoa as a term to initiate introductions, relationship building and building links between the gathering participants. Whanaungatanga is commonly used in Governmental legislature and thus influences national strategy. As an indication, the emergence of the Maori Party in 2004 includes whanaungatanga as a core Maori value that drives and guides this political party's policy development (Maori Party Newsletter, 2005).

Throughout the colonising years particularly as the tourism industry grew at Tarawera, conflict between Tuhourangi and the Government was a feature. A central character in Tuhourangi's response to legislative changes that influenced and affected Tuhourangi's ability to develop or participate in tourism was Mita Taupopoki. Mita was the chief of Tuhourangi and represented the whole of Tuhourangi at many land hearings. One of the most significant was the hearing at Ohinemutu of the 211,000 acre Rotomahana-

Parekarangi block (Whakarewarewa) in March 1887. Mita represented 20 sub-tribes and was the only witness for Tuhourangi and his testimony took several weeks, with the whakapapa taking a whole afternoon to recite (Waaka, 2002). Stakeholder conflict started to increase as the Government attempted to modernise the region. The conflict included not just tribal issues associated with land but increasing conflict between the Government and entrepreneurs (see Bremner, 2004) reflecting the complexities and evolving societal trends of the growing colony. This included conflict over the development of the tourism industry at Whakarewarewa. Perhaps too was the increasing conflict between the entrepreneurial hapu tourism endeavours and what Awekotuku (1981:55) called "the covetous tourist colonial".

As far back as the 1840's Tuhourangi were starting to wonder if the adoption of European customs, as required by modernists for a developed society, were in fact opening them up to supernatural reprisals from the Gods (Stafford, 1967). The increase in Maori alcohol consumption further lead to questioning whether the European way was desirable. Indeed even Governmental officials who were instrumental in the development programme of Rotorua questioned the benefits for Maori. Dr Alfred Ginders, the Resident Medical Officer in 1885, reporting on the sanitary conditions of the natives of Te Wairoa to the Government said "...I fear their intercourse with Europeans passing through has been anything but advantageous to their morality or physical well-being" (Ginders, 1885:7). According to Hoselitz (1990, cited in Keelan & Moon, 1998), this intercourse with Europeans was inevitable and accordingly the requirement to transform the society from traditional to 'developed' was implemented.

Conflict also arose between economic imperatives and tribal tradition. While the hapu had obligations as the kaitiaki of the region, the motivation for entering this industry at the time seemed to be economically driven. Stafford (1967) records, that Tuhourangi realised the profit making opportunities very early. Recorded by many (see Stafford, 1967; Keam, 1988) is the often labeled ostentatious demonstration of wealth at the Te Wairoa Village meeting house in the 1870's. Instead of paua shell eyes in the elaborate carvings there were gold coins – half-sovereigns, florins, shillings and sixpences. They

were indisputably one of the wealthiest of Maori tribes, being guardians of the country's most lucrative tourist asset (Waaka, 1982). The people also became dependent on the tourist trade as the income from tourism was more profitable than agriculture with crops abandoned and a flour mill closed down (AJHR, 1873). The hapu were thus dependent on tourism to not only maintain this new lifestyle but also to provide for fundamental needs, such as food and shelter, illustrating components of dependency theory. Along with increasing tourist traffic was the increase in need of tourist facilities such as accommodation and improved transportation. Throughout the early 1880's the village was developed, largely by European entrepreneurs that brought in capital to the area and through mostly informal lease agreements, were able to build hotels and stores. While these changes were happening the Tuhourangi provided guided tours mostly organised by the European hotel owners and entertainment such as Maori concerts at the meeting house. The hapu still controlled access to the terraces and tourism activity due to hapu land ownership (Bremner, 2004). This illustrates that land ownership is a key to maintaining control. This links to ownership issues at Whakarewarewa, until the land was transferred to the Government, the hapu maintained control. Ongoing challenges to ownership of Whakarewarewa continues with claims being considered by the Waitangi Tribunal (Moore & Quinn, 1993).

4.1.1   Tuhourangi moves to Whakarewarewa

In 1886 Mount Tarawera erupted causing total devastation of the area and the deaths of many. Those Tuhourangi who escaped were gifted land in Whakarewarewa, Ngapuna, and the Coromandel and in other small settlements around Rotorua. Many Tuhourangi settled in Whakarewarewa, and with Ngati Wahiao the resident hapu, capitalised on the features of the area both to live in and for tourism. The Tarawera region was declared unsafe for human habitation and under Government decree Tarawera became a Government reserve. Tuhourangi believing that the eruption was a result of celestial reprisals for their exploitation of the terraces were not keen to return to the area (Stafford, 1967).

This view has changed over the past 120 years however there is still a very strong indication by some in the tribe that the area around the Te Wairoa village (now the Buried Village[5]) is still tapu and not a blade of grass should be touched (personal communication, Bean, 2003). This has created conflict between the tribe as factions wishing to develop tourism activities in the area at Tarawera are being challenged by those members that believe it should remain as it was after the eruption (APR, 2001 and meeting of shareholders 6JB3, 2002). Land claims are currently underway for parts of the Crown owned lands. The lakes of the region were returned to the tribe on the 18th of March 2005 along with a formal apology from the Crown (Te Arawa Maori Trust Board, 2005). In addition Governmental policy requirements became a significant barrier to entry into tourism developments, for example the Resource Management Act (1991) requirements. Under the Resource Management Act, stakeholder conflict surfaced between the Tarawera ratepayers and the Tuhourangi over the Tuhourangi proposal to develop a tourism business adjacent to the non-Maori owned and operated Buried Village. The ratepayers cited issues with increased traffic problems amongst other things (APR Report, 2001). Ironically the proposal to build a shopping development in the area had less resistance. The costs involved in pursuing the proposed venture became unwieldy and to the present day the project development is in abeyance.

4.1.2   The Royal Family and Tourism Promotion at Whakarewarewa

The visit of HRH Duke of Edinburgh in 1870 encouraged much development. The Government commissioned roads to be built from the coast to Rotorua in anticipation of his visit. This visit was a political statement, demonstrating that the place was safe for the Crown to tour, highlighting European dominance (Bremner, 2004). Nine hundred Arawa are said to have welcomed him. This one visit was significant as it raised the perception of the area for international visitors who at that time were considered a different class in Western circles.

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[5] The Buried Village is a tourist destination located at the original site of the Te Wairoa village at Tarawera

One motivating factor for tourists at that time seemed to be affirmation of their genteel status, already illustrating tourism as an identity creating phenomena that exists in different forms today. Intending tourists to the country were generally upper class English travelers (Anderson & Patterson, 1956 in Stafford, 1967). Travel was costly and took time as transport was via ship and horses.

The Duke's visit was reported by the world press (Stafford, 1967) and attracted tourists in the knowledge that if the Duke had visited, facilities must be of high standard and the destination was worthy of royalty's attention. They did not on this visit go to Whakarewarewa as the area had not established itself for tourists by that stage.

The second royal visit was in 1901 by the then Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (later King George V and Queen Mary). This visit highlighted the importance Te Arawa placed on their relationship with the Crown, 3000 Arawa turned up to greet the Royals (Stafford, 1967). Following the first royal visit and its success in promoting the area to international tourists perhaps Te Arawa were displaying the tribal-wide significance placed on tourism. This number is noteworthy especially as the census figures for Te Arawa in the region in 1901 only numbered 3550 (Statistics NZ, 1901).

On this visit the royal couple went to Whakarewarewa and was guided around the reserve by two famous guides, Guide Sophia and Guide Maggie Papakura. Interestingly the Government Inspector, Mr Clark who was in control of the Royal visit put soap in the geysers to ensure they performed for the visitors (Stafford, 1988). This practice was not encouraged by Tuhourangi as this type of manipulation of the environment went against cultural protocol. Guide Rangi does state however that the practice was condoned for scientific purposes only and exceptions were made for special visitors such as that of the royals (Dennan & Annabell, 1968). It is interesting to note that while Tuhourangi environmental practices discouraged it, the Government was the controlling agent of the geysers being soaped. As described in the Bay of Plenty Times, 15 September 1905, "...The Wairoa geyser was soaped today (14th) by the instructions of Government to enable Mr T.J. West, of West's Pictures and Brescians Company, to take a

cinematograph photo for exhibition in the Home country and throughout Australasia." Governmental tourism campaigns/promotion was evident at this time and reinforced the faith the Government had in Rotorua's tourism potential. The marketing campaigns, increasing feedback of visitors and the improvement in facilities such as roading brought a new awareness of the attractions in Rotorua. A prime place of interest was Whakarewarewa primarily for its geothermal activity however the recommendation to Government by the Town Board at the time proved that Maori culture was also becoming part of the tourist attraction. The recommendation was for a model Maori fortified village to be built at Whakarewarewa so that visitors could gain a better understanding of how pre-European Maori lived (AJHR, 1907). Guiding by this stage had been consolidated at Whakarewarewa. It was not considered wise to walk through the valley without a guide due to the geothermal activity and also the guiding commentary provided information about the environment and lifestyle of the Maori that lived there.

4.1.3   Formation of the Regional Government

In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by certain Maori chiefs and representatives of the British Crown. This officially established the Crown as the sovereign power of Aotearoa (refer Moon, 2004). By the 1900's, the Government had firmly taken control of the Rotorua township and tourism development. Statutory regulations, facilitated by central Government through the Minister of Lands, controlled all major decisions, for example the Thermal Springs District Act (1881). Rikihana (1988) states that conflict arose between the Crown and Maori essentially because Government Acts referred to land rather than people.

Central Government control impacted greatly on the Whakarewarewa region. In 1900, Chief Judge Fenton entered into an arrangement with the representative chiefs in Rotorua to protect the Maori land owners. This arrangement led to the surveying of the Rotorua Township and the establishment of the Rotorua Town Board. This board administrated

for the Government provided town facilities however had no real authority over decisions made at central Government level. More significantly to Maori in the town was the acquisition of 99 year leases on land to the Crown. Many reserves and sites for public offices became vested in the Crown for public use at this time including the Whakarewarewa reserve (Stafford, 1967).

In 1900 under the Rotorua Town Council Act, provision was made for an elected regional council that provided local representation at Governmental decision making level. The tourist industry was starting to pickup and Governmental interest in the town increased. By the following year management passed from the Minister of Lands to the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts. Town development plans were underway focusing on Rotorua as a tourist and health resort. Under the Rotorua Town Bill (1907), the Council Act of 1901 was repealed and authority was vested in the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, subsequently all rent monies for land and baths were then paid directly to this department which controlled all town development. This control extended to the previously tribal controlled villages of Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu. The tribes concerned were induced to agree and didn't challenge this decision due to their expectation that the Government would provide financial assistance for tribal development because of their land ownership and involvement in Rotorua development (ibid).

The Department of Tourist and Health Resorts set about to improve facilities in the town. Alongside the Works Department they started improving roading and town facilities, largely in response to growing tourist expectations. Facilities included electricity supply, public baths, the Tudor Towers, lawn croquet, all of which still exist today.

At Whakarewarewa the Government acquired most of the Whakarewarewa forest lands through land purchase and acquisition for the purposes of forestry. In 1901 a vigorous programme of planting began and by 1902 a Whakarewarewa nursery and plantation programme had been established. The Chief Forester, Henry Mathew's report at the time, showed that forestry became another significant form of employment and income

for Tuhourangi "...compared with other nurseries, both as regards cost of maintenance and the various operations connected with tree raising it is an undisputed fact that Native labour is more economical (although wages are the same rate as elsewhere), and the work is done with much more care and neatness than by European labour..." (Boyd, 1980 cited in Stafford, 1988:43). Forestry and tourism were the two main employment industries for Tuhourangi. Until the early 20th century Tuhourangi were the principal tourist industry stakeholders in the Tarawera and Whakarewarewa areas. They owned all the land where the Whakarewarewa forest was planted which is currently part of a Waitangi Tribunal claim (WAI 233 and WAI204). The Waitangi Tribunal was constituted through the Waitangi Tribunal Act (1975) to provide Parliament with a legal process to deal with increasing unresolved treaty protests (see Waitangi Tribunal, 2006). Accordingly the WAI 233 and WAI204 tribunal claims are over hapu proclamations that the land was wrongly acquired by the Crown. Within twenty years of the native Land court being established in 1865, Tuhourangi once an economically wealthy, independent tribe had become one of impoverishment and dependency (Bargh, 1995).

In conclusion, the development of Rotorua aligns with modernisation theory, reflected in tourism's impact studies discourse. The Government's role in 'improving' the region endorses what Cohen (2004) asserts is the assignment of the local hapu to a passive role whereby tourist needs were paramount. This is reflected in several development 'projects' by the Government. For example, the formation of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts that was set up to 'develop' the region into a tourist resort and spa. This was to the detriment of the social, economic and cultural issues embedded in the indigenous hosts. The concept of staged authenticity too is highlighted during this time, as tourists increasing interest in Maori culture, lead to Government proposals to build the model Maori pa at Whakarewarewa, with little regard to the Maori of Whakarewarewa. This type of 'staged authenticity' according to MacCannell (1976) is a major theme of impact studies.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao – The Structural Approach

Early tourism development in the Tarawera region progressed from what modernisation theorists term the traditional society based on kinship ties to a more modernised society that was reflected in some of modernisation theorists measures of success: per capita growth in economic wealth, more efficient production systems, a move from rural employment to urban centres and changes in value systems of the society (Rostow, 1956). Whether this resulted in Tuhourangi development is questionable and the apparent uneven development of Tuhourangi or Maori of the region and the British Government and settlers, is supported by dependency theory literature. Mowforth and Munt (2003:49) argue that this unequal and uneven development is a consequence of "...the interdependence resulting from global economic expansion and the inability for autonomous growth results". Supported by Oakes (1993) this notion of dependence is a result of exploitation and alienating structures that leave the locals dependent on global factors. Furthermore he asserts that dependency theory highlights intentional structural exploitation.

Smith and Eadington (1994) argue that development in tourism was based upon pragmatic economic requirements that were determined and dominated by Western structures and ideology. A prime example of this is the development of the 'Model Pa' a part of the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute (NZMACI) now called Te Puia.

5.1   The Model Pa – The 'Development of Underdevelopment'

Part of the Rotorua Town Council Act (1907) encompassed the permission of the Tuhourangi elders to build a village at Whakarewarewa for tourist purposes. Accordingly the tribe stated that: "We agree that the Government may make a village at Whakarewarewa" (Tamati Paora *et al* cited in Moore & Quinn, 1993: 189-190). This agreement embodied the trust and integrity the elders placed on the Crown negotiators. Tourism for Tuhourangi was part of their development plans and tourist activity was

welcomed by the tribe to enable economic development and sustainability of resources. Perhaps too, was the idea of becoming modernised or what Rist (1997:238) called 'semantic conjuring', where the idea of modernisation suggested an even development for all.

Whatever the reason for this apparent agreement to Government development plans, Tuhourangi expectations were not the same as the Government's plans and over the next century Tuhourangi became impoverished and dependent on Crown agencies for social and economic support. This illustrates the "development of underdevelopment" that was starting to emerge in tourism in the nation. The global dialectic in which certain societies, in this case Tuhourangi were "marginalised and dominated to fuel growth and development elsewhere" was evident (ibid:33). Tuhourangi became increasingly dependent on the Crown and some of the plans of the early 20th century are still manifest today.

A blatant example is the development of the model pa. In 1902 in the first annual report of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts (AJHR, 1902:H2) embodied a recommendation from the Superintendent, T. E. Donne to the Hon. Minister in Charge, Sir J. G. Ward was to add another attraction to Rotorua:

> I recommend that a model Maori pa or kainga should be established in the Whakarewarewa Reserve, between the water-supply settling basins and the Native school. There is ample land of a substantial nature available there; also some very interesting thermal action and fresh-water lagoons. My proposals provide for the erection of a *runanga* (meeting house), *pataka* (food-storehouse) – these to be carved in the old Maori style – and several comfortable whares; a shed to be built near the schoolhouse, in which the young Native boys should be taught carving and the girls mat-making; the whole to be fenced in Maori manner. Later on a model fighting pa could be added. Selected Native families to be given residence at this pa, and sanitation to be a salient feature of it. The villagers could

make carvings and mats for sale, thereby earning sustenance. Thus two important object-lessons would be provided for the Maoris generally, and visitors would have an opportunity of seeing a replica of the old Maori life. The total cost need not exceed £500.

£500 compared to the total of £40,000 for the Government bathhouse shows the Governments emphasis at that time (Bremner, 1997). This notion of identifying 'object-lessons that would be seen to improving Maoris in general' fits the modernising criteria of homogenising all Maoris into the same grouping. This homogenising of groups is common in much of the development literature (Slater, 1995). The concept of 'improving Maoris' does not fit with the context of the case. Perhaps more appropriate is acknowledging Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao involvement and ownership of the intellectual property that was essentially being appropriated in the development of this Government run tourist complex. At that time Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao had settled at Whakarewarewa and had already adopted the skills acquired through their experience at Rotomahana to the context of their new home.

The above quote is evidence of what dependency theorists would cite as development. This however was not development of all and illustrates the concept of underdevelopment being a catalyst for development.

In 1898 a written submission to the Native schools inspector of Rotorua advocated for teaching of carving in schools lest the art be lost but also and probably more importantly he noted the increasing demand for these souvenirs by tourists (Stafford, 1988). Interestingly the superintendent in his recommendation referred to what benefits the 'Maoris' could gain out of this venture i.e. taught how to carve and make mats. Much of Tuhourangi political and social affairs at that time still came under traditional Tuhourangi structures which included traditional carving and weaving schools. It is difficult to perceive that the hapu best known as one of New Zealand's first tourism operators were then being relegated to students of a Government run carving and mat making facility.

Inconsistent with the provision of this 'object lesson' of developing carving and weaving schools, lest the craft be lost, was the passing by Government, at this time, of an act that effectively outlawed the traditional methods of training in these arts. The Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) outlawed Tohunga across the board, including the passing down of cultural knowledge by experts, such as traditional carvers and weavers. Once the Tohunga Suppression Act was passed many feared being accused of 'tohungaism' and were not willing to speak openly or reveal their Maori cultural knowledge systems. While the laws were assigned to stunt the 'shamanistic humbug' or Maori medicinal practices, in the guise of health and well-being, none of the Act's laws differentiated between different types of tohunga and thus the impact of the act was to affect all expressions of cultural knowledge (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002:9). Much of this passing down of knowledge was then said to become extinct as:

> Traditional cultural knowledge must have passed away with the death of many cultural custodians who feared to hand on the wisdom they had received from their ancestors...the suppression of all forms of tohungaism was consistent with the general Government policy to attack all expressions of Maori communalism (ibid:10).

These laws had a dramatic effect on all things Maori and it is ironic that, at the same time the Government was outlawing the essence of cultural knowledge systems, they were also attempting to implement state driven carving and weaving schools managed and controlled by the Minister of Tourism and Health Resorts – 'lest the arts be lost'. This aligns with dependency theory whereby global interdependency imposed a focus on state driven industrialisation (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Certainly state driven industrialisation was starting to consolidate at Whakarewarewa. Not only did the Government advocate the carving school and model pa, they stipulated how this carving school was to be set up and run and were even planning to select specific Natives to live in this model village, akin to animals in the zoo. An example of the carving school developments was the selection of who should be trained at this school. It was not confined to just Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao but to two students specially selected from each tribe

throughout the country. Disregard therefore in Government policy, of tribal arts being distinctly regional. Relating again to MacCannell's (1976) term 'staged authenticity' and what Slater (1995) suggests is a homogenising of groups to suit development (Ryan, 1997).

By 1908 the model pa had been completed and the department expressed the hope that 'Maoris skilled in carving and weaving' would live there although this did not eventuate and was "relegated to a sideshow" (Bremner, 1997:66). Even European settlers were wary and this is illustrated by the Bay of Plenty Times:

> The imitation Maori fighting pah now being erected by the Tourist Department near Whakarewarewa for the edification of globe-trotters is pronounced by people who understand such things, to be a ludicrously feeble affair, no more like the real thing....than a green cheese is like the moon (Bay of Plenty Times, 07 Dec, 1904 cited in Stafford, 1988:51).

The issue that arises is the capacity of Tuhourangi to develop while maintaining their traditional society. Dependency theory is illustrated whereby development was based on 'the modern project' where underdevelopment was a necessary condition for development. While the trust was apparent from the Tuhourangi perspective, over time the people started to challenge Governmental decisions, the Government progressively ignored the people of the land and subsequently acquired most of their land, started to ruin the geothermal activity, bastardised their culture and had total control of development in the region (Te Awekotuku, 1981).

Up until 1998 when Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao erected a fence between the Government run operation and the residential village, that is fundamentally what Tuhourangi were left with. Selling carvings, mats and souvenirs to tourists that walked down from the NZMACI through the village of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao.

The development plans of the tribe are evident in tribal history dating back to the tourism industry at the Pink and White terraces and are also evident in the many reports on the area and Native Land Court minutes stating the tribe's dissent over decisions made by the Crown (see Moore & Quinn, 1993) While the tribe was disenfranchised of their land and the potential income from the tourist trade, tribal tradition and value systems continued (Stafford, 1967).

Apart from the sale of Maori souvenirs, many of the hapu' guides developed commentary based on the way of life in the village. They were employed by the NZMACI to guide. This was formalised in 1909 as the Rotorua Tourism Board enacted a by law that affected how the tourist guides in the region were controlled. This law regulated the tourist guides in the hope of improving tourist experiences in this thermal wonderland. They stipulated certain conditions that the guides were to abide and required them to pay 10 shillings a year registration. This guiding certificate changed the whole nature of guiding at Whakarewarewa. It effectively gave the General Manager of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts authority over not only the Whakarewarewa reserve but also over tourist operations and management of the 'Government reserve'. The general manager issued the certificates based on what he considered 'good character' and fluency in English. Other criteria included; gender – females; and age – eighteen years or older. Also only guides knowledgeable in hapu knowledge were licensed. The guiding rates were also stipulated – tourist charges to not exceed 1 shilling per day per tourist (Stafford, 1988).

This by-law was not considered a total Government 'take-over' or necessarily a bad thing by the hapu. It seems it was an acceptable way to improve the quality standards of tourism operations. Guide Rangi, one of the many renowned guides of Whakarewarewa in the 1920's through to 1960's, when talking about how she became a guide, explained that guiding had been a hit and miss affair until 1910 when the licensing of guides and the Government regulated operation made it more business-like (ibid).

Also the photos on the certificates in some cases are the only pictorial representation of those first guides and the uniforms that were required to be worn, including the red scarf which became a tribal trademark and many traditional songs have been composed reflecting this. These songs are still sung today by the hapu.

While the guiding licenses were a regulatory process for Government tourism plans, they now provide a valuable resource that would probably not have existed for us, the descendants of the first Guides. My Great Grandmother whose name was Piatarihi Nari Makiha was one of the first licensed guides in April 1910, the number on her certificate is No. 5[6]. Her name recorded on the certificate is Beatrice Renata. We are told that this name was used so the tourists could pronounce it easily. From then on she was called Guide Beatrice. One of the licensing requirements was that they provide a photo for the certificate. Many of these original certificates are held by the Rotorua Museum and without this we would not know what our Great Grandmother looked like and also what years she was guiding at Whakarewarewa. Interestingly on a visit to Auckland International Airport (November, 2005), I saw the guiding certificate photo of Guide Beatrice on the large screen multi media display being used as a tourist promotion. While these images provide some of our family history, they are also being used as national promotional images with little or no regard for those that should have some control over there usage.

In conclusion, dependency theory, reflected in a structural approach to tourism research recognises "tourism as a capitalistically organised activity" (Britton, 1991:451). This implies that self determination of communities is an idealistic concept, as dominant world structures exploit and alienate them (Hasse, 2001). Presented in this chapter is an example of tourism development of the case study as a capitalistically organised activity. The result, a Government instituted 'model pah' at Te Puia, an organisation that is dominated by Western structures and ideology. Legislation such as the Rotorua Town Council Act, 1907 or the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute Act, 1963 were passed, in order to provide visitors an 'authentic' Maori experience and develop the

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[6]refer Appendix Three for copy of the certificate

region for settlers. This is in direct antithesis to what McIntosh *et al* (2004:331) consider a vital factor of development for Maori, "...Maori self determined tourism development". Franklin and Crang (2001:10) assert that "we need to move away from a notion of 'authentic place', corrupted by tourism and rather towards 'cultural involution', loosely invoked, where tourism promotes local awareness. This self knowledge is linked to personal and institutional practices so it may be that the living tradition of an area is preservation...". This aligns to elements of Maori tourism development where the notions of kaitiakitanga and rahui are embedded in the rationales for tourism in the first place.

6.0 CHAPTER SIX: Post modernity, Critical Development Theory

6.1   The New Tourist, the New Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao, the New Government Focus.

The consequence of the 'new' cultural turn in tourism studies (Ateljevic, 2003), that embraces the 'post empasse' (Hasse, 2001), is a (re)production of the post-modern 'tourist', 'Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism' and 'the Government'. Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development is not necessarily 'new' however the way in which this development is viewed and interpreted is.

Over time, Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao have had many conflicts with the Government over the resources at Whakarewarewa. Guide Rangi said "...it wasn't long before somebody else was at work with a brainwave for improving things for tourists" (Dennan & Annabell, 1968:80). For example the Rotorua Town Bill (1907) essentially allowed anyone to apply to the Town Board for access to water bores.

The Government drew water from Whakarewarewa for the town baths, built in the town centre which "had everything that the pakeha architects, artisans and artists could provide (down to nude sculptures). However, it was somewhat lacking in suitable water" (ibid:80). Lake Roto-a-Tamaheke in the Whakarewarewa reserve, at that time, owned partly by Tuhourangi and the Government, was chosen by the Government to supply its natural healing waters to the baths. Tuhourangi, while indicating their concerns over its use, had no say and the Government piped (at great expense) the water 2 miles to the baths. The Tuhourangi elders predicted that this use of the Lake would render it useless. The Lake went cold with all the water pumping activities and manipulation of the resource by the authorities (ibid). The Government finally put bores down in the Botanic gardens for the Baths and slowly the lake returned back to how it was. Guide Rangi who observed all these happenings critically maintained that:

It is a good thing for the tourist that we Maoris have still retained some of our tribal ownership of the lands at Whakarewarewa. I am sure that if we had sold it all to the pakeha there would be nothing left worth seeing by now. He'd have ruined the lot with progress! (ibid:84).

This comment contrasts with what the Crown at the time were intending, primarily to develop tourist activity in the region. In fact land acquisition and perceived development from traditional Maori society to a modernised society appeared to be the measure of 'progress', particularly for the benefit to the tourist of the time. This is an example of how perceived tourist wants were influencing regional development decisions and how the people of the land were being largely ignored. Smith (1999) asserts that this ideology was essentially embedded in the way development was measured, through Western systems of prioritising what is really important. Evident then is the priority of the regional Government to provide facilities to the tourists regardless of the detrimental effects on the people of the land, their voiced concerns and the environment.

Up until 1986 many private residences and hotels in the region were using the water from Whakarewarewa for hot water and heating facilities. There was an obvious decline of thermal activity, affecting the major attractions for tourists, such as the Pohutu geyser. More importantly to the hapu were the effect on village activities such as the cooking and bathing facilities that were deteriorating and the spiritual significance of the geothermal activity. Attending hui on the marae at that time, dialogue consisted of how to stop the water from being used by the whole region (Te Arawa Hui meetings, 1981-1985). In 1983 Te Arawa and the regional council met and discussed tribal importance of the geothermal activity and affect the use of bores was having on the geysers.

In 1986 pursuant to section 9 (1) (b) of the Geothermal Energy Act (1953) a Cabinet directive was made that a restriction zone be placed on the 1.5 km radius from Pohutu Geyser in Whakarewarewa. This was monitored by the Rotorua Council and was in response to the flagging thermal activity in Whakarewarewa (Environment Bay of Plenty, 1999). At once the attractions began to improve and by 2004, over the time the researcher

was conducting fieldwork, the geysers continuously performed for the longest period of time in known recorded history.

Contemporary Governmental legislation, for example, the Resource Management Act (1991) focuses on the concept of sustainability and includes the Maori concept of kaitiakitanga as a central element of the legislation. This, in the context of the geothermal activity at Whakarewarewa, is linked closely to the importance of the place as a national tourism icon. Legislation is thus related to the perceived post-modern tourist wants and is reflected in the national tourism promotion campaign promoting this 'clean green, pure' destination (See Pure New Zealand website, 2005).

Sustainability of resources is a tenet of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao customary processes (tikanga and ritenga). Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao continue to hold mana whenua over this area although do not hold the land title. This is problematic as the obligations of mana whenua, which inherently drives kaitiakitanga, requires the hapu to continue to be guardians of the valley however they have no governance or official input into how Te Puia develops or operates. Natural resources are not simply considered 'resources' to be used but are part of ones genealogy, a legacy of our ancestors. This is illustrated in the tribal story of the creation of the geothermal plateau. A gift provided for us from our ancestors, particularly Ngatoroirangi the high priest of the Te Arawa canoe. With that gift came obligations as kaitiaki (guardians) to protect the resource. Furthermore at Whakarewarewa, it is not just for the tourist that these resources are protected, perhaps more significant is the very practical implication that the hapu way of life in the village may be diminished or destroyed. The hapu continues to work within the tikanga set by previous generations, however during the period of colonisation, where these structures have been challenged, Tuhourangi have adapted within the regulatory state structural constraints. An example is the Resource Management Act (1991) where tangata whenua must be involved in the kaitiaki of the region regardless of ownership.

> The RMA provides directly and indirectly for tangata whenua
> participation in the preparation of policy statement and plans and decisions

on resource consent applications. The RMA also enables the transfer of resource management powers to iwi authorities (Environmental Defence Society, nd:Introduction).

This effectively enables the hapu to have direct involvement in physical elements of development within the region and also enables Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao to utilise this to their advantage. The Rahui Trust that manages the village on behalf of the stakeholders must also now consider and expand on traditional structures that are measured by concepts of contemporary management processes such as quadruple bottom line accounting, issues including long term skill development, employment and environmental protection for the Whakarewarewa valley.

6.2   The Global-Local Nexus – Circuits of Tourism Development at Whakarewarewa

Space or spatial connectedness, as McGrew (1992) argues, is a point of analysis. He called this the concept of 'stretching'. Pre-European New Zealand spatial connectedness was limited to intertribal relations. Trade was evident and resources were traded between tribes (Walker, 1990). In the early 1800's this spatial connectedness was extended to explorers and the mostly British settlers arriving in New Zealand. Due to the geographic position of Tuhourangi even this was limited as the hapu was resident in the central part of the North Island distant from major ports or coastlines. As the Pink and White Terraces became more widely known so too did the impact of global forces. In the early 1870's European entrepreneurs moved into the Tarawera region to capitalise on the increasing tourist trade. With negotiation with local tribes they are able to provide accommodation and other facilities to cater for the increasing numbers of tourists that were mostly from the gentile market, due in the main to the very expensive costs to visit the area (Stafford, 1967). Connected to this obvious top end market segment was the apparent status that came with visiting what had been labeled the 'eighth wonder of the world'. The visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York reinforced this status/identity phenomenon. Their visit promoted the region in the world media and

stimulated increased global interest in the area and also encouraged an increase in service provision. Preparation for the royal visit alone included the building of roads and the selection of top tourist guides such as the famous Guide Sophie at the Rotomahana terraces (Te Awekotuku, 1981).

This increase in global awareness marked the genesis of what Wallerstein (1990, cited in Keelan & Moon, 1998:22) calls the essential elements of the modern global capitalist system. The essence of this system is the growth in terms of production, population and the "ceaseless accumulation of capital". Modernisation theorists endorsed this view by using Western notions of the developed society as a catalyst for development globally.

In the case of Tuhourangi, hyperbolic economic growth occurred at this time and reflects the beginnings of 'the development of underdevelopment' through legislation that alienated the tribe from their land. This international context increasingly saw the economic development of non-Tuhourangi entrepreneurs able to capitalise on both the environment and the resources, made available to them through mostly governmental policy. An example is the Thermal Springs District Act (1881). This Act essentially gave the Government full control over reserves of tribally owned land to enable lease agreements being made between the Government and European settlers.

Over time the hapu continued to provide 'the living village' attraction to tourists and human resources for the NZMACI. This was, (offically for the hapu), founded in an agreement made when the model pa was being constructed, the NZMACI had unofficially committed to employing hapu members.

> The agreement being that *kuia* (retainers of tradition) would impart their stories and life experiences to the visitors, and in return their *mokopuna* and descendents would always work there (Te Puia, 2005:History and Values).

In 1963 the Government, as owners of the Whakarewarewa Thermal Reserve, passed the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute Act. This Act transferred power of the reserve from the National Tourism and Publicity Department to the Regional Rotorua Maori Arts and Crafts Institute (MACI).

The Act empowered the MACI of which is wholly owned by the Government,

> to encourage, foster and promote all types of Maori culture, the practice and appreciation of Maori Arts and crafts, train Maoris in Maori arts and crafts, provide demonstrations, exhibitions and performances and assist in the preservation of Maori culture (New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute Act, 1963).

The MACI was already operating as the management of tourist activity at Whakarewarewa, situated at the South West end of the Whakarewarewa reserve. This Act changed the name of the Rotorua Maori Arts and Crafts Institute to New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute and constituted the Ministry of Tourism as the monitoring body of management for the complex. While the Act includes the concept of "assist [ing] in the preservation of Maori culture", in no part of the Act does it mention Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao, as the mana whenua of Whakarewarewa. An overarching implication of this was reinforcement of the notion of homogeneity in development whereby the hapu were not acknowledged and essentially regarded as just part of the larger national Maori population.

The tourism developments of the hapu continued at Whakarewarewa, together with the establishment of a forestry industry at Waipa, one mile outside the Whakarewarewa village. Mostly, the women worked as guides for the MACI, whilst the men worked at the Waipa mill until its devolution in 1989 (Te Awekotuku, 1981). The gender of the guides was predominantly female, due to employment opportunities in the forestry for men. This however was legislated in the 1909 Guide Certification bylaw whereby guides must be female. This illustrates the structural approach to tourism activities whereby the tourist

perception of 'the female' being the welcoming, nurturing hostess influenced how the MACI responded to employment of guides.

With the development of trade and industry in the 1950's and 1960's many of the hapu left the village to work in major cities. The limited space in the village also saw a number of villagers move to State Housing in the adjourning neighbourhood. Today TuhourangiNgati Wahiao unity continues to thrive despite the seemingly determined efforts of the Crown to integrate the hapu into a modernised state. It has maintained its unique character by running its affairs under the 'rahui' kawa, set up by its leader at the turn of the century (Te Awekotuku, 1987). The Rahui manages the activities within the village that are of communal use, such as the bathing and cooking facilities While this rahui kawa has been retained the legal structure is that of a Maori land trust, accordingly the Trust must report activities to the Minister of Maori Affairs who determines the trust board membership, accountability processes of financial matters amongst other charter specifications. While the hapu members are now disseminated throughout the country, this place provides a base for the hapu and continues multigenerational learning, both through its marae, the village and tourist activities.

Through much of Whakarewarewa tourism history the Government has significantly influenced Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism. Historically, implications of land tenure issues and geothermal rights have impacted on tourism development at Whakarewarewa and continue to be challenged by the hapu. See for example the current Waitangi Tribunal claim on geothermal rights (WAI 153, Moore & Quinn, 1993).

Now the Government tourism campaign, Pure NZ and other tourism development strategies promote Maori development in the industry and acknowledge the uniqueness of Maori cultural capital in differentiating New Zealand from other destinations (see He Matai Tapoi Report, 2001; Tourism New Zealand, 2005). Also now being recognised is the importance of the 'authentic experience', demanded by the nation's major market segment, the interactive traveler. The regional tourism organisation played a major part in developing the capacity for the region to host tourists. Roading, accommodation, regional

bylaws, geothermal water usage amongst others are all managed now by the City Council. The Rotorua Regional Tourism Organisation (RTO) also promotes and influences tourism enterprises through activities such as promotion and marketing initiatives, research activity, quality standards and the provision of the information centre in the city (see Rotorua Tourism website, 2005).

The NZMACI are currently profiled on the RTO website. Many of the hapu continue to work for the NZMACI, guiding, teaching, performing and other service work. The complex is managed by Government appointment and is monitored by the Minister of Tourism. In much of the organisations promotions, the complex promotes Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao cultural capital. Its website promotes the destination as a "memorable and authentic experience", although as far back as 1904 this was challenged by hapu elders, "it is a European place that no way resembled a Maori pah of old times" (Bay of Plenty Times, 07 Dec, 1904).

Today, what is considered to be a Maori business is debatable however the change in emphasis from content to ownership is illustrated in recent definitions spanning just six years. Bennett (1995), for example, describes a Maori tourism product as "an opportunity provided...for the tourist to have contact with Maori culture". This is consistent with the He Matai Tapoi (2001) report that asserts a Maori tourism business is dependent on vantage point. Tourists may consider a business Maori because it has Maori staff or Maori culture represented, such as at Te Puia. Butler and Hinch (1996) added the element of control, defining indigenous tourism as "tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction". Te Puni Kokiri, the Ministry of Maori Development go on to define Maori tourism as that which is requisite with ownership, "tourism products that utilise cultural, historical, heritage or natural resources that are uniquely Maori with substantial Maori ownership and control of the business" (Barnett, 2001:86). Shareholders of Whakarewarewa Thermal Village consider their enterprise to be truly a Maori tourism business as it is owned, operated and organised through traditional hapu tikanga or ways of being. Accordingly the enterprise meets the elements of all three

definitions. Therefore Whakarewarewa Thermal Village's differentiating factor is the ability to deliver a truly 'authentic' Maori living village (The Stafford Group, 2001:104).

For the people of Whakarewarewa, tourist wants while considered, is not a motive for the continued existence of people living in the village, a kaumatua when articulating the essence of Whakarewarewa village said:

> …Oh, we must keep the village living, I say – it may be ramshackle and tumbledown, but at least people are living there, and keeping the village ALIVE. That is the most important thing of all to me…being there, the feeling of Whakarewarewa gives them something, hard to define, but very real and very special indeed (Te Awekotuku, 1981:130).

The authentic experience that Te Puia promotes has an air of 'Disneyland' type qualities highlighting McCannell's (1992) reference to cultural production in a tourism context. An example is Rotowhio, the marae located in the model pa, it is presented on the website as a traditional meeting place of the tribe, "Where the people return to talk, to sing and dance, to pray, to host guests, to wed, to reunite, to weep for their dead" (Te Puia, Rotorua website:History and Values, 2005). This marae, to my knowledge as a Tuhourangi member, has never been used as such. It is purely there for tourists to look at and for the performers to perform in. There is now a wedding facility whereby tourists can purchase a wedding package so they can have a 'Maori-style' ceremony. In order for this marae to be built agreement needed to be reached between the local hapu and local Government officials. Without agreement the building would not have been made, as the carvings and the stories that go into a whare whakairo or carved meeting house would not have existed. There was an express agreement that the local hapu would impart their knowledge, their stories and their life experiences to visitors and in return Te Puia would employ their descendents.

Furthermore, on the web page titled 'Why visit Te Puia?' it states that "our people are here simply because they belong...They are today's guardians...For Te Puia is much more

than a place of work. It is the place we call home" (Te Puia, 2005). While true that Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao does have obligations as guardians through their mana whenua status, Te Puia does not formally acknowledge this and appears to be using this concept of 'our home' in their promotions. It goes on to state "we share our stories, our culture, our beliefs and our lives...a fundamental belief of Te Puia is that knowledge must be shared and that understanding promotes a better future for all of us...If visitors learn another perspective through Maori eyes, we are grateful". The 'we' and 'our' that is referred to is actually referring to Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao, for the hapu created and inputted their stories and lives to developing this enterprise. Since 1998 however when the 'gentlemen's agreement' was finally laid to rest by the High Court, Te Puia' claim to ownership of those stories, culture, beliefs and lives is questionable. The goodwill of the hapu employees of Te Puia is now the organisations only major link to the validity of the intellectual property involved.

Ironically this issue contradicts the summary of recommendations made in the He Matai Tapoi (2001:13) report. The recommendation to "Protect Intellectual and Cultural Property" so as to ensure "Legislative Protection for Intellectual and Cultural Property Rights" and "monitoring the use of intellectual and cultural property – for tourism promotion purposes" is contrary to the NZMACI which is a Government managed facility. This recommendation was planned to be implemented within six months of the report or by the end of 2001. While the Government has employed Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao members at the NZMACI over the past century, it is now apparent that there are limits to Governmental considerations of this hapu tourism development. The history of the Government and Tuhourangi tourism developments has been fraught with issues of ownership of the resources including not just land and geothermal utilisation but also intellectual property. Te Puia is an example of a Government owned organisation that goes against the Government's own tourism industry direction, that of endorsing, supporting and protecting Maori tourism development (see the New Zealand Tourism Strategy, 2010 & The Stafford Group report, 2001). In reality the Government owned Te Puia is Whakarewarewa Thermal Village's biggest direct competition. Furthermore Te

Puia has access to capacities such as the Regional Tourism Organisation that promotes Te Puia on their website and national Government and ministerial support in parliament.

In summary, this empirical capture focused on examples of the influence of global, national and regional factors on local Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development. The historical evidence reiterates the processes of development theory, which concentrates on economic imperatives at the exclusion of traditional societal structures such as the cultural and spiritual processes embedded in the host community. Furthermore the examples illustrate how the local also influences the regional, national and global tourism industry through traditional practices such as kaitiakitanga. This empirical capture shows that in the case study of the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village enterprise and more broadly Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development, national, regional success measures have not necessarily translated to 'local, community' success.

7.0 CHAPTER SEVEN: Alternative Development – The Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao
      Worldview

The following discussion is largely descriptive however illustrates how ones identity as a hapu member is continually reaffirmed and through traditional practice, key issues are critiqued based on historical events. Alternative tourism is therefore presented offering another perspective to Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao development.

Smith and Eadington (1994:3) state that alternative tourism is:

> broadly defined as forms of tourism that are consistent with natural, social and community values and which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences.

Alternative tourism development is not a new theory for Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao. Underlying development of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism is this alternative perspective, whereby the natural, social and community values of the hapu and their guests are mediated through elements such as manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and is embodied in the following pepeha. The pepeha allows for knowledge to be articulated that fits the cultural context of Whakarewarewa (Vitebsky, 1993). Accordingly it provides a process that promotes the critique of development mediated through hapu tikanga and ritenga. Alongside this is the creation of the tourist product that embraces the consumption/production dialectic and is reflected in manaakitanga, the catch phrase of Rotorua Tourism Organisation (see Rotorua NZ website, 2005).

7.1 Pepeha – Whakatauki

Tarawera te maunga	Tarawera my spiritual mountain
Tarawera te moana	Tarawera my spiritual lake
Te Arawa te iwi	Te Arawa my tribe
Ngatoroirangi te tohunga	Ngatoroirangi the high priest
Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao Nga Hapu	Tuhourangi my sub-tribe
Te Pakira te marae	Te Pakira my marae
Wahiao te whare	Wahiao my house
Taupopoki te tangata	Taupopoki my leader
Ko Keri ahau	I am Keri
Tena koutou tena koutou tena koutou katoa	Greetings to all

The above is my pepeha, it is a form of introduction and is commonly a way of linking Maori together at hui or places of importance. Of the whole dialogue, my name is least significant as it is the history and heritage embedded in the dialogue that is of greatest interest. It is the process of linking oneself as an individual with the political, cultural and economic context of a person. This thesis is highly emotive driven; the case study is not merely an examination of the space and place of a tourism destination but is a touchstone for who I am and what I value. Values according to Hofstede (2005) are the basis of how one rationalises the world and thus my worldview and research perspective derive from the encoded value system of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao.

The above dialogue represents what Pratt (2002) calls 'shared experiences'. The dialogue brings together the people of the hapu of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao and history of place. Furthermore it provides the basis for critical analysis of tourism processes within the context of hapu cultural processes. Entrenched in this is Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development as the institutions, the lifestyle and different identities of Whakarewarewa can now be contextualised to tourism as part of the processes of "collaborative knowledge production" (Nagar and Ali, 2003).

This thesis is not about replicating hegemonic discourse that relegates the researched to a passive voice or by articulating abstract concepts to build truths (Ateljevic, *et al*, 2005). It identifies another perspective of knowledge creation by engaging with different productions such as my pepeha. The provision of a resource base and the actions of those who were the initiators of tourism in the Whakarewarewa village are embodied in the pepeha.

This section offers an analysis of the pepeha to highlight the significance of 'place' to one's identity as a tribal member and also the importance this 'alternative' perspective has on local development be that economic, social, cultural and spiritual. Pohatu (1999:55) states that "…the act of naming is one way of sanctioning the humanizing of our multiple landscapes of whakapapa, whenua and taonga, in the way it is valued by us". How these landscapes are perceived is based on embedded historical value systems reinforced through pepeha. The names embodied in the pepeha have been cultivated from a whakapapa-centric position, the name provides for the space to consciously reflect on who, what and where the hapu has come from. Maori economic development therefore cannot be presented as a homogenous development strategy (Slater, 1995), and imperative to development in a Maori context is the requisite knowledge of what Hofstede (2005) referred to as the basis for how one rationalises the world.

How then can Tuhourangi promote economic development within a broad global context? A shared vision according to Senge (1999) is about creating a common identity among enormously diverse people. A shared vision promotes alignment to organisational member's values and beliefs. The pepeha can then be aligned to how Tuhourangi creates their shared vision through their history, through place and through the actions of ancestors that set the path for tourism development at Whakarewarewa. This identity, and this identity alone creates authenticity as location or place and identity for Maori are inextricably linked.

7.2   Social capital/Cultural capital

Spellerberg (2001:13) asserts that social capital is "an expression of cultural capital in practice". She goes on to argue that the process of moving between *bounded* (and in this case Tuhourangi based) social capital which holds the tribe together to *bridging* social capital which links different groupings together is a key issue for Maori. The production/consumption dialectic highlights the processes of bounded social capital as opposed to bridging social capital. This bridging of social capital demands two way processes as there are barriers of entry into both iwi and European structures that are often difficult to move between. An example is the process for ethical approval for this research.

To undertake this research I went through the university ethical requirements as set out by Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC). This was clear as it was specific, written down and driven largely by Western formal structures and rules. On the other hand approval of the hapu was what Spellerberg (2001:13) notes under "conditions for joining" which are often "verbal, implicit and obligation driven". When I first proposed this research to the tribe I had a huge anxiety that they would not accept it. I started with the above pepeha and straight away the audience recognised of whom I descended. The powerpoint presentation, the handouts, my prepared presentation were not required as the tribal members were able to ascertain motivations for my research from this pepeha. The ethical controls that were stipulated as part of the academic ethical approval were very different for the tribe. From my pepeha they were able to express my ethical obligation not as an academic exercise but my obligation to the tribe to perform with utmost integrity based on our tribal values and beliefs. This obligation was not just to the living but to my ancestors that paved the way for me.

This dichotomy highlights the 'obligation driven' process of Maori research. These obligations are based on common ancestry or whakapapa. This includes cultural capital that consists of how Tuhourangi link together as a people, through land, values, history, traditions and behaviors. Significant to this research therefore is the cultural and social

capital development of the hapu which is largely based on key themes – the importance of place, identity through whakapapa, history of the people and overriding all these is the relationships with others. These relationships directly relate to the notion of "bridging social capital" including the relationships between Maori and non-Maori. This notion is identified by Oakes (1993:47) as a process of cultural revival whereby the creation of place continually links "local actors with broader geographical frameworks and more distant sources of power". Furthermore, it highlights the dynamic environment of which dominant structures such as Western structures can be mediated through individual agency. Thus social capital and its level of adaptability to structures such as the political economy are central to a particular agency's success. The challenge is to understand culture as a contemporary construction in which tradition is continually redefined by actors operating within networks of political economy which span and interact within multiple geographic scales (Ateljevic, 2000).

The production/consumption dialectic is evident right throughout the history of tourism development in Whakarewarewa and further endorses the different values that are engendered in the local tourism industry of the area. An example is the use of myths and legends in both producing and consuming the tourist product at Whakarewarewa. Myths and legends retold to tourists visiting Whakarewarewa since the 1880's are not merely romanticised stories of distant times but provide the basis for the hapu beliefs and values. These legends are filled with accounts of our (Tuhourangi peoples) history. They also are stories that continuously intrigue tourists to the area. The local perspectives of these legends is recounted in traditional ritual such as karakia (prayer), whaikorero (traditional speech making) at the marae (tribal gathering place), naming of subsequent generations, waiata (traditional song), recital of whakapapa (genealogy) and whakairo (ornate carvings) in the ancestral meeting houses and are integral to validating one's tribal identity. For the tourist the legends are reproduced and represented through the Whakarewarewa guides commentary, tourist narratives, re-enactment of the stories in dramatic representations such as waiataringa (action songs) and books. A specific example is illustrated in the dual delivery of the legend of Hinemoa and Tutanekai, perhaps one of the most famous legends retold in the Rotorua region (refer Stafford,

1977). This legend is particularly significant to our family as it is from this genealogy, I descend and hence I call myself a 'local' of Rotorua, although I was born and grew up in Auckland city three hours north.

Hinemoa a key figure in my ancestry, apart from featuring in the legend, was buried on our ancestral island of Motutawa, which is in the middle of Lake Rotokakahi, known to tourists as the Green Lake. My mother, who passed away in 1996, is buried near her and this will probably be where successive generations of our family are buried. The history of this island is recounted in whaikorero (traditional speech making), where historical tribal information about the island including Hinemoa's burial is told. This information is not found in tourist literature. The island and surrounds are now considered a waahi tapu (sacred place). Public access to the island and fishing in the lake is prohibited through customary lore. This rahui (restriction) is communicated to tourists through signage at look-outs close to the lake[7] and briefly in the guide's commentary at the Buried Village, situated in the original homeland of Tuhourangi. The Buried Village is now a tourist attraction where relics of the Tarawera eruption are displayed and a museum with the eruption story has been developed. This business is not owned by Tuhourangi and the original European family that purchased the buried village soon after the eruption, still operates it today (APR, 2001).

The biggest tourist attraction to the region is reported as being interest in the landscape particularly the geothermal activity. Following this is the delivery and presentation of Maori culture (He Matai Tapoi, 2001). This section illustrates the importance of the geothermal activity at Whakarewarewa, in particular the waiariki and the ngawhaariki, from a local perspective and highlight the dialectic difference in representation between the consumers of tourism and the producers or local and others.

<center>He Taonga Tukuiho – a legacy of our ancestors</center>

A tribal kaumatua, Hiko Hohepa said of a taonga

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[7]

See Appendix Four for an example of public signage

"Te Taonga he mea tino nui, i roto i te whakaaro o te tangata, he taonga tera"[8]

(Personal communication, 1996).

The taonga he was relating to was the waiariki or geothermal hot water. These taonga portray the importance of sustainable resource management for the Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao people, as well as providing an experience for the tourist in an economic context. Most importantly is the value of these to the hapu as an affirmation of mana (effective customary authority or prestige) and practical usage by hapu members. These alone have intrinsic value to the hapu, providing the 'place' of social capital development This analysis looks at how the sustainable management of these taonga did not arise from Western legislation but are based on the concepts of tapu and obligatory respect to our ancestral legacy.

7.2.1 Ngatoroirangi te tohunga

Ngatoroirangi the high priest on the Te Arawa waka was a tohunga possessing great powers. It has been told, that the Waiariki and Ngawhaariki of the Bay of Plenty area (where Whakarewarewa is located) was brought to Aotearoa by Ngatoroirangi. The following relates the tribal story of how we first were gifted the taonga of Waiariki and Ngawhaariki.

Ngatoroirangi was a descendant of an atua (God), Puhaorangi, who slept with Kuraimonoa, an earthly woman in Hawaiiki. Their child Ohomairangi became the progenitor of the tribe Ngati Ohomairangi, or Nga Oho. In Aotearoa the descendants of this tribe make up the Te Arawa confederation of tribes. When the Te Arawa canoe arrived at Maketu in Te Moana a Toi (the Bay of Plenty) Ngatoroirangi set about exploring this new land. Many stories have been told of his journeys however there is one that holds relevance to this topic. The story of how he brought Waiariki and Ngawhaariki to the Bay of Plenty area. This story is told in many traditional tribal waiata and summarised as follows.

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[8] The taonga is a great thing within the thoughts of the people that is a taonga.

Ka riro au i te tonga

On one of his travels, Ngatoroirangi came to a place where lived three snow capped mountains, known now as Ngauruhoe, Ruapehu and Tongariro. He then set about climbing to the top of the latter. The higher he went, the colder it became, and still he continued to climb. The weather was treacherous. Ngatoroirangi, on the brink of death, due to the cold, called to his sisters Te Hoata and Te Pupu in Hawaiiki, to come to him and give him warmth. His sisters possessed the gift of fire. Upon hearing the words of Ngatoroirangi, they immediately went to him. They traveled under the earth towards Aotearoa. They came up for air near Whakatane at Whakaari (White Island), and traveled by way of Awakeri, Rotoma, Rotoehu, Rotoiti, Rotokawa, Whakarewarewa, Ohinemutu and then moved towards Taupo through Waimangu, Orakei Korako and finally reaching Tongariro giving life and warmth to their brother.

Stories say that a mokai (slave) named Auruhoe took the journey with Ngatoroirangi and died, and the tohunga threw him into the boiling cauldron, this is how Ngauruhoe was named. The path traveled by Te Hoata and Te Pupu, from Hawaiiki to Tongariro marks exactly the area of which Ngawhaariki and waiariki are predominantly active.

This history of the geothermal plateau illustrates the bounded social capital or linkages that Te Arawa has to the region and articulates the whakapapa recounted by many of the tribe in our pepeha. Inclusion of Ngatoroirangi in the pepeha connects me to the geothermal plateau thus reinforcing the 'place' of my ancestors and obligations requisite of that connection. Because the ngawhaariki and waiariki are part of our ancestral history the resource management of those taonga is also part of tribal obligation.

The naming of the waiariki is relevant to Whakarewarewa in sanctioning and humanising the multiple landscapes of the area. A story told to me from my grandmother while having our daily bath in the hot pool close to her home in Rotokawa tells of an event that may have led to the naming of the waiariki. A koroua (male elder) suffering from aching muscles in his old age came across a hot spring and upon getting into the hot water exclaimed

"Aue, taukiri e! He *wai* tenei mo te *Ariki*"

(Alas, my tingling skin, this water is for the Gods)

Although there are many accounts of the naming of the hot water pools, Waiariki, this account is constant with the belief that the pools are indeed gifted to us from the Gods. The soft warm healing powers of the pools not only leave me feeling clean, but also physically and spiritually empowered. This 'spirituality' is acknowledged by the Rotorua District Council as:

> The social identity provided by the geothermal attributes of the field have been interwoven with cultural values. These are particularly strong for Te Arawa, who have lived for generations with waiariki that gives spiritual and physical comfort. For those Te Arawa iwi who live on the field, waiariki has become interwoven into culture and traditions and is a major component in their identity. The spiritual essence of waiariki brings healing and therapeutic effects to those who understand and respect the powerful forces that have gathered at Rotorua. Many thousands of people have over hundreds of years gained relief from bathing in waiariki. From this has evolved a traditional history associated to many of the geothermal features of the field. Most of these are taonga and are to be valued and respected (Environment Bay of Plenty, 1999:34).

The use of the Waiariki for bathing is a central feature of Marae life at Whakarewarewa. These baths have served the hapu over many generations. The history and the happenings in the baths are recalled in much of the waiata and whaikorero on the many marae of the region. In recalling these stories of the past, the geology and knowledge of how the baths can be regulated and used is passed down from one generation to the next.

The baths are part of the tourist experience although they are not permitted to enter them at Whakarewarewa. Facts such as temperature levels, mineral content and how they were built are relayed by the tour guides to tourists who come and look at the baths. More

intriguing it seems is the fact that these baths are used by the villagers and non-resident hapu members daily and have been part of Whakarewarewa life since the beginning of human occupation. To the people of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao however they have a more meaningful significance than being a tourist attraction.

The communal baths are used by the villagers in the mornings and at night once the tourists leave the area[9]. For those of the hapu that do not reside in the village it is 'the way' to catch up with hapu information. While bathing a lot of conversation is undertaken. Talk of daily events, gossip, whakapapa, traditional stories, hapu politics, waiata, even naming of the stars is conveyed from one to the other while bathing.

Despite waiariki always being a part of everyday life the people of the hapu do not take the resource for granted. Hohepa (1996) described the waiariki as 'tapu', with certain restrictions relating to their use. These restrictions are common sense rules, a means of conserving and caring for the resource 'of the Gods'. The baths are regarded as ours through genealogical lines. They are respected by all that use them so as to protect this 'taonga', the legacy given to us by our ancestors.

Kaitiakitanga, or the notion of stewardship, is a traditional concept of sustainability. This has become more prominent in Governmental circles with the introduction of kaitiakitanga in the Resource Management Act (1991). An example is the concept of conserving the environment or sustainable development. The basis for Maori conservation is not founded in what development theorists maintain is a response to the modernising effects of global influences (Wang, 2000) or the market response to tourists wanting to visit areas perceived as 'clean green' (see NZ Pure Campaign website, 2005). It is based on the responsibility we have as stewards of the environment to protect the gifts provided to us by our ancestors in order to protect our future generations' turangawaewae. Indeed this is reflected in the strict rahui rules which govern the

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[9] See Appendix Five for pictures of use of baths

Whakarewarewa reserve. The actual name of the Trust Board that governs the Whakarewarewa Thermal Village is the Whakarewarewa Rahui Trust. Rahui essentially refers to prohibition often placed when sustainability of resources are threatened.

Another significant aspect of Whakarewarewa is the ngawhaariki (hot boiling springs). These are used primarily for cooking and in the preparation of food (Maxwell, 1991). There are many ways of cooking in these springs, for example the steam hangi, which are steam boxes placed on top of a natural steam vent, boiling directly in the pools, singeing the hair off pigs and loosening the feathers on chickens. The ngawhaariki were and still are used daily. When we have groups of visitors to the village they enable an ease of catering to many people which assists with 'manaakitanga' or the Maori practice of ensuring utmost hospitality is extended to those that visit. This cooking form is still used by many of the villagers as an everyday cooking form. Indeed, the house I used during the fieldwork period did not have cooking or bathing facilities as is common with many of the houses in the village.

The ngawhaariki are another part of the tourist experience. They do have the opportunity to purchase hangi lunches from the village cafeteria or a cob of corn from the cooking pool. In recent years food has been stolen from the hangi boxes by tourists and has reduced use of these cooking facilities during 'open hours'.

7.2.2   Wahiao te whare

The meeting house is elaborately carved inside and out. The whare is used by hapu members to gather for all sorts of occasions. It is also used for tourist concerts and to highlight representations of legends. At times of tangi (Maori funeral period) where families gather for three days to mourn the death of loved ones, the body of the deceased lays in state in the whare. Tourists are forbidden from the marae area or to enter the whare at this time. They are guided away from the area by the guides and also signs are

posted around the village to warn off tourists that may wander near the tangihanga. Stakeholder conflict often arises at these times between tourists and hapu members, as often, tourists ignore the warnings and try to enter the whare. Hall (2003) argues that this conflict is a common factor in tourism development especially when the interests of the local are not met by tourists wants. This was highlighted at my mother's tangihanga when Japanese tourists walked in. Angry family members did not portray the normally friendly demeanor extended to tourists and hurriedly moved them out of the area.

7.2.3   Taupopoki te tangata

Mita Taupopoki is included in the pepeha as leading figure in Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao development. While tourism development *per se* is not specifically stated the inclusion of Taupopoki embraces this concept. Mita Taupopoki, was the paramount chief of Tuhourang/Ngati Wahiaoat the turn of the 19th century. He is known as one of the central figures in the history of Whakarewarewa as he was the holder of traditional knowledge passed down through generational learning. He played a central role in tribal land cases (see Rotomahana-Parekarangi case in Waaka, 2002). Notably he advocated for the hapu in all matters. His traditional knowledge not only supported land claims and the continuation of Tuhourangi ritual and beliefs but also promoted Whakarewarewa tourism to the world.

In 1910 he took a Tuhourangi concert party on tour to Australia, USA and England as well as taking an official part in the coronation of King George V:

> His rank, oratory, knowledge of whakapapa and tradition, and his ubiquitous presence in the tourist centres of Rotorua, combined to gradually bring him to national prominence as the quintessential Maori chief (Waaka, 2002:2).

International exposure during that tour promoted Rotorua to the world and in turn he hosted the royal family when they visited Aotearoa. The world media reported on the Royal visits and the hosting by the Guides of Whakarewarewa. Indeed Mita and his niece Guide Maggie Papakura were the first Maori ever to fly in a plane (Dennan & Annabell, 1968).

Today those from the hapu employed as guides or performers, are limited in professional development in the village, however they have opportunities most Maori do not. Since that first international Tuhourangi tour, the hapu have continued to entertain and promote to the world the offerings at Whakarewarewa. This has resulted in significant international travel by many of the hapu for nearly a century.

7.3   Conclusion

Elements of critical development theory are represented in the pepeha as identifying oneself, through their pepeha, promotes a critique of historical issues when placing them in the contemporary context. Examples of the production/consumption dialectic, whereby local development has responded to regional, national and global tourism development is evident in different representations of myths and legends, while still retaining control over the representation and interpretation to the tourist. The processes of hapu sustainability and protection of natural resources is linked to and supports the efforts of Tourism New Zealand's national promotion of the '100% Pure NZ' campaign and the desires of the increasingly profitable interactive traveler. As the 'authentic' and the natural resources are increasingly demanded by this segment, the hapu continues to capitalise on traditional processes that have been in place since the beginning of geothermal activity in the region. A critical implication of this is how these processes can support hapu development within the global environment. More importantly to hapu development are those processes that move between bounded social capital that links together the people of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao and bridging social capital that includes elements of the global-local nexus.

8.0 CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 Significance

Positioning the case study in the broader context of critical development theory, this thesis has validated the use of this theoretical paradigm as a key research approach for the study of indigenous tourism development. Furthermore it offered an 'alternative perspective' to tourism research providing an empirical capture of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao by embracing cultural meanings, values and local understanding of place. This critical-interpretative narrative presents a perspective of tourism development at Whakarewarewa not examined previously.

8.2 Overview of Thesis Findings

The research question, objectives and subsequent methodological approach were set out in Chapter One. The overarching thesis to the research was to consider development theory and its correspondent application to tourism development of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao. This objective was met through the identification of key theoretical constructs in the literature review and applying them to the case study. A qualitative approach was adopted utilising three primary research methodologies. Firstly, the participative action research approach was undertaken through fieldwork at the Whakarewarewa village. In addition was the survey of literature pertaining to theoretical elements of the thesis and archival research reviewing public information containing historical and contemporary data which provided information used in the empirical capture of the case study.

Chapter Two provided the context of the case study, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village Tours and Te Puia (NZMACI). This presented a background by which to apply the theoretical elements identified in chapter three. This thesis has examined the evolution of tourism studies that is reflective of broader development theory and social science

frameworks. The opportunity to critically analyse development theory formed the theoretical foundation for which to examine aspects of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism's history, through to the present day. Critical development theory was then applied to certain events of the case study to form an 'alternative' perspective of tourism development for Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao. Furthermore this *bricolage* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) was then considered in terms of the circuits running through the local, regional, national and global environment utilising the global-local nexus framework (Milne, 1998). The position of the researcher is a principle element in critical development theory thus the researchers position was articulated throughout the thesis.

8.3   The Theoretical Foundation

In Chapter Three, two key themes emerged that then formed the theoretical basis for the thesis. Firstly by applying critical development theory to the case study, an alternative perspective to Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development was offered embracing local perspectives in tourism development. By utilising the global-local nexus framework it then provided an opportunity to examine understanding and identification of 'true' meanings of tourism development from the local level, supporting local economic development opportunities.

Secondly the 'new' cultural turn in tourism studies and its application to this case study was important to validate the use of this theory in identifying significant elements of Maori tourism development. The application of this theory supported the validity of the theory as a 'praxis oriented' approach that bridges the gaps between academic study and actual practice within a small indigenous community.

Furthermore, by presenting an 'alternative perspective', utilising this 'new' tourism research theory and application of the global-local nexus framework, the research offers the opportunity to consider further economic development opportunities. Endorsing the

notion of the transcendence of boundaries between largely theoretical academic literature and the sustainability of the communities where tourist activity is largely positioned.

8.3.1   Development theory and Tourism Studies

The paradigmic shift in development studies and association to tourism studies was considered to give a broad overview of development theory and its implications to contemporary tourism development. The first development theory to be reviewed was modernisation theory which is reflected in tourism's impact studies. Wang (2000) was cited for his work on modernisation's emphasis on reason and rationality. His work was supported by Jamal and Everett's (2004) analysis on instrumental reason, whereby scientific knowledge (technology) was found to be a central element of modernisation theory. This positivist approach was also examined by Johnston (2001), Eyles (1988), Smelser (1966), Anderson (1986) and Deshphande (1983), concluding with the theme that the rationalising elements of modernisation theory are divorced from cultural meaning, social structures or emotion. Rostow's (1956, 1988) work on determinants of modernised society provided analysis of development through Western standards of modernity, essentially measuring success on economic imperatives, another central theme of modernisation theory. His work critiqued traditional society's ability to develop without these modernising elements. Supported by Hoselitz (1998) was the notion that barriers to development lay in the inability for traditional societies to modernise, again measured through largely the economic dimension of development. Rojek and Urry (1997) also argued that this dimension in traditional tourism theory took an objective approach which abstracted issues of social and cultural practice, again relegating tourism studies to a focus on economic activities.

Another major theme of impact studies was introduced at this point, MacCanell's (1973) notion of 'staged authenticity' and how this influences tourist product development. This concept again relegated the social and cultural meanings embedded in destination

communities to an economic focus whereby the 'authentic' was created based on consumer demand.

Frank (1971) was selected to critique modernisation theory and supported the commentary on dependency theory. The notion that the catalyst for development was underdevelopment was introduced, highlighted by Oakes (1993), Cardoso and Faletto (1979), Keelan and Moon (1998), Schuurman, (1996), Doxey (1975) whereby, the implication is, that national and regional centres are helpless to be self determining due to the dominant capitalist world systems and structures. The work of Britton (1991) was chosen to highlight how this structural approach recognised social dynamics of the world system. This was complemented by Smith and Eadington's (1994) work on examining the manipulative nature of the tourism industry, with the disregard of the local perspective, in preference to development based on economic requirements alone. The assumption being that dependency theory and the structural approach to tourism studies required dominance of Western structures and ideology (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

Marcuse (1964), Denzin and Lincoln (1994), and Vitebsky (1993) all critique the previous mentioned development theories based on the work of the Frankfurt School. Their work is examined to validate the use of the critical development theory in the thesis. Essentially implying that development cannot be measured in purely economic terms (Rostow, 1956) and that scales other than the global must have the ability to self determine their futures through conscious awareness of capitalism and the creation of a common goal of liberation (Kirkpatrick *et al*, 1978; Oakes, 1993). This development theory supports the need for contextualising research, seeking to understand cultural meanings and development processes that circuit through multiple geographies from local through to global scales (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Booth, 1996; Hall, 1994; Pearce & Butler, 1999; Franklin & Crang, 2001).

8.4　The Application of Development Theory to the Case Study

Chapter Four considered analysis of modernisation theory/impact studies as applied to certain historical events in the case study. While the research did not intentionally apply a chronological order to the evolution of development, the first examples from the case are set prior to Government involvement in tourism of the area. This provides an important example of development prior to what theorist considered imperative to modernisation, essentially the transformation of traditional society to a modern society. The examples also however, demonstrated aspects of modernity and its rapid integration into tourism developments, particularly in the late 19th century at Tarawera. The analysis revealed that economic benefits were a motivation for hapu tourism development plans however hapu intentions also included concerns over sustainability of resources. Government intervention throughout the last two decades of the 19th century revealed many of the elements of modernisation theory including the intentional development of the 'traditional' society to a 'modern' society, rationalising the 'extinguishing' of traditional Native land title, the increase in per capita wealth (through the exploitation of hapu resources) and the manipulation of the tourist destination for the benefit of tourists, ignoring the hapu social, economic, ecological and cultural value systems.

Chapter Five applies a structural approach to tourism development at Whakarewarewa. By the early 20th century the hapu were displaying elements of a modernised society, for example the dependence on tourism was predominant, as opposed to the previous traditional economy, consisting of a traditional, communal, agricultural society. Furthermore they had also physically moved from the Tarawera eruption devastation to Whakarewarewa, a more urban environment, encapsulating Rostow's (1956) measures of modernity. This impacted on the hapu, as many lives had been lost in the eruption, their homes destroyed and, pertaining to this topic, their livelihood from the tourism industry had been destroyed. At this time too, the Government had development plans for the region that included land acquisition and the development of a Government run tourist facility at Whakarewarewa. The notion of 'development of underdevelopment' emerged. The Government essentially took control of the tourism trade that Tuhourangi/Ngati

Wahiao had created, through laws such as the guiding certification by-law, which required all tour guides of the area to abide by regulations to maintain the 'standard' set and managed by the Government. 'Staged authenticity' manifested in this period, an example is the building of 'the model pah' by Government. Plans to select natives to live in it were underway, however did not progress as the 'living pa' of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao was open for tourists to view. The development plans of the Government at this time reflected what Britton (1991) called 'a capitalistically organised activity' with Western structures and ideology emerging.

Chapter Six focused on a critical analysis of development at Whakarewarewa. Within a contemporary context the case study examined events of the latter 20th century. The hapu by this time were exhibiting much of the elements of a modernised society. Hapu members were more dispersed throughout the country, the tourism industry was fully regulated and the Government run facility separated out the hapu traditional way of life to the economics of running the tourism enterprise, Te Puia. The post-modern environment is embracing the 'interactive traveler' as a major tourist market segment. This segment demands a focus on cultural tourism. This provided the hapu with a differentiation to Te Puia as the hapu could provide the interactive tourist with 'a living village' or a more 'authentic' experience. While this was not the catalyst for the fence being erected in 1998 between Te Puia and the Whakarewarewa village, it did position Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao in a better self determining situation. The ability for the hapu to capitalise on the village as a different offering to tourists, while still maintaining traditional concepts of manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga, has resulted in greater hapu involvement from those living outside of Whakarewarewa. Furthermore in an economic sense the hapu are now able to maintain the village for traditional cooking and bathing use, are able to employ hapu members and generally boost the well-being of the hapu. In addition, from the local through to the global level, the hapu has now more involvement in decision-making and tourist product development. For example, the dependency the hapu had on Te Puia to generate all tourist activity is now extinguished. Whakarewarewa Thermal Village Tours is now acknowledged as a player, national tourism strategy and promotions to the world now profile 'the living village' of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao. This encapsulates the post-

modern dialectic of promoting business to the hapu enterprise and also engenders a stronger sense of identity and pride amongst the people.

The final chapter offers an 'alternative' perspective to tourism development in Whakarewarewa. This is an example of critical development theory's intention, to provide 'understanding' as opposed to 'defining' of facts within a given context. In addition the theory challenges representations of truth, requiring researchers to position themselves into the research. I have presented a Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao proverb here to highlight that hapu development is not a 'new' concept starting with modernity's measures of development. The notion of development is embedded in traditional values and ritual that continue today to provide the post-modern tourism industry with a truly indigenous tourism enterprise. The three following maps highlight key issues of the research as applied to Whakarewarewa.
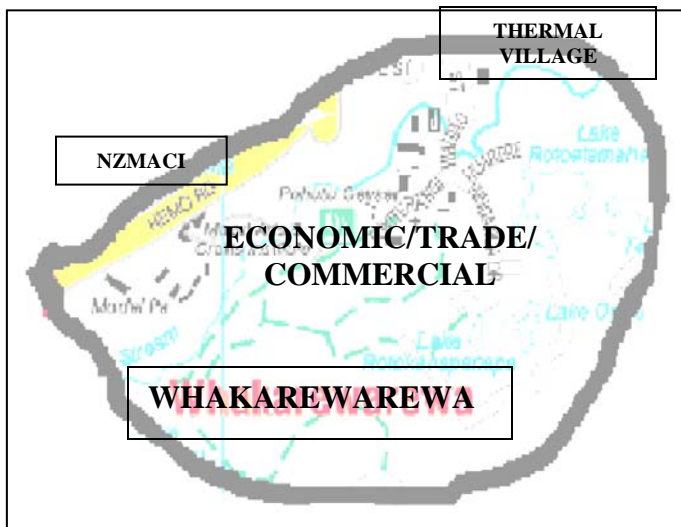
PICTORIAL VIEW OF WHAKAREWAREWA DEVELOPMENT

Figure 3

Government Driven Development of Tourism In Whakarewarewa

- Existed for National Tourism Development of New Zealand
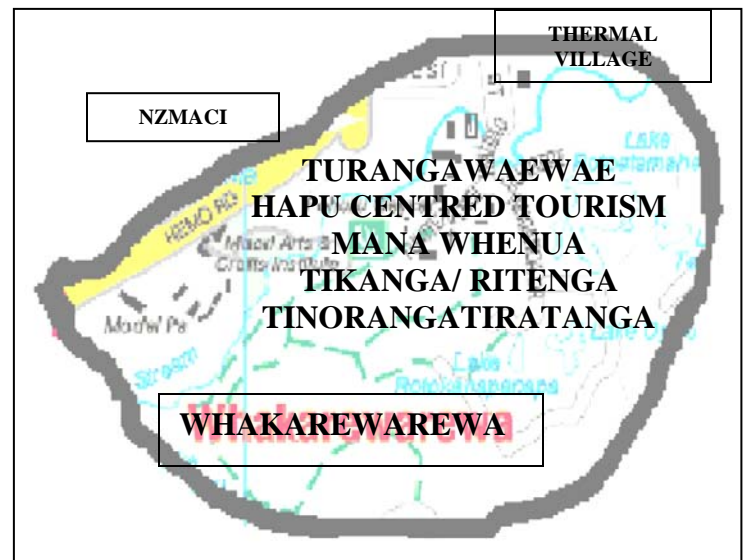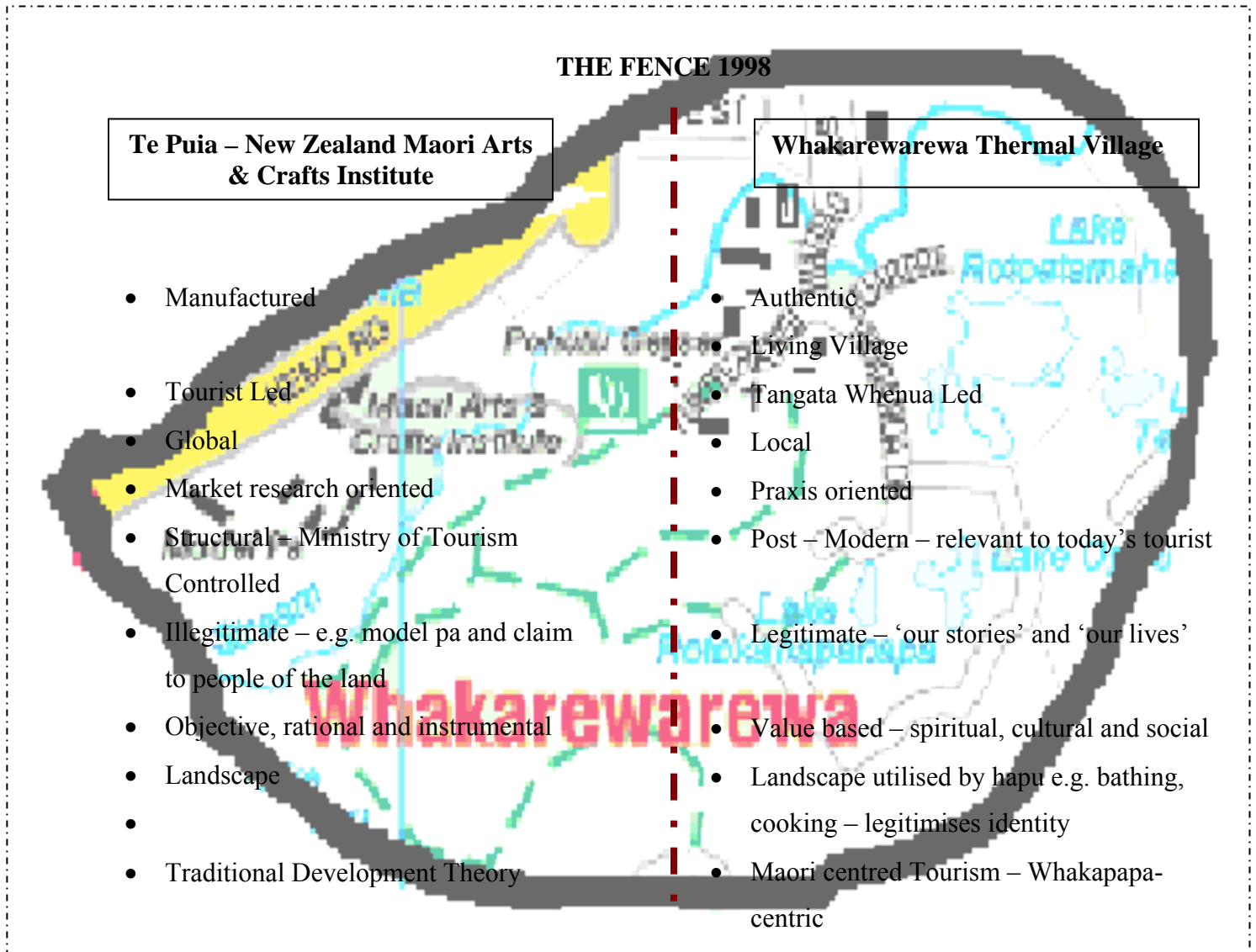

Figure 4

Critical Development Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao Tourism Development

- Existed as reaffirmation of place and identity
- And obligatory requirements of mana whenua

WHAKAREWAREWA O TE OPE TAUA A WAHIAO

THE FENCE 1998

Te Puia – New Zealand Maori Arts & Crafts Institute	Whakarewarewa Thermal Village
• Manufactured	• Authentic
• Tourist Led	• Living Village
• Global	• Tangata Whenua Led
• Market research oriented	• Local
• Structural – Ministry of Tourism Controlled	• Praxis oriented
• Illegitimate – e.g. model pa and claim to people of the land	• Post – Modern – relevant to today's tourist
• Objective, rational and instrumental	• Legitimate – 'our stories' and 'our lives'
• Landscape	• Value based – spiritual, cultural and social
•	• Landscape utilised by hapu e.g. bathing, cooking – legitimises identity
• Traditional Development Theory	• Maori centred Tourism – Whakapapa-centric

Figure 5

8.5   Conclusion

The insights gained in this thesis provide an alternative view to Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao tourism development in the broader context of the tourism industry. It concludes that, elements of development theory applied to the case study have transpired, albeit largely driven by Government development plans (illustrated in figure 3). The synchronous alternative tourism development of the hapu (see figure 4) has resulted in the creation of the contemporary tourism enterprise, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village Tours. This alternative tourism development has historically been largely ignored by Government discourse. Ironically, however, the global demand of the interactive traveler has advanced both alternative tourism development studies and industry production/consumption praxis. The result at Whakarewarewa is the opportunity to bring these dual discourses together by 'transcending the boundary' or 'the fence' that is currently separating the two (illustrated in figure 5). The consequence to tourism studies is the increase in critical analysis of tourism within any given context.

8.6   Areas for Further Research

The demands of the tourist bring about transformations in communities. The post-modern tourist demands include the want for an 'authentic experience'. Consequently local tourism products, particularly those that are Maori, are a potential source of economic competitive advantage. Therefore national tourism policy and regional economic integration are increasingly becoming dependent upon locally driven innovations. Those innovations acknowledge the importance of the protection and strengthening of local culture and identity in order to deliver an 'authentic experience'.

The theoretical model utilised in the research provides a framework that potentially could be applied to other indigenous tourism communities in order to maximise indigenous development and leadership in the tourism industry. In so doing, support relationship

development between national and regional tourism institutions and the indigenous communities in which indigenous tourism enterprise is located. The pictorial representation of figure five provides an overview of the key points of the thesis within the context of Whakarewarewa. Possible future research could test this model to examine whether it is specific to Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao or indicative of indigenous tourism development globally.

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10.0 APPENDIX ONE - GLOSSARY

Atua	God
Hangi	Maori form of cooking
Hapu	the basic political unit, A collection of whanau, normally united through a common ancestor
Hui	gathering
Iwi	the largest independent politico-economic unit, a collection of hapu, normally united through a common ancestor
Kaitiaki	guardian
Kaitiakitanga	notion of stewardship
Kapa haka	action song and dance
Karakia	prayer
Kaumatua	respected elder
Koha	gift
Kohanga Reo	Maori language nest - Maori language pre-school
Kuia	female elder
Mana	prestige
Mana	in broad terms, Mana is about prestige, power and status
Mana Whenua	who has mana over the land, that is who has political control an authority over the land, and who will defrend the land
Manaakitanga	Concept ofr hospitality and reciprocal obligations between the people of the land and visitors
Marae	tribal gathering place usually includes - carved meeting-house, dining-hall and cooking area, as well as the marae atea or sacred space in front of the meeting-house.
Mokai	slave
Mokopuna	grandchild
Ngawhariki	hot boiling spring

Pa	village
Pepeha	proverb, in this context, relating oneself to the iwi
Rahui	prohibition
Rahui kawa	a set of rules and obligations determined by the people of the land
Ritenga	customs
Tangata Whenua	people of the land, indigenous Maori people, hapu group related to a Marae
Tangi/tangihanga	Maori death rituals
Taonga	precious thing
Tikanga	code of behavior
Tinorangatiratanga	self determination
Tohunga	expert, usually referring to a high priest or professional in a particular field
Turangawaewae	A place to stand; metaphor related to one's right to belong to a specific marae or pa.
Utu	a reciprocation of both positive and negative deeds from one person to another. It's a means of maintaining and restoring harmony and balance
Waiariki	hot pools
Waiata	song
Waiataringa	action song
Wairuatanga	spiritualness
Waka	mode of transport, canoe, a collection of iwi whose tipuna travelled to Aotearoa on the same canoe
Wananga	university, place of learning
Whaikorero	traditional formal speech making
Whakairo	ornate carving
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whanau	the basic unit, also means to give birth, is made up of usually 3 or 4 generations of extended family

Whanaungatanga	the bands of kinship that exist within and between whanau, belonging, togetherness, relatedness
Whare	house
Wharekai	dining hall
Wharenui	meeting House
Whenua	land or afterbirth

11.0 APPENDIX TWO – LETTER FROM CHURCHILL PARK SCHOOL BOARD OF TRUSTEES

CHURCHILL PARK SCHOOL

Riddell Road, Glendowie, Auckland 5.
PO Box 25-508, St. Heliers, Auckland 5.
Ph/Fax: 575 8156

06/08/04

Keri Wikitera
C/o Churchill Park School
Glendowie
Tamaki-makau-rau

Tena koe Keri,

Kei te pehea koe?

I am finally getting to writing the "official letter of thanks" to you for our unforgettable visit to Whakarearewa. I know I said a few things as we departed and I saw several of the parents – and the tamariki ! –talking to you before they left. But you truly deserve further thanks and this one authorised by, and on behalf of the Churchill Park School Board of Trustees.

The warmth with which you and your whanau received us on the first day immediately made us feel at home, comfortable and welcomed. It was touching and truly inclusive of you to take us to your grandfather's grave and the little church on the lake shore. A very special moment, not lost on those who came along. And – don't tell anyone – I actually enjoyed helping out in the kitchen!

I trust we lived up to our end of the bargain and treated the Marae, and all of the Whaka area, with the respect it is due. If we didn't, if indeed there was any lack of respect shown by the manuhiri, I am sure it would have been through ignorance and not intent. I had a real feeling from talking to people that they all wanted to "do the right thing" not just because it was asked of them but so they could learn, and then take that knowledge with them to use again. I think you'll agree that was one of the fundamental reasons of the visit. I know it worked for me!

The Board, at its last meeting, including four of us who visited Whaka, voiced its appreciation of your efforts and spoke of the hope of repeating the trip, perhaps on an annual basis. Certainly, we would welcome your input as to what worked, what nearly worked and what you wouldn't do again. And, as I mentioned to you on the Sunday, we would absolutely need to look at the cost to you, your friends and whanau to ensure all are properly reimbursed.

So, Keri – Ka Pai!! Nga mihi mo to!!

Ka kite

Tim Biggs
Chairman
Board of Trustees.

12.0 APPENDIX THREE – GUIDING CERTIFICATE

13.0 APPENDIX FOUR – PUBLIC SIGNAGE AT THE GREEN LAKE

GREEN LAKE (Rotokakahi)

- Larger and oblong in outline, this lake was named by the Maori for its abundance of shellfish (kakahi).
- Flows to Lake Tarawera, 322 feet lower in altitude, via Te Wairoa waterfalls.
- Emerald green from the air due to shallower, sandy bottom
- 1302 feet above sea level, 69 feet below the level of the Blue Lake.
- Sacred (tapu) to Maori so retains its peaceful, undisturbed beauty.

My nieces after early morning bathing, complex already open for tourists (January, 2006).

Bathing 1920 circa, Whakarewarewa